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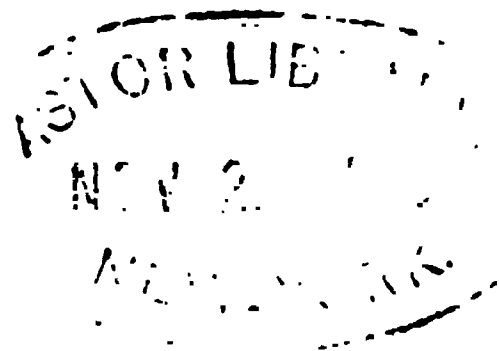
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BUSINESS NOTE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the cost of publishing has nearly doubled, we have *not advanced the price* of this Review. As the price barely covers the expense of publishing it, at the present rates, we trust our subscribers will remit us *promptly*. Please notice that where *payment is not made in advance at the beginning of the year, \$3.50 will be the uniform price*, except to missionaries.

Our thanks are due to those Brethren who have aided in extending the circulation of our review. Will not *others* make a little effort, and thus enlarge the sphere of its influence and help the publisher in meeting the heavy expense necessary to sustain it in these times ? There are many in our churches who would subscribe for it, or send a copy to some poor minister or missionary, if their attention were once called to it.

Please refer to the last page of the cover.

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THE
A M E R I C A N
PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

NEW SERIES. NO. IX.—JANUARY, 1865.

ART. I.—CHRISTIAN MIRACLES AND PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

By Rev. J. Q. BITTINGER, Yarmouth, Me.

THE controversy between Christianity and scepticism, has its origin not in any superficial or temporary causes, such as may be peculiar to one age rather than to another, but in the necessary antagonism between the two. Circumstances may furnish the occasion for concentrating the attack upon Christianity, because scepticism, animated by an ever active spirit, seizes upon any supposed advantage, but these are accidents which find their sustaining power in the intrinsic hostility between truth and error. It may, therefore, at different times and from special motives assume different forms, whilst its spirit remains the same, and thus scepticism presents some singular contrasts in its development and history.

No thoughtful observer can fail to see the direction in which scepticism for the present is moving. For a long period it was confined to purely rational grounds, and boasted that the development of mind, and the advancement of philosophic thinking must either reject out-right the doctrinal statements of Scripture as opposed to reason and to the consciousness of man, or must tone these down to the demands of reason; therefore, as an obvious inference from this, the supernatural events of the Bible in attestation of the doctrinal statements, are unworthy of credence. The objection reduced to its simplest form is: Miracles must be rejected, because they stand in connection with irrational statements. It would be a sufficient reply to this position to say, that the doctrinal statements of

the Scriptures are not hostile to the pure *intuitions* of reason, though they may be so to the *reasoning* of men in consequence of the disturbance which sin introduces into human speculation.

The objection to Christianity, however, has taken a different form. Scepticism would accept the doctrinal statements of Scripture as truthful and in harmony with the laws and the demands of the soul, but from their adaptation to the spiritual nature of man, is drawn the inference that the miraculous events with which they are connected are mere fabrications of the imagination ; that what commands an assent by its intrinsic truthfulness and its adaptation to our deepest spiritual aspirations, needs not the help of miracles to recommend it. The tacit assumption here is, that these doctrines are developed out of the human mind, and the inference, then, would be that the scriptural narrative, so far as it pretends to the miraculous, must be rejected as a needless appendage. It might not be impertinent to inquire of those who hold to this view, why some of the best* minds reject the essential doctrines of the Bible.

But the tendency now is to set aside the supernatural in religion on scientific grounds without regard to the question, whether the doctrines of the Bible are in harmony with reason or not. Miracles are a violation of the uniform and invariable order of nature, acting through universal and inflexible law, and therefore whatever implies a contradiction or suspension of this uniformity, must be rejected for scientific reasons. The investigations of physical science, it is said, preclude the possibility of miracles ; there is no room for them ; nature indicates no provision for such events. On the contrary she sternly denies them a home within her domain. The advocates of this attack upon Christianity boast a higher philosophic culture, and a more scientific analysis. These are claimed as unfriendly to the miraculous in the Christian religion, and whatever is now incapable of solution on scientific grounds, is either rejected as mythical or fictitious, or it is confidently pretended will be solved, since the progress of the past in this direction is prophetic of the future.†

Scientific scepticism, then, rejects the scriptural narrative and miracles as unworthy of credibility. Can it still hold on

* Minds of the very highest order intellectually have found serious difficulties in accepting Christianity. It would be a natural supposition that if Christianity had been developed out of the human mind, or were something which ever could have been so developed, the best minds would with unanimity group around it as its friends and defenders. But is every great intellect a champion of Christianity ?

† Recent Inquiries in Theology, etc., p. 122-3, Am. Ed.

to the doctrines of Christianity? or does the rejection of the one of necessity lead to that of the other? It may be claimed, indeed the claim is put forth, that the Christian revelation stands independent of miracles, and therefore, that these may be denied without affecting its doctrines.* But, as has well been remarked, miracles are not merely *external accessories* of Christianity, but constitutive of it;† and, therefore, if denied, we must submit to the denial of Christianity itself. For we are not concerned with any *possible* means by which the truths of revelation might have been introduced to the attention of man, but with the *actual* means by which the Bible declares they were made known. Christ, therefore, stands before us as doing works of a miraculous character, and claims for these a divine power, and appeals to them as proofs of a divine mission. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in Him." (John x. 37, 38.) "That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power upon earth to forgive sins, (then saith he to the sick of the palsy,) arise, take up thy bed and go unto thine house." (Matt. ix. 6.) Thus also Christ's apostles wrought similar works, and declared that they did so in his name. "By the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole." (Acts iv. 10.) If now neither Christ nor his apostles did these works by divine power, though claiming that they were so done, and if they were wrought by human skill, whilst it was pretended they were divine works, what must the inference be as to their truthfulness in other matters? If they imposed upon men in respect of the works which they did, how can they be regarded trustworthy in respect of the doctrines which they taught? For are not the miracles of Christ and his apostles so inwrought with the Christian religion, so "constitutive an element of revelation," that to deny these is in truth to deny the teachings of the Bible? How, for example, can we reject the fact of Christ's resurrection, without also rejecting the doctrines which grow out of that fact, and must stand or fall with it? "If Christ be not raised, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." (1 Cor. xv. 17, etc.) Then

* Recent Inquiries, etc., p. 106.

† See Mansel's Essay on Miracles in "Aids to Faith," pp. 9-12, where the substance of this paragraph is more fully stated, and where in foot-notes he quotes from Rothe in "Studien a Kritiken," 1858, p. 23—"Miracles and Prophecies are not *adjuncts appended from without* to a revelation in itself independent of them, but *constitutive elements* of the revelation itself."

Christ was not the person he claimed to be. (Matt. xvi. 21 ; xvii. 22, 23.) Then the apostles are "false witnesses of God," and their testimony, therefore, can have no authority. And thus by suffering the moral character of the teachers to be impaired, if the miraculous events of the Bible be derived from the doctrines with which they stand connected, we virtually deal the death-blow to the things taught and witnessed.

The essential truth of miracles, then, as evidences of a supernatural revelation, must not be abated by the advocates of Christianity ; for it is the *fact* of such truth, of which scientific scepticism is not unmindful, that prompts the bold attack upon Christianity, by denying the *possibility* of miracles,—such a possibility as cannot be established on scientific principles. As events in a sphere of existence, where all physical phenomena are thought to be traceable by invariable laws to natural causes, they are incapable of such demonstrations as that on which we accept any fact purely natural, such as the motion of the planets, the results of chemical combination, or the phenomena of electricity. Miracles are to be denied, because no scientific proof can be adduced in their favor ; because they contradict the results of physical research as deduced from the uniformity of nature and the inflexibility of natural law.* It is plain, then, if miracles are to be rejected, because they are not susceptible of proof, such as we have in favor of events in nature, the whole question must be yielded ; for no one holds that miracles occur in accordance with such an exact and uniform law as that by which the physical world unfolds itself, so that they may be reduced to a scientific basis. But would such an admission—that miracles are not traceable to natural causes, and therefore are not susceptible of proof as phenomena of nature are,—justify the inference that they are causeless, as if any one held to such a thing ? † Do we not in the physical world accept multitudes of facts without being able to assign their causes, or to trace the particular law by which they are governed ? Why ? Because, as Butler says, having found that the cause of nature in some respects and to a certain degree is in accordance with general laws, we may infer the same of the rest. ‡ It is, therefore, not neces-

* Recent Inquiries, etc. "The particular case of miracles is one specially bearing on purely *physical* contemplations, and on which no general moral principles, no common rules of evidence, or logical technicalities, can enable us to form a correct judgment," p. 150, c. 119. "The essential question of miracles stands quite apart from any consideration of *testimony*," p. 159.

† Yet Mr. Baden Powell in "Recent Inquiries," &c., affirms that "miracles in the old theological sense," are "isolated, unrelated, and uncaused" events, p. 160.

‡ Analogy, Pt. 2, c. 4.

sary to the credibility of a physical fact that the exact cause should be known. How, then, can we know whether the cause of a particular event be natural or supernatural? But if no natural cause can be assigned, as is the case of miracles, does it, therefore, follow that the event is causeless? On the contrary the advocates of Christian miracles claim for them a special divine interposition: a cause as grand and impressive as that which created the world *de nihilo*; and therefore he denies the pertinency of the reasoning which objects to the credibility of miraculous events, because no natural antecedents can be traced.

Now the objection so far from being valid, furnishes an argument in favor of their credibility, viz., because they are *not* natural events, therefore, they demand an antecedent outside of physical causation, and hence the evidence for their proof cannot in the nature of things be such as we have and demand for ordinary phenomena in the material world. They have not, and no one claims for them a scientific basis, simply because they are not within the sphere of nature.

The objection to the possibility of miracles takes a two-fold form: either as founded on the results of scientific investigations, or as founded on the general experience of men. As regards the first, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature as developed under the test of science, and according to which no provision is made for anything so incredible as a supernatural event. In the other case, a miracle is a violation of our experience as respects the uniformity of these laws. When, therefore, Christ and his apostles declared their works to be miracles, they either acted the part of imposters—which is not the ground of objection to miracles at the present time—or they employed a superior knowledge of the laws of nature, so as to produce effects which have a semblance of the supernatural, but which under the ordeal of a truer and broader scientific investigation will deploy into light, and be admitted as natural results from natural causes.* Thus, for example, by an inhabitant of the tropics, who had no knowledge of the laws of congelation, the conversion of a fluid into a solid, might be thought a supernatural phenomenon, but the advance of scientific knowledge in his case would soon convert this seemingly miraculous fact into a result of natural law. In like manner meteoric phenomena or any unusual event in the natural world, because their causes have not yet been discovered, or their laws traced by which they occur, might be

* Recent Inquiries, p. 123.

viewed as falling within the sphere of the supernatural ; but in all such cases which are the result of established law as distinct from personal agency, the development of science will reduce the number of supposed miraculous or supernatural occurrences to natural phenomena. For whatever is strictly within the domain of nature will be settled on a scientific basis.

But let us apply the force of this reasoning to the supernatural events of the New Testament, and see what must be the unavoidable inference drawn from it. Christ and his apostles wrought strange works. This all admit, at least these events stand in intimate connection with their lives, and unless, as is the case with the "Tübingen School," we reject everything as unhistoric which will not stand the test of their canons of criticism, are deemed upon any fair trial well authenticated. These works are held by the Christian mind to be miraculous, achieved by the direct interposition of God. By others, however, they are regarded, if facts at all, as natural phenomena, owing their origin in some way to natural causes, and therefore explicable on grounds of natural causation, because it is maintained that "the inevitable progress of research must, within a longer or shorter period, unravel all that seems most marvelous"* in these works of Christ and his apostles.

Now either those who wrought these assumed miraculous works were in possession of vastly greater knowledge than their contemporaries, and were, therefore, able to control the forces of nature in such a manner as to produce results which seemed to the beholders miraculous, or as they affirm they performed these works as the specially appointed agents of God. But is it not a greater improbability to suppose that Christ and his apostles possessed in the infancy of scientific research such knowledge, and with this could do what cannot now be achieved with all the light of modern investigation, vast as that light is, than, that Jesus of Nazareth and his apostles wrought miracles by a divine power? For whence their knowledge of the laws and forces of nature? Were they recognized as *savans*? Was the age one of such advancement in physical research that they might be regarded as the legitimate culmination of a fruitful scientific development of mind, completing what had for a long series of years been in progress? But so far as we know anything in respect of Christ and his apostles, they stood in no such relation, and the works which they did were due not to superior

* Recent Inquiries, etc., p. 123.

knowledge or control of natural forces, but were claimed to be wrought by a direct power from God. If it be said that Christ and his apostles would insist upon supernatural power as more favorable to the establishment of a new religion than superior control of natural forces would be, then it is incumbent on those who take such ground to prove that they had such knowledge, and that the works came within the range of natural causation. But it may well be asked: Has the boasted advance of physical research because of an approximation to a solution diminished in any degree our belief in the supernatural events of the Bible? Have we by any knowledge of causation found out one or more causes, which by possibility might be assumed as a basis even for accounting for these events? And would not the probability be increased in proportion to the greater number of unknown causes? Yet each step as we advance in our researches—as the unknown in the clear light of science passes into the known—compels us to reject the inference that the miraculous events of revelation may be accounted for on principles of natural causation, because as the agencies which are discovered are found inadequate to such results, the probability diminishes as scientific investigation is circumscribing the sphere of the unknown, that any will be found.

What, then, becomes of the inevitable progress of research? Science recoils in her efforts to solve the miraculous events of the Bible on principles of natural law. For from the day that Christ converted water into wine until the present time, has science ever intimated that she has unravelled principles, detected secret forces in the arcana of nature, which would lead us to infer that the events were secured by natural means? or by their peculiar combination? or by the greater skill and knowledge with which Jesus of Nazareth wrought? But until this is done it will hardly be expected that the advocates of the Christian miracles will accept as admissible the assumption that some two thousand years ago the son of Mary and Joseph, or that obscure fishermen of Galilee, could so control the forces of nature as to secure the results which are attributed to them.

The supernatural events, then, of the Bible cannot be solved on scientific grounds. Still it is denied that miracles are susceptible of proof, because "a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature;" and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from ex-

perience can possibly be imagined.* And physical science insists that so far as it is conversant with the facts and laws of nature, there is no room for the admission of a miracle as a possible event, since its conception of law is such as forbids the possibility of interruption, so as to secure results which could not be brought about in the ordinary course of nature.†

It will be needful at this point to inquire into the meaning of terms *nature* and *law*. By *nature* we understand the present system of natural and spiritual things, as is implied by the term *natural* from its etymology, *nasci*, to be born, to come into being, and therefore signifies the created universe both natural and spiritual. By a *law of nature* we mean that constitution or principle in accordance with which natural phenomena take place, and this implies an established course of things from which there is no deviation. The phrase, *laws of nature*, therefore, expresses the uniformity of physical phenomena so far as these have fallen under the observation of man and is therefore a generalized statement of his experience with reference to such phenomena. Thus gravitation expresses the uniformities of natural events in regard to a common antecedent state, *i.e.*, bodies which are subject to a like condition of unconstraint will uniformly gravitate, and this uniformity the term *gravitation* enunciates. So electric and chemical affinity expresses the uniform harmonious relation of certain physical objects. Now a miracle is an event which *does not* occur in accordance with a law of nature, *cannot* be produced by any power of nature alone, and *is not* connected with a natural antecedent as its sole cause; but on the contrary, a miracle is an event which is produced by the interposition of a new antecedent outside of natural causation, and which is a violation of some existing law or laws, of nature, as the change of water into wine, where the law by which water remains water, and is incapable of being anything else within the sphere of nature, gives way to an entirely new law.‡

* Hume's Phil. Works, Vol. III. p. 183.

† "If we could have any such evidence from nature [Deity working miracles,] it could only prove extraordinary *natural* effects, which would not be *miracles* in the old theological sense, as isolated, unrelated, and uncaused." *Recent Inquiries*, etc., p. 160.

‡ "The change of water into wine, by an instantaneous process, certainly is not the result of the original constitution of things in the physical world. . . . Nature . . . produces wine by the process of growth and fermentation. Now, [*i.e.* by miraculous interposition,] she produces it directly without this mediate process. . . . Is there any contradiction here of the former method? . . . Are not the laws and processes of nature still in force? Are

The terms nature and law, however, have been used in a wide and somewhat different sense. The *latter* as evinced in the phenomenal world, is an expression of will, and is properly speaking nothing more than the will of God. What we call law is only a convenient mode of expressing our experience of the uniformity of certain events ; but in reality whatever takes place in nature is the direct and immediate result of will.* The term *nature* has been employed as including not only what is actual in the constitution of things, but also what is potential—what is brought about by natural causation, as well as what can be secured by divine inworking.† According to this view of nature, a miracle is as natural as any event in the series of physical antecedents and consequents, and is therefore no exception to the order and harmony of the universe. For the phenomena which come under our observation are the manifestation and the realization of the ideal according to which God planned the world, and all that takes place is in consonance with the ideal constitution of things, so that the distinction between the natural and the supernatural disappears, and when anything is said to be contrary to the course of things, it is so with regard to the usual manifestation of nature, but not in contravention of the original constitution which God has given it. The ideal and divine conception of the world includes within itself both what occurs by natural causation, and also what does so by divine inworking, whilst the ordinary events of every-day occurrence owe their origin to natural causation alone. The former was called the receptive power of nature, *potentia receptiva*, the latter the active power of nature, *potentia activa*.

not vines still bearing fruit, and grapes still yield wine, just as ever?"—*Bib. Sac.* 1862, p. 339.

The relevancy of this reasoning to the question in dispute is inadmissible, since it assumes what has never been affirmed, viz., that the violation of law in the conversion of water into wine, is so total and universal a setting aside of the natural process by which wine is made as no longer to be produced in that way. Hence the exultant inquiry, "Are not vines still bearing fruit and grapes still yielding wine, just as ever?" Those who hold that a miracle is in violation of the laws of nature maintain that it is so *with reference to a particular case*, and not that these laws are universally suspended. If Jesus of Nazareth convert water into wine, is it necessary, on the supposition that a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature, to infer, therefore, that nowhere the ordinary process of making wine exists any longer? The changing of water into wine in Cana of Galilee by miraculous power in contravention of natural agencies, no more carries with it the inference that elsewhere the process of growth and fermentation has been set aside in the production of wine than the interruption of gravitation necessarily interferes with every other natural law.

* Trench on Miracles.

† Neander's Ch. Hist. Vol. VIII, pp. 158, etc., Eng. Edition.

In this way results could be secured by the inworking of God's power in nature, which could not be accomplished by the forces of nature alone. God develops out of nature without infringement of her laws what was not originally implanted in nature, and it is to this divine inworking that the supernatural events are to be referred, which are beyond and above nature rather than contrary to it, beyond and above it in the restricted sense. Thus the objection against miracles, viz., that they are impossible, because in violation of the course of nature, is thought to be met. They contradict the manifestation of nature of which we are daily cognizant, but not that higher nature which God unfolds by his power as the demands of the universe require. Nature is thus amplified and expanded as the means through which God accomplishes what otherwise she is inadequate to without such divine inworking.

There is a sense in which this scholastic view of nature and of miracles is correct. God works in and through nature in the production of miracles, yet the cause of any supernatural event is not something which lies potentially within nature, and only needs the impetus of divine assistance to accomplish its end, but is a power from without acting in and upon nature, controlling it absolutely, and subjecting the merely natural to the supernatural, setting aside the ordinary course of things, and introducing new agents for special purposes. If, however, under the term nature we include all which divine power is able to bring about by special inworking as well as what takes place from merely physical causes, then it is clear that a miracle is an event entirely within the domain of nature, and is above it or beyond it only relatively to our narrow conception, which confines the true *nature* to physical phenomena, to the series of physical antecedents and consequents. Such is certainly a latitudinarian use of the term. But if nothing more is intended than that miracles are part of God's plan of governing the world, and that he made provision for them as he did for the common events of nature, then no objection could be made to such a view, though it is manifestly as improper to call *that* nature as it would be to call his providence, or the scheme of redemption, or the conversion of a sinner, nature.

Much more unwarrantable, however, is the use of the word nature in such an extended sense as to include the entire existence of things and of beings, created and uncreated. * No

* "The Highest of all Powers, of whose mighty agency the universe which sprung from it, affords evidence so magnificent, has surely not ceased to be *one of the powers of nature*, because every other power is exercised only in delegated

event according to such a view can take place which has not for its antecedent a natural cause, since nature is all comprehensive and all inclusive, and a miracle is neither supernatural nor contrary to nature, but only extraordinary as fulfilling a special purpose. But how shall this special purpose—witnessing to a divine revelation—attract man's attention, unless the event be so signally in opposition to all previous experience as to stamp it as a violation of the laws of nature ?*

It has been objected to the definition of a miracle as a violation of the course of things, that the only case in which such violation could take place, would be when the principle of cause and effect is interrupted.† It is manifest, if from causes which are in all respects alike effects be developed which are unlike, we should from our previous experience admit that in such a case the law of sequence had been disturbed. But do the advocates of the Christian miracles claim as essential to their definition of a miracle that the principle of cause and effect should be violated? Do they admit that the antecedent being the same, there may be an irregularity in the sequences? They affirm as stoutly as any do that every effect must not only have a cause, but that every cause, in like circumstances, must produce a like effect. They deny the possibility of miracles, if by violation be meant the irregular connection between cause and effect. For it is equally absurd that the effect should follow irregularly, as that an effect should take place without a cause. No such abnormal action is found in nature. But what they affirm is, that in the case of miracles the different effect is produced by a new antecedent, is an interruption of, a deviation from, or violation of some existing law of nature. It is, therefore, erroneous, as some have maintained,‡ that the only case in which the laws of nature can be supposed to be violated, is when the antecedents being exactly the same, a different consequent results. All, however, that is implied by those who hold to the definition of a miracle as a violation of the course of nature, is that by a direct power of God, either a cause, which in the ordinary course of things would be followed by a uniform consequent, is set aside, and a new cause is introduced by which the same

and feeble subordination to his omnipotence. He is the *greatest of all the powers of nature.*”—*Brown on Cause and Effect*, note E. p. 225, Andover Edition.

* Taylor's Moral Government, Vol. II, pp. 390, &c.

† Brown on Cause and Effect; Note E. p. 221.

‡ Brown on Cause and Effect; Mansel's Essay in Aids to Faith; Neander's Ch. Hist., Vol. VII., p. 158, &c., have insisted upon this as the only possible instance in which law can be violated.

effect follows, as the miraculous conception and birth of Christ; or a cause in a particular case is made to cease entirely, and an effect produced, which nature is incompetent to, as the raising of Lazarus from the dead; and therefore the only question is, is such a mode of procedure, such an event, a violation of the uniform order of things?

Let us for the sake of a test lay by the side of this definition a single fact of Scripture. Take the raising of Lazarus from the dead. It is a law of nature, so far as the experience of men goes—and the case of Lazarus is not considered as disturbing that experience, both because it is specially provided for, and because we may always as to time transfer our experience back of this anomalous one—that if a man die, he remains in that state: there is nothing in such a condition out of which by any force of nature he can ever come to life again. Jesus of Nazareth speaks the word, Lazarus comes forth from his grave, life ever more reigns in his corporeal nature. If, now, the law of death be not interrupted, violated, what, it may be asked, becomes of the law that held Lazarus under death? Does it still exist as before? Can the law of death in his case continue, and yet he be alive? Can these two laws co-exist in the same person, and at the same time? Would not such a statement be self-contradictory and absurd? Can a thing be and not be at the same time? In a figurative sense, and with reference to different aspects of man's nature, we may indeed affirm of men that they are dead whilst yet alive, (Rom. xvi: 11. Col. iii: 3,) but not as respects the same thing in man. He may be spiritually dead and corporeally alive at the same moment, but not corporeally dead and corporeally alive at the same time. Is, then, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, an event outside of the range of mere nature, not a violation of a law, since it is broken off, and does not act again until Lazarus passes under the power of death a second time?

It is said, however, that such a view of miracles furnishes ground for a strong, if not an insuperable objection against them; that the entire force of the sceptic's argument, both that of Spinoza and Hume, as well as that which is drawn from modern scientific and physical investigation, lies at this point;* so that the only way in which the objection can be successfully met, is by correcting the definition of a miracle.

The evidence for the uniformity of nature, says Hume, is

* Brown on Cause and Effect, Note 2, p. 220: Nature and Supernatural, p. 338.

as complete as anything can be imagined,* and therefore to affirm that in certain cases this uniformity has been waived, is such a shock to the belief of mankind as to interpose an insuperable barrier to its reception. Yet stranger is the objection as put by Spinoza. Its force lies not in the amount of evidence for the uniform cause of things, but in his conception of God and nature. The laws of nature are God's chosen mode of acting, and therefore he cannot act in any other way; they are the expressions of his will, unchangeable, and therefore not susceptible of interruption; they are so perfect and so comprehensive as to be adequate to all his plans, and therefore are not subject to interference or revision. Nature and God are such a unit in his conception, God is so limited to his decreed mode of action, that a miracle, which implies something different from the settled order of things, is impossible, either, first, because it would argue God's changeableness, or secondly, because it would imply disorder, both of which would be contrary to Spinoza's idea of God and nature. A miracle, therefore, as a violation of the uniformity of nature, is inadmissible, since God who is bound by a necessity to his chosen ways of action, cannot vary the "*leges et regulae naturae*," which are the "*ipsa Dei decreta*."

Now this objection is sought to be obviated by substituting a truer definition. A miracle is not a violation of the laws of nature, nor does it imply disorder, but only a subordination of natural laws to ulterior ends. God's government of the natural and the moral world is perfectly harmonious. No part inflicts injury on the other, but the lower is made subject to the higher. By thus preserving the harmony of the universe and the uniformity of nature, a miracle is an event as readily admissible as any occurrence which manifestly subjects a lower force to a higher one.† Thus, it is said, if we raise the hand a result is produced by subjecting the law of gravity to the power of will and muscle, but the law of gravitation is not violated or discontinued.‡

If now this example is chosen by those who deny that miracles are a violation of nature as an exact illustration of their view of the manner in which miracles affect the cause of nature, it is signally infelicitous, since it makes them common events, deprives them of all special marks of power, and puts them within the reach of human ability. We submit, therefore, whether such a view of miracles has a tendency to im-

* Phil. Works, Vol. III, p. 183.

† Trench on Miracles, p. 20.

‡ Nature and Supernatural, p. 338.

press us with their transcendent power and significance. Besides, the fallacy of such a conception of miracles lies in the fact, that no distinction is made between a state or condition in which a *tendency to the contrary can not exist*, and a state or condition in which such a *tendency does exist*. In a state of death, for example, there is no tendency to resurrection. If life be communicated to a dead body it must be by a direct interposition of God, as absolutely as at the creation of the world. But in any temporary overcoming of the law of gravitation nothing of the kind occurs. The law still acts, is a living, vital force, and the moment the counter-force is withdrawn the law becomes apparent again.

The objection, however, which is made to miracles on scientific grounds lies equally against miracles regarded as an interposition, as against miracles regarded as a violation of law.* If a single law of nature according to the data of science be inviolable, *a fortiori* that invariable order of the universe which is in accordance with law. If law be so absolute and inflexible as to be beyond any power to vary it, how much more that vast and interdependent physical system, which is the expression of law, since it is assumed that the highest conception which we can have of Deity, is God working according to law, and therefore he is bound by a necessity as absolute as law is rigid.† The scientific reasoner maintains that the phenomena of the physical world must have natural antecedents, must be a necessary part of the series of material agents which are at work, and that nothing can come out of nature which is not in nature; as Spinoza says: “Quod ex iisdem [legibus naturæ] non sequitur.

There is, then, no room for any variation of the order and constitution of things, and thus miracles defined as an interposition, *i e.*, as the introduction of a new antecedent outside of natural causation, are as inadmissible on scientific grounds as violation is, because the wedging in of causes other than natural agents would be as hostile to the harmony of the physical universe as the interruption of any of her laws would be.

* Those who define a miracle as an *interposition in nature*, mean by this that a new antecedent is introduced by which the miracle is produced, but that this antecedent *does not* disturb the order of nature, whilst those who hold to miracles as a *violation of natural law*, admit the fact of a new antecedent, but maintain also that this antecedent *does* infringe on nature's harmony. Both are agreed as to miracles being an interposition of God, but differ as to its influence on the natural universe.

† This would be a natural and obvious inference, not only from the position which Spinoza occupies, but is the basis of the entire reasoning of Baden Powell against miracles. These imply change or interruption of that order which everywhere meets us as the exponent of Deity.

No modification, then, of the present order of things is possible without disturbing the "series of eternally impressed consequences;" for the forces of nature are so mutually related and interlaced as to make such an event impossible,* because either the whole universe must be disturbed, or a series of miracles must be wrought co-extensive with nature and indefinite duration.†

From this it will be seen how much is gained by defining miracles as an interposition rather than a violation of the uniformity of nature. The question still comes back: what is interposition? How does it affect the physical universe? Does it imply a disturbance of the present constitution of things? or is it by previous arrangement of natural agents provided for, so that it occurs without violation of the uniformity of physical order? And yet interposition cannot be dependent upon natural antecedents, for this would be the same thing as if it was classed with the series of physical phenomena, and therefore no longer an interposition of special significance, as though springing from a cause *extra naturam*.

So far as the naked question of physical causation is considered, it is true we cannot conceive of a disturbance in antecedents without admitting an entire change in the consequents. Thus we may select any natural phenomenon, and by supposition put it under new conditions, as the position of a pebble on the sea-shore, which has been determined wholly by physical causes.‡ If now we suppose this pebble removed some feet inland or seaward, we must also admit a different state in the antecedent causes by which it was placed where it is, and thus the series of physical phenomena must have been other than they were. As, however, physical nature subsists together in definite relations, and any modification of the present order of things must introduce disorder into the whole, since in view of the accurate adjustment of the material universe, if from one of the outer-planets a particle of matter should be taken and carried to one of the inner-planets, a definite though inappreciable disturbance must be introduced, and in the ages to come, were there no power exerted to counteract the disorder, the planets would come into collision, and a universal destruction must follow; therefore, the inference

* Recent Inquiries, etc. p. 150.

† This must be accepted as an unavoidable inference from the cosmical reasoner's position that law is inviolable. But in the supposition that it is violable, then we need continuous miraculous interposition to meet such an emergency as would be induced by the first violation of nature's harmony.

‡ Bowen's Principles of Metaphysical and Ethical Science, p. 98. Quoted and translated from Fichté.

is drawn that a miracle as an interruption of the order of nature is inadmissible as a possible event. Such an inference, it is conceded, would be legitimate on the supposition that nature is under the control of Fate, and that in obedience to inflexible law, "she casts up from her dark abyss only eternal transformations of herself."* But the question assumes quite a different form when a new factor is admitted. Substitute for Fate intelligent Being, and for inflexible law, free-will, and is it not demonstrable that the series of physical antecedents and consequents could have been interrupted at any point without the necessity of a change in the anterior material agents? And, if so, are the advocates of physical science prepared to say that such interruption by a free moral agent, as distinct from a material agent, stands in as rigid connection with physical causes as if accomplished through material agency? For example, the pebble if placed in some other spot than that in which it now is, would if governed wholly by material agents compel us to infer a different state of things from that by which it is placed where it now lies; but would such an inference follow if we assign as the immediate antecedent cause of the pebble's removal inland or otherwise the agency of man? And if so does he not become a link in the series of physical causation as absolutely bound by forces and laws beyond which he cannot act as the material agents are? But such a view can leave us no room for moral agency, and therefore the acts of man as well as the phenomena of material nature are governed by inflexible physical law. Against an absurdity, however, as gross as this, viz.: that man's acts are connected with a series of physical antecedents precisely as a link of physical causation is, with its antecedents, the common sense of mankind rebels. At all events, physical research cannot demonstrate this to be the fact, and until it be established upon such a basis, even the advocates of physical science are compelled to reject it, however well such an assumption might favor their objections against the Christian miracles.

Meantime all except "highly cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects," persist in denying that man is in any sense an agent subject to physical law as material agents are, and therefore maintain that whilst within the domain of physical nature the most rigid law and sequence is observed, yet because man as a free agent does not come under such necessary control as material agents do, he may at any time interfere

* Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics*, p. 29, quoted from Jacobi.

with and disturb the series of natural antecedents and consequents, and thus secure results which would not be secured, if left to the action of natural causation.

Those, therefore, who deny that any of the forces of nature are susceptible of disturbance, forget that by voluntary agency such disturbance is constantly taking place. If only law and matter are to be dealt with and mind be eliminated from the universe, then no such infringement on nature were possible. But once admit mind as an element into the question, and its whole *status* is changed, and that which seems, and for ought we know is an impossibility, looking at it from the point of inflexible law, becomes not only possible, but actual. For are there not effects produced by the agency of man which would not occur by any of the laws of nature, independent of such agency? From the mouth of a Parrott gun a projectile is sent into the air, and though as soon as it leaves the cannon's mouth, it is subjected to and governed by the laws of nature, such as gravitation, atmospheric resistance, etc., is it not clear that the projection itself is not the result of these, nor indeed of any natural law, but purely of a cause which the agency of man has created? Here, then, is an event which has no involuntary physical cause as its sole antecedent, but is produced by a cause outside of the order of natural agents. Here, too, is a disturbance of the physical constitution, an interruption of the "series of eternally impressed consequences," without prejudice to the general order and harmony which nature presents.

It must be clear, then, that physical phenomena may and do occur which owe their origin partly to the agency of man, others which are wholly dependant upon such agency. Either the flexibility of law and the violability of nature in some form must be conceded, or the agency of man must be classed as a member of the series of natural phenomena.* The former, if we conceive of law, as the cosmical reasoner does, should seem to involve some serious obstacles, whilst the latter, unless we be willing to yield all that is worth contending for in religion, is wholly inadmissible. For what is revelation and the evidence for it worth, or of what use can these be, if man, like material nature, be governed by forces and laws, over which he has no control? Consciousness testifies to man's freedom, experience teaches that within a certain limit he is master of law, and not merely the servant of it. But if it once be ad-

* Thus Fichté, as quoted in Bowen's *Principles of Metaphysical and Ethical Science*, p. 99: "I myself with all that I call mine, am but a link in this chain of rigid natural necessity."

mitted that human agency can in a measure control and modify the ordinary course of things, we are furnished with an exercise of power, analogous to that which may be supposed to take place in the production of supernatural events, ascending from the finite efficient will to the Infinite First Cause.*

Nor do the advocates of the Christian miracles admit what is either asserted or implied by cosmical reasoners, that God is limited in his activity to the laws of nature which he has chosen for the government of the physical universe. There are other modes of the divine activity besides that which we see in physical nature. Her laws are adequate to all the ends for which they were ordained. They neither exceed their aim nor fall short. They need no revision or re-adjustment. They are perfect. But they do not limit God's power of working in other respects, as that, for example, which is exercised in the realm of spiritual life and existence. Whether the advocates of scientific research are prepared to admit the spiritual world as distinct from the material, and therefore under a system of laws different from those which govern the physical universe, or whether all may be classified under the head of natural, the whole theory of religion implies something other than mere nature, and that material law is not an exhaustive expression of the divine mind. "Doing all things after the counsel of his own will," are words which find their significance and their fulfillment not in nature, but in the supernatural. The Christian consciousness is settled in the conviction that God manifests himself in other ways than in physical nature. Nor does divine interposition argue any change in God, since miracles may be assumed as provided for, and are part of his comprehensive plan of working. They are not natural, but supernatural occurrences. Their peculiarity consists in the fact that they for the attainment of higher ends contravene the ordinary course of things. The disorder which may be supposed as following from such violent interference is counteracted. For he who created all things and made them subject to his will, and placed the physical and the moral universe under a system of laws, has the power to waive his methods in the natural world, if the demands of the moral world require it. And who can say that God has not thus

* It must not be inferred, however, that man's agency, so far as it may be supposed to act upon nature, is in any sense miraculous. It is only analogous to that power which operates in the production of miracles in so far as results are secured which do not depend upon natural causes for their existence, and therefore affords a sufficient answer to those who deny the possibility of miracles on scientific grounds, because it is maintained that all phenomena owe their origin to natural agents.

chosen to violate the laws of physical nature, in order that he might impress more signally upon man's mind his miraculous interposition?* Would not something as stupendous as the miracles of the Scriptures be necessary to attest a divine revelation, since its magnitude transcends all difficulties which the violation of natural law seems to present?

It would be well for those who, from the uniformity of nature, argue the impossibility of miracles, because such an event contravenes her laws, to consider the power or capacity of nature, to be interrupted without destroying her constancy in the main, or without introducing the disorder and ruin which should seem inevitable. This power or capacity of nature, either of contraction or expansion, is a wise provision to meet emergencies. One thing stands over against another, one law counteracts the tendency of another law. In chemical operations we observe affinities and repellances, forces which attract and cause particles of matter to cohere, and forces which repel and cause these to separate. Matter, therefore, subjected to the laws and forces of affinity alone would become immovably knit together, and if only the laws and forces of repulsion act upon it, *these* would rend the particles apart, so that a plant which needs for its vitality that sap should ascend from the roots to all the branches, would, if the forces of expansion and capillary attraction were abstracted, be without the means of life, because the forces of affinity must bind the particles into a solid mass. In like manner the atmosphere, if under the laws of expansion alone, would become too diffuse for the present arrangement of animal and vegetable life, but in opposition to this tendency to separation is found the law of compression,—elasticity and gravitation complementing each other, so as mutually to repel the injury which the other singly would induce. The same holds true of the laws which govern the heavenly bodies, and which give to them their uniform motion. Yet within this uniformity is discovered an irregularity. For example, the moon's orbit was found to be slightly diminishing, and the obvious inference was, that at some future period it must fall to the earth. But this contraction was discovered to occur in cycles, and that by forces in nature of which little is known, this diminution is counteracted,

*A careful distinction must be drawn between God's violation of the laws of nature by miraculous interposition, and his contradicting himself. These are confounded by the sceptic. He imagines, if miracles contravene the order of nature, that God must, therefore, be changeable; whereas these are events developing under a plan which includes them, and which were decreed as part of his comprehensive manner of working. Gen. vi: 6; 1 Sam. xv: 10, would argue the same by parity of reasoning.

and enlargement of the orbit takes place after contraction has gone on for a time.

All through nature we discover in some form this principle of compensation. The loss in one direction is met in another. The generation of heat stands related to that of cold. The earth in different localities is subjected to various degrees of temperature. Too much heat in one section will, if allowed freedom to diffuse itself, invite a surplus of cold from another. The intense heat at the equator and in the tropics expands, and in connection with the earth's rotation gives place to the intense cold at the poles and in arctic regions. The drought which comes upon the land, and for a time defeats the toil of the husbandman, contracting full-swelling rivers on which commerce holds sway into mere threads of water, and silencing the voice and hum of industry, is compensated in the earth's freer absorption of carbonic gas, which is as essential to productiveness as heat and moisture are.

Were it not for this capacity in nature of expansion and contraction, of diastole and systole, in a world of violence and disturbance from without in a thousand forms, we should find abnormal results as the rule and not the exception. But an inherent power surmounts these when confined within certain limits, and thus is accomplished what are classified as natural phenomena. The human system has vast elastic power in accommodating itself to climate, temperature, food, exposure, etc., which in one sense is natural, in another sense acquired capacity. It is said of the bee, that if transferred from a cold to a tropical climate, it ceases to build cells and to gather produce for the future. Powers of mind are repressed or enlarged by conditions of life, and of discipline, which secure for a deficiency in one direction, a compensation in another. And thus we shall find that nature in general reveals such a power, and that the principle of compensation is one of her grand and constant laws, by which she subserves the purposes of an intelligent Creator. In this way a free agent, acting independent of natural causes, can impinge upon what we regard the rigid and unalterable course of nature, without shocking her harmony, or plunging the universe into chaos.*

But also in nature is discovered what may be termed the principle of restoration. Provision is made by which in-

* Bib. Sac, Jan. 1863, Article, "The Law of nature's constancy subordinate to the Higher Law of change," where will be found many of the facts of this paragraph stated by one who is regarded authority in such matters — Dr. Hitchcock.

juries to a certain extent are repaired by an inherent power in the constitution of things ; as, for example, the bark of a tree, if it be torn, has the injury repaired by new formations ; or trees, if denuded of their foliage by destructive insects, clothe themselves anew with a vesture of leaves ; or the vine-dresser, if he lop off vigorous sprouts, others shoot forth to restore the waste. We trace the same law as regards the human system : wounds heal over, fractured bones knit together again, and in most cases the restoration is so complete, that the organs of the system perform their functions as regularly and as accurately as if no interruption had taken place. Sometimes violent contraction of the muscles occurs, so as to induce settled deformity, as when the head is powerfully deflected from its normal, erect position upon the spinal column. This difficulty may be obviated by severing the muscles of the neck which bind the head to a lateral position, and thus giving it freedom to assume its proper position. But how shall the head be controlled in obedience to the will, since the severed muscles are no longer capable of giving it motion ? In securing an erect and normal attitude to the head encroachments have been made upon other facts of the system, injuries inflicted. Note now, how the work of restoration is carried on. The muscles, after being cut and parted, exude at the several ends a fibrous substance which is converted into new formation, and thus a species of growth takes place, until the separated parts come together, and a new section is added to its length. More marked still is the formation of new blood-vessels in cases of flesh-wounds or surgical operations. Health and strength depend upon free and uninterrupted circulation to all parts of the system. How, then, where the veins and arteries have been severed, where incisions have healed over or new matter added ? How shall the blood which is forced into these interrupted channels get back again to the heart, since it cannot retrace its course through the same avenues by which it flows out ? Nature meets the emergency. The violence done to the venous and arterial systems is repaired by the formation of new channels, and blood is distributed through the super-added sections by what surgeons call *out-growth*. For example, from capillary blood-vessels passing by the edge of the new formation projections are formed, and in process of time these become canals through which the fluid is conveyed to those parts which are without a supply of blood. These projections spring from two determinate points in an imperfect arch, and work their way toward each other until they meet in the crown of the arch, and the par-

tition-wall which is formed at their junction being cleared away, a free channel is made for the blood to pass.*

By these examples which may be traced amidst the phenomena of the world around us, we see how an elastic power has been given to nature, by which she admits of expansion and contraction, and possesses an inherent capacity of repairing encroachments upon her harmony. Thus a concurrent development of nature in a series of physical events, and the development of nature in connection with free agency, where interference occurs without appreciable disturbance, may argue the admissibility of miracles on the ground that they, though in violation of natural laws, do not because of restoration disturb the harmony of nature as a whole. For if we can trace in the world of physical nature a capacity of accommodation to emergencies, it would be difficult to make out so strong an objection against the possibility of miracles on the ground of the inflexible uniformity of the course of things. Nor can it be argued that miraculous interposition should so disturb the grand order of the universe as to imperil its future stability, since as in numerous cases nature has a restoring and compensating capacity, so in the plenitude of His wisdom, whose plan and mode of working nature in part is, provision may be made that the interpositions which have occurred in connection with the introduction of [the Christian religion, should be met by a capacity of nature specially provided. From the fact, therefore, that within the sphere of nature is found a principle by which any temporary interruption is overcome, we may infer that the disorder which the working of a miracle might be supposed to create, would also be corrected, not by inherent forces of nature, but by a provision previously ordained. The event is supernatural, but so located in the plan of God, that it demands a divine interposing cause, and is defensible against the charge of an irregularity which must introduce chaos and ruin into the universe on the ground that here as in nature simply the principle of compensation and of restoration may stand in juxtaposition with the miracle itself. The analogy of nature would afford a sufficient basis for such a conclusion.

It is evident, then, that the claims of scientific scepticism cannot be admitted, and instead of being an insuperable objection to the Christian miracles, must itself contend with very formidable obstacles, such as have been pointed out.

* Paget's Surgical Pathology, pp. 146, etc.

For the miraculous events of the Bible are not susceptible of solution on scientific grounds, since neither Christ nor his apostles come before us as cosmical philosophers, nor has the advance in physical research approximated in the least to a solution, though its progress has been vast, and amidst a halo of light. Nor is it true as has been seen that natural law is so rigid and absolute as to admit of no variation in obedience to higher interests and the will of God. But on the contrary the phenomena of nature furnish a basis of reasoning, that instead of the disorder which is supposed must follow in the event of miracles, provision has been made for their occurrence without ruinous infringement upon the harmony of the universe. If now this view, which is warranted by the development of physical phenomena be a correct one, then it should seem clear to any mind capable of unbiased reasoning, that the evidence in favor of the Christian miracles—their possibility being conceded—is as complete and as overwhelming as in favor of any question entangled with so many apparent and real difficulties.

So far, then, from establishing, as physical science claims to be able to establish, that a miracle is an *impossibility*, a different conclusion should seem to be reached; for not only do phenomena in nature suggest their possibility, but the existence of a physical system in conjunction with a moral system in which personal agency is constantly disturbing in a degree the harmony of natural agents, points clearly in the same direction. The question, therefore, of their *actual existence* is affected by considerations of their *probability* in view of a divine revelation being made to man, and the amount and worthiness of direct personal testimony in their favor.

The objection to the Christian miracles is indeed a formidable objection, such as human testimony alone, be the actual degree whatever it may, cannot successfully meet. A miracle, argues Hume, taken by itself, is such an event, as cannot be established on human testimony alone. Its occurrence in the world, contrary to universal experience hitherto, is such a shock to the laws of human belief as to raise at once an insuperable presumption against the event unless we can offset this by some counter presumption. But *this* is what Hume is most careful to keep out of sight. He viewed a miracle as an event which shall be judged by naked human testimony. He supposed other considerations, without which mere personal witnesses are summoned in vain; for without an over-mastering purpose being assigned for which the miracle is wrought, it is a futile effort in arraying in detail the testimony either of one or of a score of witnesses.

We may, therefore, briefly examine the evidence in favor of the Christian miracles. The miracle or supernatural event may be expressed under the form of x , and the incredibility of such an occurrence, arising from the uniformity of nature, may be assumed as equal to y , then it follows that if x is to be proved as an actual event, the evidence in its favor, whatever that may be, must be a quantity transcending y . Let this be represented by z . Now it requires no great logical insight to see that x may be supposed to be affected in two ways: either, *first*, by a direct reduction of the value of y through human testimony, which is Hume's supposition, or, *secondly*, by an indirect disturbance of the value of y , in subjecting x to antecedent probability, which Hume is careful to suppress. If, then, we suppose that x , instead of being a neutral case, *i. e.*, having neither probability nor improbability for or against it, be subjected to antecedent probability, *this* is equivalent to a diminution of the value of y , which expresses the incredibility of the event.

Applying, now, this abstract reasoning to the case of the Christian miracles, and we may suppose them to be affected, either, *first*, by removing all antecedent presumption against them, which is the same as preparing the way for their reception on human testimony; or, *secondly*, by assigning a moral end of sufficient magnitude and worthiness, so as to make them not only suitable, but according to the demands of human belief. As regards the first, *viz.*: the presumption against miracles, *that* rests on the fact that a miraculous interposition is contrary to the known laws of nature as established by universal experience. There is, however, as Butler remarks, no presumption against some things, which if now transpiring we should call miraculous: none, for example, against the supposition that at the beginning of the world God made a revelation to man, since we do not know what the course of nature was when the world was peopled, and therefore cannot from this draw an inference against such an event.*

On the other hand there have been at different periods special divine interpositions, as the introduction of organic life upon the earth, after its existence for ages in an inorganic state, or the repeated introduction of new species of animals in the place of others that have disappeared, and finally the consummation of the present order of things in the introduction of man himself upon the theatre of life. Against any of these interpositions, which are established upon evidence

* Butler's Analogy, Pt. 2, c. 2.

beyond the possibility of doubt,* on the principles of cosmical reasoners, who maintain that nothing occurs in nature which has not for its antecedent a physical cause, the presumption would be as formidable as against miraculous interposition itself, since they have no antecedent in nature as their sole cause. Organic life does not spring from inorganic; new species, except in the theory of Darwin, do not come by natural causes, nor is the higher and the more perfect only a development of the lower and the less perfect, as has been maintained by Lamarck and the author of "Vestiges of Creation." Their existence by a divine interposition, as distinct from natural effects following from natural causes, is as absolute as the existence of matter by original creation, and thus is furnished a basis of belief that God may interfere in other respects should the universe demand such an interposition.† For who can say that in view of our total ignorance as to the causes on which the present course of nature depends, it may not have become necessary, in the space of five or six thousand years, that miraculous interpositions should take place.‡

But secondly, if we take into view the moral system of the world, we then may assign very particular reasons why such a divine interposition should occur, and why miracles are worthy of credibility.§ For surely man's need of a divine revelation is most crying; his moral darkness without it, is extreme and pitiable, his ignorance of God's purposes so total and complete, as to furnish a strong presumption in favor of such an event. All that is needed for the credibility of any extraordinary agencies, is a sufficient reason, and if in regard to the Christian miracles this be not found in a divine revelation, which was destined not only to meet a most urgent want in man as respects his condition and his knowledge of God, but what is of infinitely more value, was destined to revolutionize his moral nature, and re-create in him the image of his Maker, what can be assigned as such? For the benevolence of God, the moral degradation and ruin of man, his capacity

* Dana's Geology, pp. 394, etc. *Bib. Sac.*, Oct., 1854, Art. "Special Divine Interposition."

† It is true the introduction of organic life upon the earth after its existence for a long period in an inorganic state, or the beginning of new species in the process of time, are not strictly miraculous events. "For," as Butler says, "a miracle in its very nature is relative to a course of nature, and implies somewhat different from it, as being so;" but organic life and the existence of new species form part of the present constitution of things. Still they serve to remove the presumption against miraculous interposition, because, as Mansel observes, "the beginning of a spiritual system at one period is as credible as the beginning of a material system at another period."

‡ Analogy, Pt. 2, c. 2.

§ Analogy, Pt. 2, c. 2.

for eternal happiness, and his exposure to eternal misery, and the consequent glory which would come from redeeming him from darkness and sin, furnish the most transcendent motive for a divine miraculous interposition in his behalf. And should we not expect, too, that an event so unique as a divine revelation, would be accompanied by demonstrations of miraculous power in keeping with its character? Once admit the fact of a supernatural revelation from God, and the step is easy and natural to the conclusion, that it will be sealed by the exhibition of miraculous agencies. For "revelation itself is miraculous, and miracles are the proof of it."* And, moreover, if the Christian religion, which professes that it was introduced by the help of miracles, have on this very account promoted man's spiritual welfare, then is furnished in their behalf an ample reason, far superior to any which may be urged against them, drawn from scientific research. For man's spiritual restoration, on account of which miracles are wrought, is of such vast magnitude as completely to annihilate the seemingly insuperable objection which is raised against the Christian miracles on physical grounds.

At this point then it is that the advocates of the Christian miracles are prepared to consider the question of human testimony. And here we need not linger, since *that* is a matter of ample publicity. We need only ask: Is this testimony, both in respect of numbers and of character, not as trustworthy as that on which we accept multitudes of facts which are no more *a priori*† within the range of possibility than are the supernatural events of the Bible? And would it not be difficult to imagine a more formidable array of testimony in support of any extraordinary event than that which can be adduced in support of the Christian miracles? That Jesus of Nazareth wrought such works is proof of his divine mission, is attested by disinterested and trustworthy persons; and Christ himself occupies such a prominent position in the history of the world, and all events bear such a witness to him as has never been borne to any other person, that his claim as a divine messenger from heaven is placed upon an immovable basis. For in him centres the history of the Jewish nation, both before and after his coming,‡ as well as that of all

* Analogy, Pt. 2, c. 2.

† "*A priori*." By which we mean to express an impossibility founded not in the nature of things, but which would be so regarded until either our own experience or credible testimony had demonstrated the contrary.

‡ "*After his coming*." This from the fact that the Jews since the coming of Christ have been dispersed, and have had a fragmentary history, might seem at first not to furnish any proof in favor of Jesus as the Christ. But as the nation

Christian nations. He exactly meets the prophetic descriptions of the Bible as no other person does, he is the complement of all the types and shadows of the Jewish economy, his appearance on earth is the time in which the Jewish temple and its impressive ceremony are brought to a close, his kingdom has advanced in the earth as no other kingdom ever did, and the religion of Jesus Christ has subdued enemies and surmounted obstacles, which no other system has been able to do; and is this not a testimony for Jesus of Nazareth of unexampled strength?—for his advent and for his resurrection? and, therefore, for the miracles which he claimed to have wrought in his own name and power?

Miracles, then, are susceptible of proof, and therefore of credibility. They are not common events, and therefore demand more than common evidence to prove them. They are not free from grave objections, and which must be confessed to be insuperable, if we seek to establish miracles on the ground of human testimony alone. But that physical science presents an unanswerable objection to their credibility, has not been settled upon such a basis as to command the assent of moral reasoners, though it may satisfy the minds of cosmical reasoners who evince more than a partiality for what they term the grand harmony of the universe and the absolute inflexibility of natural law.* And, therefore, whatever may be the results to which physical research may lead, however firm and unyielding and oppressive we may find that order in which nature moves, so that we are appalled at its grand harmony and rigid inflexibility no less than charmed with its beauty, and feel tempted to believe that law which is so universal is likewise so absolutely inflexible as to suffer no control from without, we must turn to that other, yet sublimer truth, viz., that above and beneath and through all law is the ever-present omnipotence of a Free Divine Lawgiver, who has established the laws and the harmony of nature as the executor of his will, and that therefore he who made these may, if necessity demand, turn them to the fulfillment of his divine purposes of love, which is as much higher than the material universe as mind is above matter. Miracles are the agents of a higher law than that which we see in the physical universe,

in its history and development pointed manifestly to the Messiah, so since the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth, who claimed such a character, its history and disintegration should seem to indicate that Christ was the promised Messiah, that God incarnate was no longer prophetic, but historic. In this sense the Jewish nation centres in Christ after his coming.

* Recent Inquiries, etc., p. 151.

and their credibility is to be judged by that law. And as has well been remarked by an English divine, "Their *possibility* cannot be denied without denying the very nature of God as an all-powerful Being ; their *probability* cannot be questioned without questioning his moral perfections, and their *certainly*, as a matter of fact, can only be invalidated by destroying the very foundations of all human testimony. *

ART. II.—DELIVERY IN PREACHING.

By REV. THOMAS H. SKINNER, D. D., Prof. in Union Theol. Seminary.

1. AN intelligent observer of the common preaching of the times, who compares it with the New Testament idea of preaching, or attempts to resolve it into its proper principles as claiming to be a species of public eloquence, cannot but see that in several radical respects, it needs to be reformed. He must remark in it, as quite ordinary and prominent features, violations of oratorical unity ; want of the freeness, directness and pungency of appeal which individuate the oratorical style ; want of the impassionate, the unction, and the agonistic force, by which the oratory of the pulpit, more than any other, should be characterized. But, with a just estimation of its share of importance in preaching, must he not above all, note and lament an imperative demand for reformation, in the particular which forms the subject of this article ? Long ago, the pulpit was reproached very sharply for a very bad manner of delivery. Said a celebrated ecclesiastic to a celebrated actor of the former century : " How is it that you who deal in nothing but fiction, can so affect your audience as to throw them into tears ; while we who deliver the most awful truths, can scarcely produce any effect whatever ? " " Here," replied the actor, " lies the secret : *you deliver your truths as if they were fictions ; but we deliver our fictions as if they were truths.* " There has been, it would seem, no material change for the better. It has been recently remarked,† that action in speaking generally, is so little approved or designedly employed, that it is hardly any part of the orator's art. In reference to preaching, the fact has been spoken of thus : " Why are we natural everywhere but in the pulpit ? Why this *holoplexia*, on sacred occasions alone ? Why call in the

* Van Mildert, " Boyle Lectures."

† By Archbishop Whately.

aid of paralysis to piety? Is it a rule of oratory to handle the most sublime truths in the driest manner? Is sin to be taken from men as Eve was from Adam by casting them into a deep slumber? *

2. *This is not a matter of small moment.* If preaching be indeed a kind of eloquence, and if its efficacy depends at all on its being true to its principles as such, nothing relating to the practice of it is weightier. Delivery comprehends all the modes of expression in public speaking. "It is," says Cicero, very admirably "*the eloquence of the body* ; and implies the proper management of the voice and gesture." According to the masters of the art and practice of speaking, it is the chief thing in eloquence. "What we have composed," says Quintilian, "is not of so much consequence as how it is delivered ; because every one is affected in proportion as he is made to hear. There is no proof so strong, but it will lose its force, unless it is aided by an emphatic tone in the speaker ; and all passions must become languid unless spirited-up by the voice and countenance, and the attitude of the body." In like manner, Cicero gives more importance to delivery, than, apart from it, to what is delivered. "Without a good delivery, the best speaker can have no name, and with it, a middling one can obtain the highest." Demosthenes goes further : "Being asked what was the greatest excellency in oratory, he not only gave the preference to delivery, but assigned to it the second and the third place ; whereby it appeared that he judged it not so much the principal, as the only excellency." His own practice accorded, it would seem, with his judgment. "After Æschines had lost a cause, he retired in disgrace from Athens to Rhodes, where, at the request of the Rhodians, he read to them that fine oration which Demosthenes had pronounced against Ctesiphon, which he did with a charming voice. When everybody was expressing their applause ; "How would you have applauded," says he, "if you had heard the author himself deliver it? Whereby it appears what a vast influence action had, since the change of the actor could make the same speech appear in quite a different light." † Let us not wonder at this estimation of this part of oratory. Who that has been much employed in speaking has not often found a good discourse spoiled, and a poor one made quite a success, by the manner of pronouncing it? The preaching of Whitefield, apart from his delivery, was in no respect extraordinary ; in-

* Sidney Smith.

† Cicero de Oratore.

cluding his delivery, it has never been equalled. "To ignorant and semi-barbarous men," said John Foster, "even common truths, in Whitefield's preaching, seemed to strike on them in fire and light."

3. *In the tones of the voice alone, there are elements of eloquence, of inconceivable force.* The human voice and the human mind, both inscrutable marvels of divine handiwork, were made for one another. "The voice, together with the look and the whole frame, is responsive to the passions of the mind, as the strings of a musical instrument are to the fingers which touch them. For as a musical instrument has its different keys, so every voice is sharp, full, slow, loud or low; and then each of these keys has different degrees which beget other strains, such as the smooth and the sharp, the contracted and the lengthened, the continued and the interrupted, the tender, the shrill and the swelling."*

4. But the voice, with its wonderful modulations, is unmeasurably aided by *the other part of the eloquence of the body*. "No man expresses warm and animated feelings with his mouth alone, but with his whole body. He articulates with every limb and joint, and talks from head to foot with a thousand voices."† And how does the accession of fitting gesture to vocal expression emphasize and enhance the latter? In Paul's address to Agrippa, what vivid, overcoming eloquence was added to his vocal utterance, by his displaying his chains? "Except these bonds." How did Anthony intensify the words of his oration over the dead body of Cæsar, by uncovering it before the eyes of the people, and counting over its wounds one by one? To the peroration of Burke's speech, in the impeachment of Hastings, what an overwhelming force of eloquence was given, when with streaming eyes and with a suffused countenance, he raised his hands with the documents in them as a testimony to Heaven, of the guilt of the person charged?‡ What had Whitefield's apostrophe "to the attendant angel" been, abstracting from it his *supplicatio pedis*, and his lifting up his eyes with gushing tears, compared to what it was, by virtue of this accompanying gesticulation? Take from the celebrated conclusion of Webster's argument before the Supreme Court, in

* Cicero.

† Sidney Smith.

‡ "Never was eloquence more triumphant. His audience could endure the agony no longer. Mrs. Siddons confessed that all the terror and pity she had ever witnessed on the stage, sunk into insignificance before the scene she had just witnessed. Mrs. Sheridan fainted; and the stern Lord Chancellor, Thurlow, who had always in the most headstrong way insisted on Hastings' innocence, was observed for once in his life to shed a tear."

the case of Dartmouth College, the quivering of the lips, the trembling of the firm cheeks the choked voice, the eyes overfull of tears, of the great Advocate, and that conclusion would never have been celebrated or remembered.*

5. *Delivery holds the same place in Preaching, that it has in natural eloquence.* The human in it is not less complete or normal from its subordination to the Divine. The supernatural does but tend to and require perfection in the natural. If therefore delivery is the chief thing in eloquence as such, it is the chief thing in preaching. There are congruities, proprieties of delivery, peculiar to preaching; but they are not in any disagreement with nature; they are, in kind, only such accommodations to occasions and circumstances, as nature requires in different instances and moments of secular oratory. They are but requirements of nature in a peculiar sphere. No eloquence applies more completely and naturally the principles of oratorical art, than the genuine eloquence of the pulpit. *Delivery here also, then, has the supremacy.*

6. There is therefore no justification of the common disparagement of delivery in preaching; and no apology for it. It implies a violation of order beyond a mere violation of nature, a violation of it, also in the sphere of the supernatural—a *counteraction of order in a work, in which the chief part belongs to the Holy Spirit: a counteraction of the Spirit's influence and agency in it.* The part which the Spirit has in it, imposes, as its corollary, an obligation on the preacher, to give to delivery his principal regard. Being first in itself, it is first in the regard of the Spirit, who cannot but estimate things as they are. If the preacher puts it last, or aught else above it, he is therein at variance with the Holy Spirit, and impairs if he does not entirely thwart his operation. By the inversion of order for which he makes himself responsible, he cannot but grieve, if he does not altogether quench the Spirit of God. And he will be likely to gain little by misapplying to something else, attention which is due to delivery. He will not

* "The court-room during these two or three minutes presented an extraordinary spectacle. Chief Justice Marshall bent over as if to catch the slightest whisper; Mr. Justin Washington, at his side, leaning forward with an eager, troubled look; and the remainder of the court, at the two extremities, pressing as it were to a single point, while the audience were wrapping themselves round in closer folds beneath the bench, to catch each look and every movement of the speaker's face. If a painter could give us the scene on canvass—their forms and countenances, and Daniel Webster as he then stood in the midst—it would be one of the most touching pictures in the history of eloquence."—*Prof. Goodrich to Mr. Choate.*

compose as well, he will not make as good a sermon, in any respect, as he would if in making it, he concurred with the Holy Spirit in his estimation of delivery. Not having been made with just reference to good delivery, it will doubtless be little suitable to it; perhaps incompatible with it; that is to say, as an instrument of oratory, it will be at fault, if not directly opposite to what it should be, in respect to the exigency of eloquence in its chief element. Underrating delivery, therefore cannot but be inexpedient, in the whole business of preaching. It is a capital mistake and its fruits are after its kind. It is the bane of pulpit eloquence.

7. Proceeding now with our main design, which is to present as far as we can in a few brief remarks, the theory of delivery in preaching, we first of all premise, as its chief principle, that *even more if possible than in making the sermon, the business of delivering it, is spiritual; consisting in the highest activities of spiritual life.* Cicero makes action in speaking radically different from that of the stage: "Orators," he says, "are the *actors* of truth; players but its *mimics*." Infinitely greater is the difference between action in preaching and in other oratory; since the distance is infinite, between nature and spirit.* Just action in speaking, therefore, quite as much as the discourse itself, is of Divine-Human agency. It is impossible to the preacher, except as he is moved and actuated thereto and therein, by the Spirit of God. It is infinitely beyond his ability on two accounts: in the first place, he cannot have the kind of knowledge, the spiritual light and sense necessary to it; and secondly, having this knowledge, he still needs the co-operation of the Spirit, in order to express it appropriately in delivery—the *eloquence of the body*. As to the former, the continued agency of the Spirit is indispensable because spiritual knowledge, unlike the other kind, cannot from its nature, be retained, or recalled, apart from the unintermitted working of the Holy Ghost in the soul. The preacher may have had the Divine aid in making his sermon; the sermon, both as to its matter and words may be a spiritual one; its delivery nevertheless will not be spiritual, if spiritual knowledge or discernment be required in it; only the *incessant* operation of the Spirit within him, can fulfill this condition.† "I fear," says Pascal, with admirable judgment, "that you do not sufficiently distinguish, between the things you speak of (spiritual things) and those of which

* The infinite distance between body and mind, is a figure of the *infinitely more infinite distance* between mind and love,"—the fruit of the Spirit.—PASCAL.

† In a letter to his sister.

the world speaks ; since it is beyond doubt sufficient to have once learned these latter things, in order to retain them, so as not to require to be taught them again ; whereas, it is not sufficient to have once learned those of the other kind, and to have comprehended them in a good way, that is to say, by the internal operation of God, in order to preserve a like knowledge of them, though we may well retain the recollection of them. There is no reason why we should not be able to *remember* them, or why we should not retain in our memory, an epistle of St. Paul as easily as a book of Virgil. But the knowledge which we acquire in this way, as well as the continuation of it, is but an effect of memory ; whereas in order that those who are of heaven may understand this secret and strange language, it is needful that the same grace which alone can give the first understanding of it should *continue it, and render it always present, by graving it incessantly in the hearts of the faithful, so as to keep it always alive.* As in the blessed, God is continually renewing their beatitude which is an effect and consequence of grace ; as also the church holds, that the Father continually produces the Son, and maintains the eternity of his being, by an effusion of his own substance, which is without interruption as well as without end." But in a spiritual delivery, the continued influence of the Spirit, is on another account required ; spiritual knowledge, its indispensable condition is not sufficient for it of itself. It cannot express itself in the appropriate action, without being aided therein by the Spirit : it is not provided for by knowledge alone. Action, which is more than knowledge, needs aid for itself. In elocutionary action, as well as in thinking and writing, the preacher, however qualified by self-culture, can attain to no degree of spirituality, by merely natural effort. If the activity of a preacher in speaking, the eloquence of the body, be indeed spiritual, it is doubtless a higher exercise of the spiritual life, than either of its other exercises in the business of preaching. It must needs be so, if it be answerable, in all respects, to the unique and mysterious exigencies of such a work, as delivering appropriately the inspired word of God as a vehicle and representative of the Holy Spirit. Apart from a very special operation of the Spirit himself, who is sufficient for the just performance of this work ?—spiritual things, expressing themselves fitly, in spiritual modulations of the voice, spiritual looks, spiritual attitudes—the supernatural exerting itself proportionately in and through these bodily signs of thought and feeling—think of one's having in himself, an independent sufficiency for this !

The apostles, with all their gifts for other uses, had it not, nay, even our Lord's spirituality of mind and knowledge, added to the perfectly natural use of the human powers did not qualify him adequately, for the business of dispensing the word, independently of the continued co-agency of the Spirit in this specific business; even He delivered his discourses, under the anointing and in the power of the Spirit of God.* After his resurrection, it was still, through the Holy Ghost, that he gave commandment to the apostles whom he had chosen.†

8. It need hardly be added, that *in all preliminary work with reference to delivery, the preacher must abide in communion with the Holy Spirit*. He is not sufficient, of himself, for the least of the exercises of self-culture prerequisite to just pulpit action. The teachers of elocution, with their utmost, assiduities, cannot make him independent of the Spirit's aid, in practising aright, the rules of art, relative to delivery in preaching, or in studying aright the philosophy of voice and gesture. They cannot instruct him, in what he chiefly needs to know and do, in order to act well his part in pronouncing his discourses. No appliances, whether simply natural or artistic, can effect anything to this end of themselves; they may suffice for the orators of the world; they come infinitely short of meeting the necessities of preachers. As far as preparatory practice for pulpit delivery proceeds on the contrary supposition its failure is inevitable. It is so of necessity; were it otherwise, it might become so, by real, if not conscious visitations of Divine displeasure. It is an offence, a glaring disrespect to the Holy Spirit whose proffered aid it declines. Let not the ministers of the word forget for a moment, the most intimate and sacred relations—relations never for a moment suspended—between the work of their office and the high prerogatives of the Holy Spirit in the economy of the gospel.

9. In regard to *particular points of attention, the details of application in cultivating delivery*, there is no substantial difference between preaching and other kinds of public eloquence. Preachers cannot be too well acquainted with the theory of elocution; cannot know too well the principles of emphasis, the science of the passions, and their inter-relations with each other; how they naturally express themselves, in the tones of the voice, the looks, attitudes, movements of the body, etc.‡ The spirituality of pulpit, action, and the

* Luke iv, 18, cf. 21, iv. 14.

† Acts i, 2.

‡ See Cicero, de Oratore, lib. III. c. 56-61.

part in it belonging to the Holy Ghost, interfere in no degree with the highest culture in reference to it. On the contrary, they favor and promote it. It is one of the proper designs of the Spirit's influence, to secure attention to it as far as possible. It is among the ends to which he lends his aid ; and it is not to be doubted, that the general neglect so much to be deplored, into which delivery in preaching has fallen, is to be ascribed in great measure, to aversion to pains-taking with regard to it arising from being out of the Spirit's counsel in this matter. It is not of him that preachers have been inclined to neglect the scientific study of elocution. The labor which this study requires is doubtless the explanation of its being neglected. The labor unquestionably is a severe one ; but had the Holy Spirit been obeyed, it would have been accepted as itself a pleasure.*

10. But supposing that no preliminary pains have been omitted, and that nothing remains but delivery itself, *what method should be followed in this part of preaching?* The actual methods are three : *Reading, Reciting, and Extemporising.* Reserving the last for the moment, which of the first two should be preferred? Both reproduce a written discourse, which does it in the better manner? Taking them in their best form, Reciting doubtless has the advantage. In general, reciting is injured by requiring an effort of memory, in order to recal the words of the discourse. But there is a kind of recitation which has no such inconvenience ; the reciter in this case, has no more concern about his words or linguistic forms than the extemporiser ; he uses the very expressions he has written ; but he does this from his perfect possession of his subject, not from a consciously distinct exercise of recollection. He has his composition so exactly and thoroughly *by heart*, that to reproduce it, he has but to open his mouth ; his utterance of it is as spontaneous as his breathing. We speak what to us is a mystery, but we are acquainted with an eminent person, in whom according to his own assertion to us, it is actualized. His language in speaking, though elaborately written is as spontaneous as it would be if he were extemporising. So intimately identified and united, are his thought and the form of it in his manuscript, that it would require an effort to separate them. Such a way of reciting as this, is undoubtedly preferable to the best way of reading. But it is very uncommon ; except to a few privileged geniuses, it is extremely difficult if not impossible. To almost every one who prac-

* Labor ipse voluptas—when performed in the strength of the Spirit.

tices it, reciting is a labor of recollection, requiring even for an imperfect performance of it, an anxious mental application. This fact is a very grave objection to this method's being generally adopted. For by how much the mind is occupied in recalling forms of expression by so much is it disabled for the work itself of delivery. This is no part of the business; it is another business; the common reciter attempts two things at once. He puts himself to an impracticable task; his delivery is bad at best; and, what is another serious disadvantage he is apt to betray a solicitude, lest the words of his manuscript escape him; and the hearers perceiving his embarrassment, are hindered from attending to what he says by sympathetic trouble, fearing that his memory may fail him. Generally, therefore, reciting is much inferior to reading, at least to the best way of reading. It is inferior, we think, to reading as commonly practiced. Bad as this is, there is no interference in it, from a distinct exercise of thought about another matter, and whether interested by it or not, the hearers are at ease.

11. *Delivery by reading may rise to high excellence.*—In this method one may be exclusively occupied by the sense; the words are before his eye; but he does not think of them; he is not conscious of seeing them; the subject with reference to its purpose wholly engrosses him; he has no concern except through reading, to possess his hearers of it, and compel them to yield to its force. Into his delivery, such as it is, he throws himself entirely; his action may be very defective; his gestures, especially, may be awkward or ungraceful; but his hearers are so interested with what he says, that they see nothing amiss. Infinitely different is reading like this from ordinary reading, which simply reports what is written on the page. This reading does more than inform; it is full of living fire; it conveys the preacher's soul, all aglow with the inspiration of his subject, and the purpose for which he treats it. Such was the method of Chalmers, the most eloquent preacher of his age. He read, but what was his reading as an instrument of oratory? Edwards, too, was a reader,—a quiet reader,—but in what demonstration of the Spirit and power was the preaching of that great man of God?

12. But neither in Reciting nor in Reading *does the ideal of delivery reside*. As to reading, the best of these methods, a very high authority, would hardly admit it into a comparison with that which we named last. "Pleadings which are read," says Pliny,* "lose all their force and warmth

* Epist. iv : lib. ii.

and well nigh their very name, as being things which the gestures of the speaker, his bold advances, even his changes of position and the activity of his body, in harmony with all the emotions of the mind, are wont at once to enforce and kindle. But the eyes and hands of one who reads, which are the main auxiliaries of delivery, are fettered, so that it is no wonder the attention of the auditors flags, since it is sustained by no charm, and awakened by no excitement from without." Edwards, also, notwithstanding his contrary practice, which, in the latter part of his life, he thought it had been well had he never followed, pronounced delivery without notes the most natural way, and that which had the greatest tendency, on the whole, to answer the end of preaching. It appeared evident to him, to have been the manner of the apostles and primitive ministers of the gospel.* A thousand examples demonstrate the incomparable superiority of this manner. By the side of that of Whitefield, what is the best possible way of reading? In his looks; his tears; the flashes, glances, suffusion of his eyes; in his attitudes and changes of position; in the sudden effects of reaction on himself from observed impressions on the hearers, what matchless eloquence—utterly impossible in any other than extemporaneous speaking! Admitting that it was spiritual as well as natural, as it doubtless may have been and was in a high degree, the conclusion is intuitive, that delivery can rise into its highest sphere, only in extemporaneous discourse. Think of the spiritual and the natural combining harmoniously in such an instance of the eloquence of the body as the following: "Treating of the sufferings of our Saviour, as though Gethsemane were in sight, he would say—stretching out his hand: Look yonder—What is it I see? It is my agonizing Lord. And as though it were no difficult matter to catch the sound of our Lord praying, he would exclaim: Hark! hark! do you not hear him?" Wonderful preaching! We admit that it is of the best in its kind; but we are contrasting with it the very best in the best of any other.

13. We go on to say that *it is against true art, against nature, and, of course, against the dominion of the Holy Spirit, in Delivery, to put among preparatives for it, a prescribed or premeditated scheme, for regulating it*; to determine beforehand what the emphases, looks, gestures, are to be in particular parts, and perhaps to preactualize them, in a rehearsal "practiced at the glass." On two accounts, this must be a prepos-

* Life of Edwards, by Dr. Hopkins.

terous way. In the first place, just action in speaking, cannot be anticipated : the time for it must indicate it. It is only the critical moment itself that can give its idea ; it is contingent on the unimaginable futuritions and incidents of elocution. But were it otherwise, good delivery after this method would be an impossibility. With a programme of action artistically perfect, the speaker would have no advantage ; he could not carry it out justly. He could make no good use of it. The very attempt to use it would disable him for proper elocution. What art could conceal the art he would be trying to practice ? and what effect on his delivery, from the labor to conceal it ? The hearers doubtless would not fail to know ; itself the surest testimony to its absurdity. As to all earnest action having an object ulterior to itself, it is an instinct of nature, that not its *manner* but its *object* ; or, in such a business as that of public speaking, its subject with reference to its object, be exclusively regarded at the moment of performing it. Even a good reader obeys this instinct. " A reader is sure to pay too much attention to his voice, not only if he pays any at all, but if he does not strenuously labor* to withdraw his attention from it altogether. He who not only understands fully what he is reading, but is earnestly occupying his mind with the matter of it, will be likely to read as if he understood it. And in like manner, with a view to the *impressiveness* of the delivery, he who not only feels it but is exclusively absorbed with that feeling, will be likely to read as if he felt it, and to communicate the impression to his hearers. But this cannot be the case if he is occupied with the thought of what their opinion will be of his reading, and *how his voice ought to be regulated* ; if, in short, he is thinking of himself, and of course, in the same degree abstracting his attention from that which ought to occupy it exclusively."† It is therefore certain that there should be no labor in speaking to carry out a scheme of delivery. The study of delivery, now, must be forborne ; proper application to this study is *previous*, like the educational training by which one is furnished for artistic action in all particular art-performances. One who applies the principles of art (*e. g.*), in writing or in playing on an instrument of music, gives while doing this no direct thought to these principles ; they have become a second nature to him, through his familiarity with them. Scarcely more does the bee act by instinct in building its cell according

* In order to overcome a contrariant inclination, too wont to be besetting him.

† Whately

to the principles of mechanics, than he does in his exquisite exemplifications of art. So acts the accomplished speaker in delivering his discourse. He has studied delivery; but he is not studying it now. He knows the theory of delivery; this has acquainted him with his old faults in speaking. He has corrected them; he has formed good elocutionary habits. Hence, and hence alone, his security for proper action on occasions as they arise.

14. In accordance with this principle of Delivery, *very eminent proficient*s in it have protested strongly against all attempts to follow out a forecasted programme of action. The great tragedian of the recent past,* after experience of the disadvantages of this method, gives his testimony concerning it, in these striking terms: "It has been imagined, even by enlightened minds, that in studying my parts I place myself before a glass, as a model before a painter in his *atelier*. According to them, I gesticulate, I shake the ceiling of the room with my cries. In the evening on the stage, I utter the intonations I learned in the morning; prepared inflections and sobs of which I know the number; imitating Crecentini, who, in his *Romeo*, evinces a despair beforehand, in a passage sung a hundred times over at home, with a piano accompaniment. It is an error: *Reflection* is one of the greatest parts of my labor. Following the example of the poet, I walk, I muse, or even seat myself on the margin of my little river: like the poet, I rub my forehead; it is the only gesture I allow myself; and you know it is by no means one of the grandest. Oh, how a thing becoming historical remains true! If any one should inquire how I have found the greater part of my greatest successes, I should reply, by *constantly thinking of them*. We were rhetoricians and not dramatic personages. How many academic discourses on the stage! How few words of simplicity! But one evening chance threw me into the parlor, with the leaders of the Gironde Party: their sombre and disquieted appearance attracted my attention. There were written there, in visible characters, great and mighty interests. As they were too much men of heart to allow these interests to be tainted with selfishness, I saw there manifest proofs of the danger of the country. All were assembled for pleasure, yet no one thought of it. Discussion ensued; they touched the most thrilling questions of the crisis. It was beautiful: I imagined myself present at a secret deliberation of the Roman Senate. It is thus, thought I, that men should *speak*. The

* Talma.

country, whether it be named France or Rome, employs the same accents, the same language. If they do not *declaim* here, neither did they declaim in the olden time, it is evident. These reflections made me more attentive. My impressions, though produced by a conversation void of all *emphasis*, became profound. An apparent calmness in these men, thought I, agitates the soul. Eloquence then may have force without throwing the body into disorderly movements. I even perceived that discourse uttered without effort or outcry, renders the gesture more energetic, and gives more expression to the countenance. All these deputies, thus assembled before me, appeared far more eloquent than at the *tribune*, where, finding themselves a spectacle, they thought it necessary to utter their harangues in the manner of actors as we then were ; that is to say, of *declaimers* fraught with turgidity. *From that moment I caught new light, and saw my art regenerated."*

15. After proper self-culture in elocution and renewing the prerequisite communion with the Holy Spirit, the only condition of success, the only object of preliminary concern, in a particular instance of preaching, *is to be fully possessed, to be thoroughly inspired by the subject and the occasion.* This is the prime necessity of all eloquence ; it was the discovery of the great French actor, when his eyes were opened to see the true secret of delivery. Hence it was that *reflection* became his great labor ; that he walked, mused, sat on the margin of the river, rubbed his forehead after the manner of the poet. He sought to absorb himself in his subject : he left action to itself. Being qualified generally for his art, by acquainting himself with the philosophy of the voice and of gesture, and by just self-culture, in accordance with it, he assumed that what remained to him, as the prerequisite of success, was to get perfect command of his subject ; or, to speak better, to give the subject perfect command and supremacy over him. This, with the qualifications just mentioned, is all that remains to the preacher ; and his is no other than the player's way of gaining it. That way is the thorough rumination of the subject, meditating on it over and over again ; not the committing to memory the words he is to repeat, with premeditated action, but the working their meaning, their strength, into himself ; the filling himself with their total sense ; the vitalizing himself with it in its breadth, length, depth and height ; the making it so live and rule in all his life, that its procession from him in delivery shall be rather a spontaneous outflow than the result of a separate memori-

ter effort. Doubtless the memory is exercised, intensely exercised, even when this is done ; but not exclusively or distinguishably to the consciousness from the other powers of the mind. The memory and these are united, are inter-blended in the operation, as rays in the sunbeam. There may be moments when it acts by itself, even in a delivery very good on the whole ; but they are exceptive and anxious moments ; and the delivery now deteriorates, and witnesses against itself as violating its norm. As soon as the recollective faculty is distinctively exercised, the speaker generally betrays the fact ; his hearers see his hesitation, and begin to tremble for him, lest his memory should lapse, and to wish he had his manuscript lying open before him.

16. *It is impossible to prescribe a standard of action for all preachers.* There are peculiar congruities of pulpit delivery which must not be violated : the preacher with his hearers is in the temple ; he is the representative of the awful presence of God ; on matters of infinite moment he acts in the name of the great and dreadful *Unseen*. The difference as to interest between his business and that of any orator of the world, makes the latter, however great in itself, less than nothing comparatively. Without being under a total eclipse of spiritual illumination, and entirely out of communion and harmony with the Holy Ghost, he cannot be insensible to this fact ; and if he has but a faint impression of it, he cannot allow himself in certain modes and ways of action, which in secular orators are sometimes proper, and even highly admirable ; they would be unnatural, monstrous, in the elocution of the pulpit. Nevertheless, who may give the preacher an absolute rule or criterion of delivery ? Beyond self-evident, palpable improprieties, every preacher is a rule to himself ; his idiosyncrasy is his rule. What would be a just measure to one, would be a defective or an extremely excessive and absurd one, to another. The lion does not more differ from the lamb, than preachers from one another in elocutionary gifts. In different preachers, vehemence and gentleness, commotion and stillness, thunder and whisper, whirlwind and zephyr, are both alike appropriate characteristics ; as they are also very suitable and natural, in the same preachers at different moments. Both too are alike acceptable to the Spirit, who attempers his influences to the natures of his instruments, making them now as the softest breath, now as a rushing mighty wind, or as lightning and fire. It is not by the quantity, but by the quality of pulpit action that the holy proprieties of it are on the one hand violated, and on the other maintained.

There may be the sublimest form of spirituality in abundant and stormy action ; and there may be nothing better than the affectation of tenderness, in a quiet, soft, reserved manner of delivery.*

17. It follows from what we have just been saying or rather is included in it, that *imitation can have no place in just action in speaking*. In this as well as in invention, in disposition, in the entire construction and the finish of his discourse, a true speaker is himself and not another ; he is generally true even to his habitual imperfections of manner. Without renouncing his own identity he may profit by observing excellencies and faults in the elocution of others ; he may thus acquaint himself better, with his own defects, instruct himself better generally in the regulation of his voice, emphasis, attitudes, etc. ; and stimulate himself in studying the principles and philosophy of delivery ; but he could not but mar his own action by endeavoring to model it after another's. He might as soon change himself into another man as be natural any longer. If his hearers happen to be acquainted with the example he is striving to copy, they will not fail to see his weakness, and—what of itself sufficiently confutes all such imitation—they can not but think it unfortunate for him ; a palpable vanity. A tolerable speaker he might perhaps have been if he had been content with himself ; he has made himself an intolerable one by his pitiable emulation. It remains that after studying models with reference to general improvement, the only thing in which they are to be imitated, is that by which they made themselves models, namely, their absolute independence and forgetfulness of models in delivery.

18. It seems to us that one of the chief causes of bad deliv-

* How far violent or very demonstrative action may have place in preaching without indecorum, no rule can determine. Whitefield was often exceedingly demonstrative, but so far as we know, never undignified or ungraceful. The severest criticism, that of Hume, Chesterfield, Franklin, Garrick, gave it transcendent praise. How vehement was the delivery of Chalmers ! how terrible that of Knox ! how lion-like that of Luther ! Each a mighty man of God, a chosen and an eminent vehicle of the power of the Holy Ghost. We once heard a sermon from the elder Mason, the delivery of which, combined with unexceptionable propriety, a manner in the highest degree bold and even dramatic. He began with a rap on the desk, personating one knocking at the door—"a messenger from the world of spirits." He used personation freely in the midst of the discourse, and at the close, it rose to sublimity. The subject was *deliverance from bondage through the fear of death*. (Heb. ii. 15.) He first *dramatized* the death-bed scene of one who died in his sins,—a wilful neglecter of this great salvation ; and then that of a triumphant believer. His manner was to the last in keeping with its surprising outset. We had no sense of anything at all amiss in this wonderful instance of pulpit elocution. It seemed to be no less proper than unusual.

ery in preaching, a sufficient cause of it certainly, is *the character of the ordinary sermon, so called, especially its defect in respect of the oratorical element, the business-like character of all true oratory*. Delivery in discourse takes its stamp, in part, from the sort of discourse which is given ; oratorical delivery requires *an oration*; that is to say, a discourse which is an *affair*, an earnest, agonistic speech, which has a single point ulterior to itself, and which has no other concern than to carry that point. Preaching is too seldom discourse like this. It is sometimes chiefly expository, as perhaps it should be. But when preaching is not of this form, when it uses what has the name of *the sermon*, which, by its etymology behooves it to be *an oration, par excellence*,* it is frequently, if not generally, as a whole, no oration at all: it has several points instead of one; perhaps indeed no point in particular. It treats several coordinate propositions ; it is rather an analysis than a synthetic speech, like that of a pleader at the bar ; it makes a treatise or an essay: it is without oratorical unity; of course, it cannot but be defective in oratorical delivery: and if such be the actual character of preaching, as undoubtedly it is to a great extent, this defect is but its natural and proper concomitant. Nor is there a possibility of the desired change in the elocution of the pulpit, while preaching retains this abnormal character. It surely ought not retain it, as extensively as it has done. Preaching in its ideal is a species of oratory ; the noblest form of it. In its ordinary efforts no discourse should excel it, in singleness of design, or in strenuous, suasive, synthetic urgency to attain its end. In some of its specimens (those e. g. of Baxter, Edwards, Chalmers), no discourse, not that of Demosthenes or Burke, does in these respects excel it. Let preaching be generally true to its own idea, its supreme law as a means to the highest of all ends, and with just cultivation of delivery, preachers, in respect to this part of eloquence, will cease to hide their "diminished heads" in the presence of other speakers. At least, it is only on this condition that even with the utmost attention to delivery, much proficiency in it is to be expected. The character of the discourse will continue to overrule and determine that of its delivery, in conformity to itself.

19. There is, let us add, a conventional restraint on pulpit elocution, *from the preacher's place in the assembly*. He stands above and at a distance from them, behind a desk, which conceals more than half his person. His seclusion may give him

* Why, else, should the term *sermon* (speech), be restricted to sacred discourse, as if a secular oration was, comparatively, not a *speech* at all?

some conveniences in conducting the immediate preliminaries of preaching ; but it should be no privilege to him in delivering his discourse. If an earnest speaker “articulates with every limb and joint, and talks from head to foot, with a thousand voices,” how much is an earnest preacher curtailed of his means of bodily expression, by the narrow enclosure which he occupies ? He is without advantage from his lower limbs ; his bust only is seen ; he cannot change his position ; his attitudes are but half visible, and for this cause, probably, disagreeable. How must his delivery be marred by these subtractions of “the eloquence of the body ?” Compare with it that of a speaker who stands fully in view, and presents in his entire person, a complete, graceful example of this crowning glory of oratory. That preachers, exclusively, should be thus restricted in elocution is but a prescription of arbitrary tradition ; nothing in the peculiarity of spiritual eloquence requires it ; it maims this noblest of all eloquences ; it presupposes a theory of preaching, which makes delivery in it a thing of little or no moment ; it has doubtless had no small influence in reducing it to this estimation, in the general practice, if not also in the opinion of the pulpit. If in the pulpit of the future, delivery is to assume its rightful supremacy, tradition, in this matter, will dominate no longer ; the principles of true art, which are, at last, but the principles of simple nature, will assert their authority ; and preaching, like speaking in the forum or the senate, will be free of all such abridgments of elocutionary force as tradition has so unwarrantably prescribed to it.

20. *Is it to be expected that the reform will actually have place ?* A change in the form of preaching is doubtless at hand. The renovating power which has been changing all things in science, in art, in the physical, social and civil life of man, cannot but be felt, indeed has manifestly been felt by the modern pulpit. Already preaching, as to form, is, in several respects, different from what it has ever been. In some respects we think it is better. It is by no means changed as much as it should be. It ought to be in advance of the other instruments of change which are exerting themselves with such astonishing efficiency in every sphere of human life. There is no object of deeper interest to every true philanthropist, every one who identifies the progress of humanity with the success of the gospel, than that preaching should receive a new and healthful impulse, which shall give it the precedence to which it is entitled,—a just adaptation to humanity in its present excited and over-active state, and a regulating power

over all the changes which, with such unparalleled rapidity are coming to pass everywhere in the world. But it is as yet very far from having this preëminence of control. There is an imperative demand for further variance, we might almost say a revolution in the form of it. And is not this demand to be met? In that Future of overwhelming interest, which all men feel to be just before us, which indeed is now opening itself upon us and inspiring us with wonder at what is surely and swiftly coming, what will preaching be, if accommodated, as it should and must be if it is to play well its part—to the unparalleled circumstances in which it will find itself? Imperfect as our anticipation of them must be, we cannot but be sure in general, from signs before us, that they will be circumstances of earnest, intense materialism, of an exceedingly practical, matter-of-fact bearing, such as have not been dreamt of in all the past; causes are already in operation before our eyes, which make the anticipation of this almost as reality itself. Surely amidst such circumstances, preaching, if true to its mission, will not take from the present or any former period, its measures or its methods of practice. There must be, in these respects, a novelty in it, parallel, or, when need be, antithetic to the novelty of its unexampled surroundings. Its character cannot be precisely foreseen; it will be, we would hope, as didactic, as discriminative, as solid, in all respects as scholarly, as it has been at any time; we cannot but hope it will be so from necessities which will be upon it and from its present advantages of culture. But how changed must it be, especially in its chief performances, in respect of oratorical freedom, force and action? It cannot but be, preëminently, it would seem, of *the nature of business*—"business which is a business:"* It will still treat "subjects;" but it will need to treat them, not as terminating in themselves, or in the way of analysis or disquisition, but with reference to issues or specific ends: to determine first, not on either texts or subjects, but on points to be carried, on things to be done; and, as in all earnest oratory, to be, in all its propositions, enlargements, utterances, ornaments, but a strenuous means of attaining definite ends: to strive of course to avail itself of the

*Preachers, your business is a *business*; yet more than Senators and Advocates, you are Advocates and Senators: Be both. Let your pulpits be to you alternately a tribune and a bar; let your word be *an action directed to an immediate object*: Let not your hearers come to hear a discourse, so much as to receive a message. Possess yourselves, possess them, of all the *advantages*, which pertain to the subjects of the pulpit. Your eloquence has more artless aspects, and more vivid tints, than that of the Senate or the Bar; nothing condemns it to abstraction; *everything impels it toward sensible facts.*" Vinet, p 503.

advantages of just delivery, the peerless eloquence of appropriate action. This, its chief means, it may no longer forego or neglect. Due attention to delivery, and due provision for it, will be a deeply felt necessity. It will suffer no traditional trammels; it will follow out the inviolable principles of eloquence; it will obey nature and the free Spirit of God. If it meet the high exigencies of the epoch, it cannot take the word of command from tradition, or the perfunctory examples of these or former times.

21. But will the change after all have place? Will delivery in the preaching of the all-pregnant future, whose dawn is already advancing, have its rightful pre-eminence? Will this form of preaching, which cannot but be new, be what it should be, in this grand respect? Or will the construction of the sermon continue to be the all-absorbing concern of preachers and its delivery comparatively as nothing? We cannot confidently say. The undervaluation of delivery at the present moment, and too generally in foregoing times, in view of its inherent unjustness and the standing reprobation of it by the reason of things and the verdict of the human mind, begets hesitation as to the probability of a correction of it, under the influence of any possible circumstances; and yet since it has pleased God to institute preaching as the leading instrumentality, the means of means, in applying his efficacious grace, must not "the wickedness of the wicked" rush on to its climax and its doom, if the correction shall not take place? In a practice of preaching so wrong, so utterly ineloquent, in the thing of chief moment, as that now generally prevailing, will the Spirit of God who can give no sanction to inherent impropriety of any sort, work with that plenitude of his power, which will be necessary to write "holiness to the Lord," on such inventions and aboundings of secular life, as those which we already see in such rapid progress, must become in their culmination? As, then, no change is to be expected in God's plan for reducing men to obedience to himself, must not the change we are speaking of in preaching be a reality at length, if the triumph of the gospel on earth is to be a reality?

22. And *why should it not be inaugurated at once?* The very occasion for it presupposes a high existing culpability in the ministers of the word. No tongue can express the evil of delivering Christian truths, *as if they were fictions*. As far as preachers are chargeable with this evil, they have cause for the deepest humiliation. Next to counting Christ himself a myth, nay identical with it in effect, is so represent-

ing his doctrine. What infidelity whether in itself, or in its consequences is worse? We know it is pleading for a paradox to insist on the reform, as an immediate necessity; but if a paradox be true and the truth important, these facts imply criminality in its being a paradox,* and imperatively require that it be so no longer. Think of it as we may, the prevailing way of delivery in preaching, is matter for the profoundest regret to the ministry and the church. Whether it is to remain in the coming times or not, it should for the sake of the times now present, from henceforth cease, or cease to be excused, or tolerated. Infinite interests demand that the reform begin without delay.

23. *Let not the change seem impracticable.* No circumstances, no powers of argument or persuasion, can of themselves effect it; these can produce no spiritual fruit whatever; and this, as we have seen, is the highest perfection of this kind of fruit; but there is on this account no cause for discouragement. The power to be ultimately relied on, in the whole business of preaching, is the power of the Holy Ghost. It is the privilege, it is the duty, of preachers, to be full of the Holy Ghost, and workers together with Him, in every part of their labor. The chief thing, the only thing virtually necessary to the change, is what they cannot be wanting in, without sinning alike against themselves and against the highest law of their function, the law of all its laws. Remembering the Divine-human character of preaching, let them rise above themselves, as they should and may without presumption, into the illuminations and sanctities of the Eternal Spirit; and over all difficulties connected with the cultivation and practice of just delivery in preaching, they will be already triumphant. And if they live to be preachers in the opening Future they will pass into it prepared for its eventful activities and developments; and whether they live or die, under the consciousness of their new impulses and experiences, they will well fulfill what remains of their sacred mission; and for that part of it at least, be able to endure the fiery ordeal through which every preacher's work with himself will have to pass in the judgment of the great day of the Lord.

* Paradox—Something against prevailing opinion.

ART. III—ORIGIN OF HOMER'S PURER RELIGIOUS IDEAS.*

By FRIEDRICH KÖSTER.

WHAT reflecting and attentive reader of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* has not been struck with the strange contradictions of the poet in his description of the nature and agency of his gods? Nägelsbach, in his excellent work on the *Theology of Homer* (Nuremberg, 1840), has referred to this point. These gods are superhuman beings, yet in form and power they are but moderately superior to men; only once or twice are they described, after the oriental view, as gigantic beings. (*Iliad* 2: 272, Nägelsb. p. 14). They work in distant places, but only in isolated instances, and in a limited way, (Nägelsb. p. 16). The omniscience and omnipotence ascribed to them are only partial and transient (p. 18); but they can, for example, expedite the processes of nature, kill men and bring them again to life (p. 26); and yet they stand under the influence of Ate, the goddess of delusions (p. 68), and in part under the dominion of Fate (*Moirai*, p. 126). They are good and just, but only in individual cases; at times they mislead men with craft, and plunge them into misfortune by misdeeds (p. 31); they are to be appeased and yet are envious (p. 35); they are blessed and free from care (*Il.* 24: 526) while subject to all human passions (p. 29). By immortality alone are they sharply distinguished from men, yet even this springs not from their essential nature, but from the eating of ambrosia (p. 38). And what, too, shall we say of those base scandals, by which the poet degrades the gods far below the level of humanity? Homer magnifies the virgin modesty of Nausicaa, and yet depicts with satisfaction the shameless intercourse of Ares and Aphrodite in sight of all the gods. In Penelope he describes a pattern of the holiness of marriage, and yet prefaces this holiness by the scene between Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida. He blames vulgar scolding among men, and yet describes gods and goddesses as abusing one another in the most violent terms. These and similar scenes have indeed been interpreted, from Plato to Heraclides Ponticus, as a conscious symbolism to explain natural phenomena; but such an interpretation is wholly arbitrary, and the poet himself indicates nothing of the sort. Nägelsbach (p. 11) ex-

* Translated from the *Studien and Kritiken*.

plains these contradictions by the fact that the Homeric theology, conceiving of the gods as made in the image of man, was not able, much as it strove to do so, to break through the limits of human nature. "The gods," he says (p. 72), "were originally the powers of nature, but were by degrees shaped into persons, and represented as a tyrannical race, whose history was made up of revolt and victory. Hence (p. 49), they sometimes interfere in a remarkable way in the conduct of human affairs, but not in the order of a providential plan; and bold men can even resist them." This certainly explains the human way of thinking and acting ascribed to the gods, but it still remains inconceivable how such rude anthropopathic notions and such unworthy stories could be combined in one consciousness with the purer and more ethical ideas of God elsewhere avowed.

It lies on the surface, that in Homer there are two religious standpoints, or religious *systems*, alongside of each other; the one more rude, peculiar to the people, as he found it among his landsmen; the other more noble and of foreign origin, which he designedly interwove in his poems, to educate his Greeks gradually and imperceptibly. Nägelsbach, in his Introduction, holds that the origin of the Homeric religion is partly Pelasgic and national, and partly oriental, that is, foreign; yet he has not followed out his general view in detail. From the primitive Pelasgic stock are derived the representation of the gods as mere powers of nature, air and earth, fire and water, life and death and the like; these were afterwards represented as persons, an aristocratic family, with superhuman endowments, but having at the same time all human passions; here too belong the wars of the Olympic divinities with the Titans and Giants. But Homer in his wanderings had come upon worthier conceptions of the gods as supersensible and moral beings, governing human destiny with wisdom and justice. This appears, too, from the fact that he almost always calls the old national deities *the* gods, with the article, while he designates as *gods* or *God* (without the article), the nobler divinities, so to say, the Divine God in the abstract. (See Il. 4: 1; Odys. 1: 32.) *God* (Θεός) can do all, and give to every one as he will; *Gods* know all (Od. 4: 397), and can do all (Il. 19: 90). Their providence determines destiny (Od. 9: 592); and they rule with wisdom over the plans and undertakings of men (Il. 16: 688). To them we must pray; for all men are in need of the gods (Od. 3: 49). They must be feared and their commands obeyed. Sin, and the source of all sin, is in selfishness, pride (Nägelsbach, p.

274), rising up against the gods. We may even find an approximation to monotheism (Nägelsb. p. 100, 108) in Zeus, the father of gods and men; and in the frequent and prominent union of the three chief divinities: Zeus, the mighty; Apollo, the revealer, and Athena or wisdom, there is a Trinitarian intimation. In this theology there are indeed great imperfections; Homer knows nothing of the love of gods to men, or of men to the gods, nothing of submission to the Divine will, or of universal human love; sin is in his view that which is hurtful, but not an inward corruption; there is no trace of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, or of such sayings as this: "Obedience is better than sacrifice." (Nägelsb. p. 183). But could this be otherwise, since the poet, alongside of those purer religious ideas, still retained, and must retain, the sensual and immoral elements of polytheism?

The question, now, spontaneously suggested is this: Whence could Homer have received his higher religious ideas? Out of himself he could not draw that which nature never gave to man, and which has become known only through a revelation. Here we must call to mind, that, from the times of the Phœnician Cadmus, the Greeks were under Oriental influence, and received from the *Orient* their first impulse in the way of progress; and that also in later times, according to sure reports, the founders of a purer religion and morality, Pythagoras, Solon and Plato, received their views from the same source. To which land of the East are we chiefly to trace this influence? The Phœnicians, with their lascivious worship of Baal, Astarte and Thammuz, found entrance among the Greeks in later and more degenerate times. Many hints point to Egypt; and undoubtedly the great Grecian tribes thence derived many useful arts and sciences, especially geometry and astronomy. But the Egyptian popular religion, with its worship of animals and the grotesque forms of its gods, could not possibly harmonize with the Grecian innate sense of beauty; and the esoteric doctrines of the Egyptian priestly caste, a kind of duabistic philosophy of nature, were unfitted, by their speculative character, to reform the popular religion of the Greeks. The same holds true of the wisdom of the Magi, as found among the Assyrians and Babylonians, and the Medo-Persians sprung from them. And so we are led to the *people of Israel*, to whom, by Divine revelation, had been imparted a simple, popular religion, monotheistic, ethical, and adapted to human welfare. But where do we find the bridge over which the Greeks, seeking after wisdom (1 Cor. 1: 22), could come to the religious belief of the Hebrews? The

latter, a despised, and relatively small nation, were not even known by name to Herodotus, the Grecian historian at the period of the Persian wars; and even in the times of the Roman emperors their doctrine respecting God was derided by Juvenal in the words: *Nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant!* And yet an indirect way may be pointed out, by which, even in the times of Homer, single rays of light from the revelation given to the Jews might have been brought into Hellas. Homer, it is well known, abounds in allusions to the thriving commerce of the Phœnicians with the cities of the Greek coasts.* Add to this, that Ionia, the birth-place of the Homeric songs, called in the Old Testament Javan, was not far from Palestine; and that the Homeric poems were written about the same time that the Hebrew nation was at the height of its glory under David and Solomon. Consider, further, that Tyrian artists helped in the building of the temple of Solomon (1 Kings, v.); and that the Israelite seamen made long voyages with the Phœnicians to Ophir and Tarshish (1 Kings, ix: 27). I need refer only to Zebulun, who dwelt at the haven of the sea, and had a haven for ships, whose border was unto Sidon (Gen. xlix.: 13). Is it not then possible, nay even probable, that the Israelites or Phœnicians might have imparted to the inquisitive Greeks many things about the religion of the Hebrews? Naaman, captain of the Syrian host, declared (2 Kings, v: 15), "that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel." Might not such monotheistic confessions have been spread abroad? Homer knows about the Solymi, and the name of the river Jordan (*Ἰάρδανος*); and he seems to comprise three chief branches of the Semitic family (Eber, Arab and Aram), under the name of the Erembians (Odys. 4: 83), whom he places between Egypt and Phœnicia.† The industrious Tob. Pforner ‡ finds ground for the position that the Greeks might have received many truer representations of God from the Old Testament, in a less direct way than that of intercourse with the Jews.

Accordingly, the course may have been something like this. The poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey—we assume that there was one, so far as the language, customs, and views of life in both poems are identical—found among his people a very imperfect, native religion, the Pelasgic, in which the gods, originally only the forces of nature, had been transformed into

* See the author's *Erläuterungen der heiligen Schrift aus den Klassikern*. Kiel, 1833, p. 150 seq.

† Ibid, p. 142 sq.

‡ *Systema Theologiae Gentilis purioris*. Basil, 1679. Cap. 1: 65.

a tyrannical and lordly race, which lived and ruled upon the summit of Olympus. What this "wise man" had heard, in his wanderings among the Hebrew and Phœnician seamen and traders, about the religious views of the Israelites, that there was one God, above the world, almighty, and alone good, who had revealed himself to them; this knowledge he used in order to educate his fellow countrymen silently and insensibly, under the veil of a heroic, popular saga, to higher and better views. This could be effected only as he allowed the popular mythology of the prevailing polytheism to stand along with the sayings that breathe a genuine religious spirit; for without the former he would have been reputed an atheist, as was Socrates in later times; and as to the purer doctrines, he might reasonably anticipate that they would gradually make their own way. He planted an *ethical* principle in the midst of the merely physical conceptions of the Greek popular faith. Especially in the *Odyssey*, which depicts family life, do we find the fair sentiments of a true piety (Nägelsb. p. 50). Thus: "May the gods endow you with all virtue;" "The gods can make the wise to be fools, and change the vain to prudence" (23: 12). "The destruction of scorners is proof that the gods still rule" (24: 351). "A youth guided by the gods cannot become evil" (3: 375). "Let not the rich be presumptuous, but enjoy in quietness the gifts of the gods" (18: 140). There was good reason why Homer did not name the source of these truths, for he wished to make them current imperceptibly. Thus, too, is to be explained, the origin of the names of honor given him by posterity, the *wise man*, the *divine singer*. His poems became a popular religious work, as it were, the Bible of the Greeks. But in the following centuries, the seed-corns of truth which he scattered around were choked by the rank growth of popular superstitions. Only the wisest of the nation, Pythagoras and Socrates, Pindar and Sophocles, Plato and Aristotle, tried to bear these truths aloft. May not Plato have known the Hebrew doctrine about God? Numenius, the Pythagorean, called him "the attic speaking Moses," as is testified by Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromata*, i. p. 251.

When the time was fulfilled, the Son of God appeared upon earth and revealed his glory, and his disciples proclaimed the pure faith of God for all creatures, as a testimony that it was to become the common heritage of the whole human race. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah (lxvi.: 19), Jehovah will send his messengers "to Javan," as well as to other nations, "to proclaim his glory among the Gentiles." And so,

too, the Lord rejoiced when he heard that the Greeks desired to see him (John xii.: 20). The great apostle to the Gentiles preached to the Athenians, that the *unknown God*, whom they worshipped, was the creator of heaven and earth, who had sent his Son to bless mankind (Acts, xvii.: 23). There were then even in degenerate heathendom points of junction for the divine word of salvation. Such points are also found in Homer; and hence we may say that God himself may have elevated his clear understanding to the great idea of breaking the way in Hellas for the pure doctrine of God.

What we have here presented is indeed to be called only *a conjecture*. But no one will look for a strict proof of such secret, Divine workings; enough if the conjecture be conceded, under the circumstances, to be probable. Thus is set in a clearer light the destination of Christianity to become the religion of the whole human race.

ART. IV. FOSTER ON FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

By FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., Providence, R. I.

TO THE REV. THOMAS H. SKINNER. D. D.

My Dear Brother:—In our conversation last summer, you spoke particularly of Foster's letter upon the "Duration of Future Punishment." You were of the opinion, that the deserved celebrity of the writer was liable to give currency to his views which they did not really deserve; and that a benefit would be conferred on many a serious inquirer, if the teachings of revelation on the doctrine of the final condition of the impenitent were fairly presented. This labor you urged me to undertake.

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, an opportunity has been afforded; I have read this letter with attention, and will here give you the result of my reflections. I have done more. I have read again the "Life and Correspondence of Foster" with renewed admiration of his knowledge of the human heart, his profound and original thought, his power of generalization, and his sincere but pensive and somewhat sombre piety.

His biography will well repay the deepest attention. The child of poor parents, whom during several years of his youth, he assisted in their labors at hand weaving, he enjoyed but

scanty opportunities for early literary culture. Under all the disadvantages of his situation however, his intellectual superiority made itself manifest to his friends. They discovered in him a nervously diffident and solitary youth, the germs of distinguished eminence. He early gave evidence of piety, and it was naturally believed that God had chosen him to be a minister of the gospel. In order to qualify himself the better for this service, he spent some time in the family, and under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Fawcet. He then entered the theological academy at Bristol, where he remained for two or three years. His tutor was the Rev. Joseph Hughes, the parent, and one of the first secretaries, of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Here, he was associated with many learned and able men, and was introduced to the treasures of a valuable library. He studied with so intense application, that his health suffered a shock, from which it is doubtful if he ever recovered.

On leaving the academy at Bristol, he devoted himself to preaching the gospel. He was employed in several places as a candidate, and in some of them became for a few years a settled pastor. His success was not, however, such as his unquestioned talent would have led us to anticipate. While his great ability was universally acknowledged, and his kindness of heart appreciated by his intimate friends, yet nowhere did the audience increase under his ministry. Sometimes the number of his hearers continued during his residence unchanged, sometimes it increased, but as often diminished. In every place he formed a few life-long friendships, but he was little known to his people at large. His thoughts were abstract, his sentences involved, his voice was weak, and, though his delivery is said to have rendered his meaning with great precision, yet he could not be understood in continuous discourse without closer attention than an audience will generally bestow upon a minister of religion. On one occasion, his novel mode of treating a subject led an old man to remark, "I don't know what he has been driving at all this afternoon, unless to set riddles." "He is going to take us to the stars again," was a frequent observation of his hearers.

His friends, who appreciated his intellectual ability, frequently urged him to write for the press; being confident that his mind was better adapted to written than to oral discourse. Yielding to their suggestions he first published his celebrated Essays, which at once gave him a position among those writers whom the world will not willingly let die. Soon a disease of the throat rendered it impossible for him to

preach statedly, and he was obliged to relinquish the ministry, and devote himself to literature. For several years, he was the most important contributor to the *Eclectic Review*. From 1806 to 1839, one hundred and eighty-five articles in this periodical were written by him. From time to time he published volumes on important subjects, preaching occasionally but only in retired places, and in small houses of worship. His health, always feeble, in his later years became exceedingly delicate, so that he rarely traveled from home. He died October 15th, 1843, at the age of seventy-three.

He was from youth, remarked for great originality of mind and stern independence of character. That an idea had been entertained before, was no reason why he should still entertain it, but rather the reverse. He seemed instinctively impelled to examine every subject for himself, and this he did with great acuteness and deep penetration. Shams of all sorts, whether in church, or state, or society, met his utter detestation. He delighted to remove the veil, with which unquestioned authority had covered a subject, and present it in the simple light of unambiguous truth.

This sturdy and uncompromising independence is one of the rarest and most valuable elements of character. But like other endowments, it is liable to mislead, unless it be tempered by a wise and sagacious discretion. He who resolves that he will doubt, until he investigates everything for himself, must ignore the testimony of the past, and find his life exhausted before half of his doubts have been dispelled. Of things generally believed, though many may be false, yet a portion must certainly be true; and he who equally doubts them all, while he successfully exposes hypocrisy and cant, may sometimes find himself stubbornly questioning self-evident truth.

The most striking peculiarity of Foster's mind, was, however, if I mistake not, his unequalled power of reflection. His mind was always turned inward upon itself, observing its own processes, watching its own emotions, and inquiring for the cause of every intellectual or moral phenomenon. As he was a devout lover of nature, he spontaneously associated every appearance of the world without, with something which he discovered or felt in the world within, ever seeing each in grand parallelism with the other.

I know of no man, of whom it could be said with more emphatic truth, that his mind was a kingdom unto itself. From youth he loved solitude above all other enjoyments. To walk alone, to spend hours by himself, in the field or the forest, to

observe nature in all her forms, especially the gloomy and terrific, and to find in his own mind some emotions that corresponded with what he saw was his constant habit. Hence arose the remarkable subjectivity which displays itself so prominently in all his writings ; and hence also the richness and originality of his imagination. He was scarcely conscious of a spiritual fact before there arose before him some appearance in nature to which it seemed closely analogous.

As he advanced in years this mental peculiarity was somewhat modified. As he grew older, the outward world presented itself to him with less vivid coloring, and his mind turned the more exclusively upon itself. The world within occupied more fully his thoughts, and attracted more powerfully his observation. His mind, or, we may more properly say, his feelings became as it were the unit, by which he measured everything about him, and he recoiled at once from every thing that jarred in the least upon his sensibilities.

It is almost painful to observe in his Letter his frequent gasping after sentiment, and his feeling of utter loneliness unless his acquaintances come into special sympathy with himself. Indeed it sometimes seems to be a little more. He almost thinks of himself as a being of a peculiar organization, as one of a different and perhaps a higher species, while he looked upon the men around him as beings of another caste, to whom he would by any self-denial willingly do good, but who were shut out from him by a barrier of grossness, which could never be removed. Whatever might be the qualities of others, if his feelings did not sympathize with them, his first impulse was to withdraw from them altogether. He was, however, under the control of so high religious principle, that this emotional bias did not often lead him far astray. Nevertheless, such, I think, was the first acting of his mind ; it tinged many of his beliefs, and to a perceptible degree warped some of his most important opinions.

The effect of this peculiar mental habitude may, I think, be seen in his views of Future Punishment. He does not pretend to establish his beliefs or disbeliefs by any testimony of Scripture. All he does is to question whether the passages in which this doctrine is spoken of, *may* not mean something different from what they plainly indicate ; *may* not the words used signify a *definite*, when they speak of an *indefinite*, time ; *may* there not be a reason for supposing that something else is meant than eternal misery ? What that something is, when the termination is to occur, what there is to cause such a termination, what is to be the final result, whether annihilation

or restoration and eternal happiness, Foster does not pretend to have determined. He clearly has no definite opinion on the subject; he offers no argument either direct or indirect from the Word of God. His state of mind seems to be simply this: There is something so awful in the idea of eternal punishment for the deeds of this transitory life, that I cannot reconcile it with my conceptions of the perfections of God, therefore I cannot believe it, though I cannot tell what to believe in the place of it. Yet he would have thought it very strange, when he declared that he would punish one of his children for a grievous fault, if his other children had told him that they did not believe a word that he said, because they could not reconcile the punishment with their conception of his kind and benevolent character.

While forming his opinions on this subject, Foster seems to have taken it for granted, that God may be summoned before the bar of sinful man, that the Infinite may be measured by the finite, that God can do nothing that is not in harmony with our conceptions of his perfections. While looking on the future consequences of sin he seems never to have thought of the awful misery which it has brought into the world, of the holiness of God, or of that necessity of his being, which obliges him to arrest the progress of transgression in the universe of moral agents. He takes his stand-point on earth, and from the feelings of a sinful creature, determines what may or may not be done by the just and holy Sovereign of the universe, eternal and omniscient, the God of an infinite majesty.

But it is time to turn to the Letter itself, and examine it with due attention. The argument is on this wise: The author first presents us with some striking views of eternity and clearly shows that to conceive of it adequately is a task far transcending the province of our limited capacities. Thence he turns to man. He sees that we come into being strongly inclined to evil under circumstances which render a life of sinfulness certain, if not necessary. Help from ourselves is hopeless; it can only come from above, and this help is granted to but a small portion of mankind. But few of our race know even the existence of God, still fewer know anything of the nature of his law or the way of salvation by Christ. Many die in infancy, and of those who know of the offers in the gospel but a few are chosen to eternal life. Yet, according to the doctrine which he disbelieves, a God of infinite love consigns a whole race, with the exception of a select few, to eternal punishment, it may

be for *even a single* sin. And all this is rendered more incredible from the fact, that this punishment has not been made known as the result of sin to one in a million of those who suffer. And, in addition, it is to be remarked that this eternal misery is to be inflicted on all but a select few of the children of Adam, without regard to differences of moral character. This is a brief statement of the views of the author on this subject. He only doubts. He presents no positive doctrine. He does not determine what that period of punishment should be which might exist without shaking his feelings. He offers no evidence either direct or indirect, positive or circumstantial, in proof of his views. All he asks is that punishment shall not be eternal; this granted, his feelings are at rest.

I do not propose to consider these opinions in detail. Each separate article might well occupy an essay by itself. I prefer to pursue a different course. The doctrine of a future state is, exclusively, a matter of revelation. Without revelation all is doubt, inference and uncertainty. Shadows, clouds and darkness rest upon it. Foster's objections must of course then be to the doctrine as revealed in the Scriptures. Evidently then the first question to be considered is, what is the teaching of the New Testament on this subject? This we will now endeavor to do.

So far as I am able to understand the New Testament, it reveals to us the following truths :

1. In the beginning God created man upright, in his own image, that is, I suppose, in his own intellectual and moral likeness. That is, he created him with an understanding capable of arriving at knowledge from premises; with a conscience by which he can distinguish between right and wrong, and be impelled to the one and repelled from the other; and with a will perfectly free to choose between any two objects presented to him. Being a moral, and of course a responsible being, it is essential that he be endowed with such a will. God having thus created him, respects the nature which he has made, and ever treats him as a being endowed with an understanding, a conscience and a will, and responsible to him for the proper use of each.

2. It is probable that all the moral beings whom God has created were subjected at first to a state of probation. Thus we read of the angels who *kept not their first estate*. It is certain that such is the case with man. His condition in the present life is probationary. The character formed in youth, is the foundation of the character developed in manhood and in old age. Thus also the whole character of man in the present

world, is probationary to the character which he will manifest in the other world. No other reasonable condition of being for moral agents can be conceived. Being thus formed, God made known to man his will, and denounced the punishment of death in case of disobedience.

3. One of the laws of the constitution under which we are created is, that the *character of the probation* of every man is effected either for good or evil by the acts of his predecessors and by others over whose actions he can have no control. This law affects us everywhere. It is the foundation on which rests the indefinite progress of our race. Abolish it, and every generation, without advancing a step, would stand precisely in the tracks of that which preceded it. Our progress in the useful and ornamental arts, in literature and jurisprudence, in all the conveniences of life, as well as the moral progress of our race, are the results of this universal law. Not that the acts of others necessitate us to do either good or evil; the will of man remains perfectly free to choose or to refuse. The actions of others, however, create facilities and allurements for doing the one or the other, and having chosen the good or the evil, we create in ourselves a tendency to do as we have done before. Under this law Adam was created, and the condition of the probation of his posterity was suspended on his conduct.

4. With perfect freedom of will, with every moral principle soliciting him to filial love and obedience, man disobeyed God, and chose to obey his own appetite in the place of the infinite, all-wise, and all-holy Creator. He changed his God and chose to worship the creature rather than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed forever. His whole character was thus reversed. Instead of being the loving and beloved child of God, he became the slave of Satan; and dislike of God took the place of holy reverence. Henceforth he did not like to retain God in his knowledge. Instead of being the companion of angels he became the associate of devils. The earth was cursed for his sake, and paradise became a wilderness, bringing forth thorns and thistles.

5. Hence the conditions of our probation were of necessity changed. Adam commenced his existence in a holy world. God had looked upon it and pronounced it all very good. Everything that he saw and knew, both his intellectual and moral nature, urged him to filial obedience. But by the sin of our first parents all this was reversed. His children entered upon life in a sinful world. Everything around them was polluted by examples of sin. Instead of entering a world peopled by children of God, they beheld on every side his enemies. Com-

encing life under such conditions, infancy, childhood and youth being subject to such examples, that they should become sinners seems a matter of course. We can hardly conceive how it could have been otherwise. Suppose an angel to be created an infant, and let him commence his life in the world of the lost, would he not grow up a demon as certainly, as, if commencing his existence in heaven, he would grow into a seraph? All this must render the depravity of our race certain to beings endowed with passions and will, entering upon life in a wicked world as infants. We, however, by no means affirm that this is all. From our first parents there may have descended a tendency to sin, to love the creature and disobey the Creator, so that in another and more important sense it is true that the carnal mind is enmity to God. Thus one generation after another has become more strongly addicted to sin, and has become more and more thoroughly penetrated with guiltiness, or a bias of the affections entirely in opposition to God.

While all this was going on, let it be remembered, that the free will of man remained unchanged. It was in his power as much as ever to choose or to refuse; he was as free to resist his passions and conquer his wicked inclinations as to yield to them. His intellect continued the same, though it may, in various cases, have been deteriorated by his own act. He was still capable of reasoning from premises to conclusions, and from effects to causes. The handiwork of the Creator everywhere surrounded him, from which he was capable of learning the existence and attributes of the Deity.

6. This subject is treated with great distinctness by the apostle Paul in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. He is addressing himself to the Gentiles. He tells us that *the wrath of God is revealed* against all impiety and wickedness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness; that is, those who know, or might know, the truth and do not obey it.

The reason of the wrath of God, is that what may be known of him is manifest (placed directly before them), for *God hath shown it* unto them. But how has he shown it? Thus: the invisible things of God, even his eternal power and divinity, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, so that they are without excuse. Professing themselves to be wise they became fools and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.

7. Against this shocking and universal impiety, the *wrath of God was revealed*. But *how* was it revealed? The apostle

shall inform us. Wherefore *God gave them up* to uncleanness. He gave them up to vile affections, receiving the recompense of their error, which was meet ; and even *as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge*, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things that are not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, covetousness, maliciousness ; full of envy, murder, deceit, malignity, haters of God, inventors of evil things, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful. The teaching here is plain, and so far as I see indisputable. It is this. God gave men the means of knowing his perfections and his will. From these they turned away, because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, and chose and worshipped the meanest reptiles, nay, even the images of beasts instead of the Creator. Against such awful impiety he displayed his displeasure, or made known his wrath, by allowing them without restraint to pursue their own course. He gave them over. The consequence was, a condition of the most degraded iniquity, and more than brutish sensuality and lust.

Mr. Foster's opinion of the human race does not seem to differ from that of the apostle Paul. To him the world seemed so steeped in wickedness, that the death of a young person was to him a source of pleasure rather than of pain. He says, (Letter 139, Vol. 2d, p. 58) " I constantly and systematically regard this world with such horror, as a place for the rising human beings to come into, that it is an emphatic satisfaction, I may say pleasure to me, except in a few cases of rare promise, to hear of their prematurely leaving it. I have, in a number of times, been amazed that parents should not, in this view, be greatly consoled for their loss. Let them look at this world with sins, temptations, and snares of the devil, bad examples, seducing companions, disasters, vexations, dishonor, and afflictions all over it, and their children to enter the scene with a radically corrupted nature, adapted to receive the mischief of all its worst influences and impressions—let them look at all this, and say whether it would not be well that their children are saved from these dreadful dangers."

Such, then, Foster himself being judge, is the moral character of the human race. The moral perils of the present state are so awful that the death of a human being in infancy is to him a source of pleasure rather than of pain. And we may add that this state is in consequence of the displeasure of God against sin ; it is that at which sin arrives, when men are given up of God, when he has said, " Ephraim is joined unto idols, let him alone." That is to say, God spreads around

men the evidences of his existence and attributes, and gives them an understanding, by the legitimate use of which, they might arrive at the truth ; but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, and they chose brute animals and idols in preference to Him. He gave them his written law, and they rejected it, blinding their eyes by sin, they walked as though in the thickest darkness. God then gave them up to wickedness, to vile affections and a reprobate mind: Such do we find men to be at present. Civilization, and the reflex influences of the gospel may and do in particular regions, and in special conditions of society modify the exhibition of these sensual tendencies ; but their prevailing element is the same ; it is in one word *ungodliness*—they do not like to retain God in their knowledge.

8. Such being the moral character of our race, probation terminates at death. A separation then ensues, which is determined by the moral affections of the individual. Those who love God, are in virtue of the redemption by Christ, admitted to his more immediate presence. Those who are at enmity with him go away into banishment. They said unto God, Depart from us, for we desire not a knowledge of thy ways, and he departs from them. They have taken their choice in this world, and he ratifies it in the next. They refused obedience to a law holy and just and good, and God appoints them a condition in which there is no law. They chose to obey their own passions and lusts in the place of God, and he leaves them to the unrestrained tyranny of their evil tendencies. They would not live to him, but lived to themselves, cultivating selfishness in all its forms ; he assigns to them a condition in which selfishness reigns supreme in every being, where every evil bias of the human heart is allowed to bring forth its fruit without restraint, in its bitterest intensity. What can be more awful than such a state of existence ? Every element of happiness has been excluded, and nothing is left but unsatisfied appetite wrought up to madness, envy malice, rage, cruelty, implacable and unmerciful, all acting without control, and each seeking nothing but the misery of all. And more than this, every one is conscious that he is receiving nothing but the result of his own choice. Maddened with rage against God, they know that it is all just, yet they cannot but rise in fruitless enmity against omnipotence and holiness. They curse their God and their King looking upward.

A state of existence more awful than this cannot be conceived. It is not necessary to suppose that God is directly

inflicting pain as the punishment of sin. 'Tis enough that he allows it without restraint, to come to its inevitable results. It thus furnishes the most impressive lesson to the universe. It thus presents as vivid a picture of the tendencies of sin as heaven of the tendencies of holiness. This is evidently in harmony with one of the great principles of the government of God. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth ; the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.

I know that the state of the wicked in the other world is in the Scriptures frequently spoken of as caused by the wrath of God. True, but in what manner does this wrath make itself known? Can it in any manner display to the universe so effectually the evil of sin, as by thus allowing it to receive the results of its own choices? Can any degree of physical pain be compared with the misery of beings who exercise without control every evil passion of the human heart, and who know that they have brought all this upon themselves? The spirit of a man can sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear? This is the manner in which, according to the apostle Paul, the wrath of God is displayed in this world. Can any reason be assigned why the same mode of manifestation should not be employed in the world to come?

9. The question then occurs: How long shall this condition continue? Is there anything in the state itself which has a tendency to change? The exercise of every evil passion must increase continually in energy, and the enmity of the soul against God must rankle with more and more hatred, what then is there in such a condition to fit men for heaven? There can be no hope from this source. There is no more reason to suppose that the continuance of hatred to God would in the end prepare men for heaven, than that the love of God growing age after age more intense, would, in the end, render them fit for hell.

The testimony of the Scriptures it seems not necessary to consider in detail. Foster evidently places little reliance upon his *interpretation* of the Word of God. When he asks what say the Scriptures? he answers: "There is a *force in their expressions* at which we well may tremble. But I *hope* it is not *presumption* to take *advantage* of the fact that the terms everlasting, eternal, forever, original or translated, are often employed in the Bible under very great and various limitations of import, and are thus withdrawn from the predicament of *necessarily* and absolutely meaning eternal duration." The whole argument here evidently turns upon this: That the words in question are occasionally used in a somewhat differ-

ent sense. It is however true that in the passages on *this* subject *they are so used* that their meaning cannot be doubted. The Scriptures clearly teach us that there will be a day of judgment for all men, that then and there a decision will be had, after which there will be no change ; that the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal. The word which designates *duration* is the same in both cases. If God had meant to teach us that one state was temporary, and the other eternal, he would surely have distinguished them here by different terms. If the doctrine of future punishment be in truth at variance with the attributes of God, he would not certainly have vindicated them by a mode of interpretation which annihilates the certainty of every doctrine of revelation.

But it is said that Christ died for all, therefore all *will* eventually be saved. True, Christ died for all, that all *might* be saved ; but his death is effectual only on those who believe. He died that he might offer eternal life to all those who will forsake their sins and accept of it. He treats men, therefore, as free agents. But if a man will not accept of it, it is the same to him, as though Christ had not died. This is the condemnation, that light has come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil. Again, Christ is the Saviour of all who believe. Belief is the temper of heart which it becomes a sinner to exercise to his Father in heaven, and towards the Saviour who died to redeem him. He that has such a temper will be saved. But sinners when on earth did not manifest such a temper, and it surely could not be produced by the experience which they suffer, or the beings with whom they associate in the world of the lost. They have disobeyed law and rejected Christ, what have they to hope for from either, whether in this world or the world of retribution ?

10. It has been objected to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment that, so far as we can see, but a small portion of our race will be saved, while the great majority will be lost. It is believed that this must be irreconcilable with the goodness of God.

On this objection we would remark :

(a) The proportion of the lost to the saved cannot be known until the history of this world shall have been closed. The Scriptures teach us that the reign of Christ is yet to come, that the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea, and that this reign shall continue for a thousand years, or a period of unlimited duration. If this age

should resemble the cycles of millions of years with which geology makes us acquainted, during which time the earth shall be densely peopled beyond our present conception, and the inhabitants all righteous, the number of the saved may exceed that of the lost, who can tell in what vast proportion?

(b) But setting aside all proper discord from this world, let us look at the subject from another point of view. This earth, though a constituent part of God's dominion, is but an infinitesimal part. Yet it is, we believe, intimately connected with the whole moral creation. It is on this little world that to principalities and powers in heavenly places there is made known the manifold wisdom of God. Our earth is the selected theatre on which the Holy One unfolds his choicest attributes to the whole creation. Here he in a special manner displays his hatred of sin, his love to sinners, his truth and holiness, and the completion of the work of redemption on earth, taught in heaven a new ascription of praise to God and the Lamb forever. Why should not also the nature and the necessary results of rebellion against God, be held up forever in the presence of the whole universe? If it be said that this might have been accomplished by the sacrifice of a smaller number, I answer, the only question is, Is the sentence just? This has nothing to do with the number who may or may not suffer the penalty which it denounces.

11. But it is said that this fearful destiny is increased by those who never knew of these consequences of transgression. Human laws always tell us what will be the penalty for violation. Justice requires that the Divine law should at least be equally explicit.

To this we reply that human laws have to do merely with acts and not with the tempers of the heart. Human law is satisfied if it prevents murder, though there may lurk in the heart any amount of murderous propensity. It therefore holds up the punishment in terrorem and is satisfied if it prevents actual transgression. The divine law proceeds upon a totally different principle. It forbids not only the evil, but the disposition of heart from which the evil proceeds. Nor is this all. To do or not to do, from fear of punishment or hope of reward, is of no avail in the sight of God. Nothing is virtuous in his eyes but that which proceeds from the love of goodness, and from filial obedience to his commands. He distinctly takes the ground that filial obedience to him, our Father in heaven, is our first duty, and without this nothing is acceptable to him. Hence the monition of conscience teaches us an indefinite dread of result from the doing of

wrong, but gives us no information as to what the result is to be. In the New Testament the result of sin is explicitly revealed, but at the same time we are assured that no action is really good unless it proceeds from *the love of God*. We are in the gospel promised rewards for all the losses we suffer in consequence of our profession of religion. But if we do it *for the sake of the reward*, we are not entitled to the promise. The promise is given to those alone who without hope of reward, act only for the sake of Christ.

12. It is also objected that if the doctrine in question be true, then those who have lived in pagan darkness, though they have never heard of the way of salvation, must of *necessity* be cast out to dwell for ever in eternal despair.

This is not we think the statement of the Scriptures. We learn from the New Testament that all men are justly under condemnation ; that the Redeemer died for all and offers life to all ; but that his sacrifice is available only to those who believe. Belief or faith is a temper of heart, a temper such as responds to the character of the blessed God and of his Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. This temper of heart may exist in those who have not known of the coming of Christ, and they may be saved in virtue of the sacrifice of a Redeemer, of whom they have not heard. It is on this principle that Abraham was saved by faith ; nor Abraham alone, Moses, David, Samuel, and all the saints of the Old Testament, were saved in the same manner. This principle may be applied to the heathen. They have the light of nature, and the apostle being judge, they are without excuse. If they obey that light, though it be imperfectly, and exercise the right temper of heart, they may also be saved through the merits of a Saviour of whom they have not heard. The heathen are lost, not by the force of any necessary doom, but because they have not improved the light which they have enjoyed, and because the moral temper of heart which they cherish is enmity to God.

It is also objected, that according to the doctrine in question, all must suffer alike ; the infant and the man of gray hairs, and especially he that has sinned but once and he that has sinned during a life time.

On this last case I would make a single remark in passing. When men speak of the consequences of a *single* sin as unduly severe, they seem to forget the nature of sin itself. To sin is not merely to rebel against a holy and good being—the law, on obedience to which is suspended the happiness of the moral universe—but it is a deliberate rejection of the authority of God and submission of the soul to the desires of the

human heart. This one act transforms the whole nature ; the being instead of the friend of God becomes his enemy, and thus the carnal heart is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. It is not therefore surprising that he should be treated as the enemy of God.

But to return. It is nowhere asserted in the Scriptures that the condition of all men will be the same, but clearly the reverse. Our Saviour has said, he that knew his Lord's will and neither prepared himself, nor did his Lord's will, shall be beaten with many stripes, but he that knew not and did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes, for unto whomsoever much is given of him shall much be required. Here we are not only taught that there are differences in the destiny of man, but that an important element of difference is, the degree of knowledge that may be possessed by various individuals.

13. But it is said, God certainly knew that man would sin, why did he then create him ? Or after he had created him why did he not prevent him from sinning ? Or since he sent his Son for man's salvation, why did he not make the fact of his coming known to the whole world ? God had power to do all these things, why should he punish men for doing what he might so easily have prevented ?

We see at a glance that this is no other than the old question of the origin of evil. It is simply this : How came sin to exist at all under the government of a God of omniscience, holiness and love ? We know that God is infinitely good, wise and holy, and that sin exists in this portion of his universe, and this is all we know about it.

The same question is put to the apostle Paul (Rom. ix.: 19 sqq.), and we have his answer : "Thou wilt say then unto me, *Why doth he yet find fault, for who hath resisted his will?*" His answer is as follows : "Nay, but O man who art thou that repliest against God ? Shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus ? Hath not the potter power over the clay to make one vessel unto honor and another to dishonor ? What if God willing, to show his wrath and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction ; and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had before prepared unto glory, even unto us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles." This is Paul's answer to the question. I do not see that we can go behind it.

And, lastly, Foster argues that this cannot be true because even those who acknowledge it to be true do not act as if

they believed it. To this we may reply, that what is alleged may prove the moral insensibility of men, but it has nothing to do with the truth of the doctrine. In the same manner we might prove that the happiness of heaven is limited, because those who say that they believe it, act very inconsistently with their profession. The manner in which a doctrine is received is no evidence either of its truth or falsehood.

This Letter has been already prolonged greatly beyond my anticipations ; yet bear with me while I add two brief suggestions.

1. How unspeakably intimate is the connection between this life and the life to come. Every act that we perform, every word that we utter, nay, every thought that we harbor, is doing its part to give shape and coloring to our eternal destiny. If we turn away from our Father in heaven, and choose for our gods sensual or intellectual pleasure, social position, wealth, power, or the applause of men, then there is nothing to prevent us. God respects the free agency with which he created us. But let us remember we must abide by our choice forever. As a man soweth so shall he also reap. He that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption. We shall find in another world that we have moulded our destiny with our own hands. We must associate forever with the enemies of all good, hateful and hating one another, rising in endless hostility against the ever-blessed God, ever crushed by the hand of omnipotence, knowing that all our suffering is just, and that we on earth had chosen it.

2. How does all this teach us the unspeakable importance of seeking now to be reconciled to God through the death of his Son. Through the atoning sacrifice God can be just and justify him that believeth. A full, free pardon, without money and without price, is offered to every penitent believer. Nay, more, to all who thus come the Holy Spirit is given, by whom our souls are cleansed from the pollution of sin, our affections set on heaven, and we made meet to be inheritors of the saints in light. All this is fully offered to us by the blessed Saviour. If we reject it—and we can if we choose—we consign our souls to the abodes of the lost. Let us not delay for a moment. Now is the accepted time ; behold, now is the day of salvation.

Thus, my dear Brother, I have endeavored to comply with your request, and am,

With deep veneration and Christian love,

Yours truly,

F. WAYLAND.

ART. V.—GIBBON AND COLENZO.

By WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., New York City.

Traveling in the country, the eye frequently notices in the fields, those large rounded rocks, which are known to geologists as boulders. The peculiarity of these masses is, that they are out of place, transported from their original bed, by some convulsion of nature, most probably by water; as when, on the surface of a recent formation, we see a boulder of granite. There are some events in history which may be compared to boulders. They are quite extraordinary in their dimensions; they attract attention; but they are unrelated to other events which precede or follow. They lie on the surface, large and massive, but disconnected with all around them. They might be rolled away out of sight and not be missed. They would leave no chasm in history, to be supplied by some other object. If left unrecorded, we should be conscious of no interruption to the dramatic plan of historic unity.

On the other hand, there are events in history which may be likened to the stones used in the foundation or walls of an edifice. They are clamped and cemented together in solid masonry. They lie in place, fitted and grooved into other blocks, after such a manner, as shows that they are integral parts of one structure, designed by one architect. They are not thrown together accidentally, but arranged in reference to what is beneath them and above them, and on either side of them: nor can we remove one of them, unless we put something in its place, without the risk that the whole building will tumble to pieces.

The American Revolution, for example, and its presiding genius, George Washington. Suppose that a man should be found of such enormous scepticism as to doubt whether such an event ever occurred, or such a personage ever had a historic existence. You will immediately say to him: These are not boulders, which you can roll out of the way as if they were isolated and independent objects. They are figures wrought into an extensive tapestry; you cannot take them out without destroying the whole texture. They run back into the past; they are related to English history, to well attested facts in colonial life, and they are inwrought with the whole structure of our nationality; its constitution, its flag,

its coinage, its observance of the fourth of July, and the honor conferred on that great man, in the use made of his name in connexion with cities, towns and monuments immortalizing his fame, and the whole body of our literature. Such events, whether they be modern or ancient, can not be questioned, or denied, without unraveling the whole fabric of history, knit together, as it is, out of so many correlative facts and precedents. You cannot disbelieve them unless you disbelieve everything else. You cannot take them out of the building, without letting down the building itself in a heap of ruins. If you could venture to doubt such events as these, then you create a chasm which must be supplied by some hypothesis which will account for all the observances and usages and monuments and associations which compose the present life of nations.

Now Christianity is preëminently an object of this description. It does not lie like a boulder in the open pastures of history a solitary and independent fact; but it is jointed and compacted into all other facts, so that is impossible to separate it from the historic mass. Its roots run back into the past, and penetrate the entire present. Any attempt to displace it from its historic bed, would be like pulling up a tree by the roots, disengaging at the same time the entire mass of sod and mould in which it is planted. Not a few have deluded themselves and others with the notion that if they could succeed in raising rational doubts concerning the historic life of Jesus Christ as portrayed in the New Testament; if they could but throw discredit on the few miraculous events recorded in that extraordinary book,—then infidelity has achieved a victory, and Christianity is extinguished. Such men do not appear to have the first conception of the task they have undertaken. The personal life of Jesus of Nazareth upon the earth occupied only the brief space of a third of a century. Before you can dislodge it from its natural place, you must demolish the whole structure of the Hebrew polity; the entire body of Hebrew literature; the history, liturgy, prophecies, and life of the most extraordinary nation the earth has ever seen. You must re-adjust the relative position of all the nations of the earth; and then it will devolve on you to dispose of the most palpable monuments of the Christian faith, as they are distributed all over the civilized world, and incorporated into the very life and habits of all Christian nations: the Christian Sabbath, the holy communion, the rite of baptism, the mode of computing time, the various observances of the ecclesiastical calendar, the history of the church inwrought with the history

of states : the Crusades—the religious wars of many centuries—the laws, the literature the civilization of all Christendom—the best productions of the arts—the immortal pictures of Raphael and Guido—the Transfiguration and the Crucifixion ; in a word, he who would disprove the historic existence of Jesus Christ must unravel the whole warp and woof of modern history ; instead of detaching a single stone from a promiscuous mass, dropped there eighteen centuries ago, he must upheave the old foundations, draw out the key-stones of the arches, withdraw the pillars, detach the connecting beams from the walls, remove everything which gives unity, symmetry, form, completeness to the edifice, and bring down dome, roof and all into shapeless ruin.

Towards the close of the last century, Mr. Gibbon gave to the world his celebrated work on the “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.” Devout persons, at the time, and ever since, have deplored the effect of that book in reference to Christian belief. In this case, as in so many others, what was intended for disparagement is overruled for advantage to the very cause impugned. It is not enough to say that the weapons employed against Christianity are unavailing, they rebound upon the heads of the assailants to their own discomfiture. Regretting that any man, like Edward Gibbon, should misuse signal talents in an attempt to undermine the prevalent faith in Christian evidences, we shall always be thankful that his own pen unintentionally and unconsciously has furnished testimony irrefutable in support of the very religion whose foundations he aimed to sap. Undertaking the history of that magnificent Imperialism which filled the world with its power and fame, unexpectedly, shall we say, he comes in immediate contact with Christianity. This new religion lies as in its matrix, in the very heart of Roman history. It could not be evaded. To write the annals of the later ages of Rome, without a distinct mention of Christianity, would be like describing the rainbow without specifying the colors of which it is composed. What disposition should be made of Titus and his campaigns in the East, and the monuments which were reared in the metropolis in token of his triumph over Judean superstitions ? What should he do with the frequent allusions to the Christian faith found in Roman classics, particularly in the annals of Tacitus ? How could he make a passage through the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, the Antonines, and Julian—the invasion of the Barbarians, the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, the conversion of Constantine, the insertion of the Cross into the labarum of the Roman

legions, the planting of the religious ensign on the prostrate capitol of the Cæsars—how could he undertake such a history, with any show of impartiality, and omit a distinct mention of the rise, power and prevalence of the Christian Religion? An alternative now awaits his choice; either he must abandon his great undertaking as the historian of Rome, or he must account for the prevalence of the religion with which he is confronted. Had he been disposed to admit the Divine origin and supernatural character of Christianity, his task would have been superlatively easy. But this was the last concession he was inclined to make; so that the problem which he was compelled to grapple was this: How to account for the progress of the Christian religion by natural laws and natural forces. The *ingenuity* displayed by the distinguished author in this discussion,—the *skill* he has exercised in the endeavor to maintain his own reputation as an impartial registrar of facts, while he is averse to the concession of the Divine origin of these facts, has placed those famous chapters—the fifteenth and sixteenth, devoted to this discussion, among the prodigies of English literature. Observe, he makes no profane assault against Christianity. He does not pretend to disbelieve its historic reality. There it stands, as positive a fact as the existence of the Roman Empire. A superficial reader of the chapters would not even suspect the temper and design which moved the pen that wrote them. He might imagine that it was a Christian apologist undertaking a defence of Christianity, in excess of candor and impartiality. A closer inspection detects the mischief. The studious omission of the one essential element—the presence and power of God impregnating and impelling his own revealed religion; the attempt to bring down that religion to the level of natural deism; the cold and unimpassioned manner in which he prosecutes his work, in contrast with his usual élan and enthusiasm; the latent sneer; the adroit sarcasm; the involved implication; the ill-concealed bias and jealousy with which he weighs the motives of Christian believers; and at last the emphatic satisfaction with which he descants on the corruptions of the church in days of later degeneracy; these are the poisonous shafts which were intended to strike deeper into the vitals of Christian faith, by reason of the prefatory pretence of unusual historic candor.

This work of Mr. Gibbon furnishes evidence in demonstration of the Christian religion. We make a particular use of this discussion of his in the construction of an argument for the inspiration and for the historic accuracy of the Old Testa-

ment, which so many, even in our day, are disposed to impugn. We have already referred to the fact, which arrested the eye, and challenged the admission, of the deistical scholar, that Christianity was as palpable an object as the imperialism of Rome ; that its rise and progress interpenetrate Roman history, at every point, through and through, in all its provinces, and books, and laws : and therefore cannot be denied as a historic fact, without denying all history into which it is grooved and morticed. Mr. Gibbon was not tinctured at all with the modern philosophy which transmutes historic occurrences and personages into myths, disposing of them as mere ideas, engendered in the ever-advancing consciousness of our species : for to him the Christian martyr was a real person, as much as a Roman soldier or Emperor ; and signal is the service which he has thus unconsciously rendered for the demolition of all the mythical theories concerning Christianity, which have been spun by the sceptical ingenuity of our times. This, however, is not the purpose for which this testimony is here adduced. We employ it for another object, which we now proceed to explain.

Public attention on both sides of the Atlantic has been directed, with no inconsiderable interest, to recent issues of the English press, which are designed to modify the prevalent faith of the church in regard to the inspired accuracy of the Holy Scriptures. The book of Dr. Colenso is the most notorious of its class. Its professed design is to set aside the authority of the Pentateuch as an historical record. His mode of reasoning is, that the things which are therein contained, from the times of Jacob, his residence in Egypt, the exodus of his descendants, the observance of the Levitical ritual during a sojourn in the wilderness, down to the days of Joshua, were impossible occurrences, and so are not to be received by us as facts. Meantime he does not dispute that God held communication, by his invisible Spirit with the spirits of men ; or that those ideas, which are still retained by the church concerning the attributes of God, and the principles of his moral law, were actually imparted by the Divine effluence to Moses and his contemporaries. What he affirms is, that there is no ground to believe that this inspiration was ever attended by any of those occurrences which the Pentateuch describes as historical ; but that these are a congeries of mistakes, contradictory fables, fictions, imaginations, impossibilities, which are attached by tradition to the record of what is distinctly true, as sand and stone adhere to particles of precious ore. Precisely this is the position assumed by Dr. Colenso. He does not challenge us to abandon belief in inspiration as im-

parted of God to the Hebrew consciousness, in the times of Moses ; but he summons us to relinquish all faith in what the Pentateuch contains as facts, pronouncing them “ *unhistorical and impossible.*”

That such a book, from such a source, is adapted to work injury in many minds, it is idle to question ; all the more because associated with apparent honesty of criticism and great conscientiousness on the part of its author. One method of refuting such a book is to subject each of its specific assertions to careful investigation. This belongs to the department of criticism. We have only to say in this connection, that the volume under notice contains nothing that is new ; only a repetition of what long ago was suitably explained by eminent biblical scholars, of whom it is enough to mention Archbishop Usher, Warburton and Hengstenberg. The first idea of *impossibility* as associated with the Hebrew exodus, and sojourn in the wilderness, this author confesses was suggested to his mind, not in the process of a theological education, but when a missionary in Africa, by an intelligent Zulu convert, himself addicted to the life of a shepherd, who inquired of his teacher, whether the Mosaic account of taking through a wild district flocks and herds in sufficient numbers to maintain the rites prescribed by the Levitical law, was in the range of *possibility* ; and with this clew in his hand—leaving out of account the supernatural and miraculous element—he proceeds to specify any number of particulars, which on natural principles, he asserts are clearly fabulous and “ *unhistorical.*” There is a mode of disposing of this subject which carries absolute conviction. Those events which the Pentateuch treats as historical occurrences were not boulder-stones lying solitary and disconnected on the fields of antiquity. The very things which are now affirmed to be impossible, entered into the very structure of the Hebrew nationality. You cannot deracinate them, without at the same time pulling up and destroying the best attested and most palpable facts of general history. What Colenso is disposed to pronounce unreal and fabulous and contrary to facts, is so inwrought with other facts universally admitted, and patent to our own senses, that they cannot be dislodged without producing universal chaos.

It is in this connection that we make use of the testimony furnished by Mr. Gibbon in the passage of his book already mentioned. Undertaking to account for the spread of the Christian religion throughout the Roman Empire—that palpable piece of history which he could not deny nor evade,

the first cause which he assigns is the "inflexible," and, if he may be allowed to use the expression, "the intolerant zeal of the Christian, derived from the Jewish religion, but gradually purifying from that narrow and unsocial spirit which had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses." Regarding Christianity as an outgrowth of the religion of the Jews, Mr. Gibbon describes that religion in most forcible terms, as something which preserved this one nation distinct and separate from all other nations. This is his own language. "While other nations embraced, or at least respected each other's superstitions, a single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves, emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander, and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the east, and afterwards in the west, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations. The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners, seemed to mark them out as a distinct species of men, who boldly profaned, or who faintly disguised their implacable habits to the rest of humankind. Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of circumjacent nations could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses, the elegant mythology of the Greeks. According to the maxims of universal toleration the Romans protected a superstition which they despised. The polite Augustus condescended to give orders that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem; whilst the meanest of the posterity of Abraham, who should have paid the same homage to the Jupiter of the capital, would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the moderation of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous prejudices of their subjects, who were alarmed and scandalized at the ensigns of paganism which necessarily introduced themselves into a Roman province. The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue in the temple at Jerusalem was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation. Philo and Josephus give a very circumstantial, but a very rhetorical account of this transaction which exceedingly perplexed the governor of Syria. At the first mention of this idolatrous proposal, it is said king Agrippa fainted away, and did not recover his senses until the third day. In a word, the attachment of the Jews to the law of

Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength and sometimes with the fury of a torrent." Thus far Mr. Gibbon himself. No one has described more graphically than he the unique and distinctive history of the Jews, especially in their abhorrence of idolatry, and their undying attachment to certain rites enjoined on them by their Mosaic law. The admission of the Divine authority of Moses and all the parts and observances of their religious system, was, according to this historic authority, the basis of Christianity, and the secret fountain of its zealous life.

We ask for no better premises than these, in an argument for the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch. A fact so marvellous as the religious history of the Jews, running down through so many centuries of time; coming in contact with so many nations, and such different forces, political and religious; yet all the while maintaining its independence, like a river refusing to coalesce with other waters, is something not to be passed by without notice or explanation. Is it possible to account even in imagination for the long-continued and distinct religion of the Jews, made up as it was of so many peculiar rites and observances, except on the ground of the *historic reality* of the events to which they relate? The observance of the Passover was one of the universal features of this distinctive religion. Is it conceivable that such a national festival in honor of a national deliverance could by any means, at any time, be foisted upon a people, unless the event which it celebrates had actually occurred? Measure if you can the credulity which claims that a whole nation could be duped into a religious commemoration of an event which never had a historical existence. Can we believe that the whole American people could be brought to agree in observing, as they now do, the fourth day of July in honor of American independence, if such a thing had never occurred, as the declaration and assertion of that independence? Just how and when was it that a whole nation consented to have such a fraud thrust upon them; such a day of the calendar, with no historic basis as its origin?

It will not be allowable to plead that the general outline of the Hebrew polity was historically true, but that this is encumbered with any amount of fabulous tradition and fictitious accretions. Nothing is more remarkable than the mutual dependency of all the parts of the Pentateuchal record of the Mosaic system, from the first Passover, and the Exodus,

to the established worship of the tabernacle in the promised land. The very figures, numbers, statistics, by which many are staggered, are the very last things which admit of mistake or interpolation, inasmuch as these are connected, for a most important purpose, with the taking of the national census, and the collection of tribal and family taxes, in support of the national liturgy, and army, and so, by a system of checks, were effectually preserved from error and confusion.

The central fact of the Mosaic history being conceded, it carries with it all the adjuncts, great and small, with which it is now associated. Take one of these adjuncts, detach it if you can from the mass, after the manner of recent critics ; take the Exodus, or the Passover ; look at it alone, by itself, irrespective of the entire history to which it belongs ; especially, leave out of account the supernatural and miraculous element, and you might readily pronounce it an impossibility : but the Exodus being actually accomplished, and the Passover being established, *then there were lambs enough for the purpose*, and all the circumstances of these original events must have had a being, or as a consequence, you cannot give one good and sufficient reason for these national customs, which by universal consent, constitute that marvel in history, the religion of the Jews. To pick flaws in the joints of that solid masonry and deny the possibility of its constituent parts, and question the items of its historical record, betrays not only a misconception of that immortal polity but a degree of credulity in regard to existing monuments and facts, which is fairly astounding. There is not a better starting-point from which to begin a demonstration of the inspiration of the Sacred Book, this historical record of the one only true religion revealed of God, than the distinctive quality of the Jewish worship, even now refusing to coalesce with anything foreign to itself, and shrinking with special abhorrence from all forms of idolatry ; facts never to be explained on any hypothesis save the actual occurrence of those events in the Mosaic record, which are thus commemorated, authenticated, and preserved.

There is another aspect of this same subject, which comes closer to our own personal hopes of salvation. We refer to the manner in which Christ and his apostles regarded the laws and institutions of Moses. From profane history we have adduced evidence of the signal prevalence and preservation of that religious system. Christ and his apostles were born as Jews, and in every way honored the Hebrew Scriptures, and the transmitted institutes of the Hebrew worship. No reference is made now to the theologic connexion which, as Chris-

tian believers we are accounted to hold between the sacrifices of Levitical ritualism, and the one-offering of the Lamb of God, taking away the sin of the world ; for this is the very pith and purpose of the epistle to the Hebrews, the substance of our Christian belief. Just now we refer to something different. At the time of our Lord's abode on the earth, we know in what estimate Moses and his religious institutes, with their minute specifications as to the record of tribes, and the religious enrolling of the census with exact genealogies and pedigree,—an idea, which, instead of being an interpolated blunder, pervades the whole structure of the Jewish polity, obviously arranged with reference to the authentication of ancient prophecy in the birth of the Redeemer—we know how this was regarded by the contemporaries of Christ and his apostles. But our Lord himself was foremost in the honor bestowed on the great leader of the Hebrew people. He does not speak of Moses as a myth, nor of the inspiration of the law as an aroma, an invisible essence floating down out of heaven ; but always and emphatically, as of historical objects. Running through the entire volume of the New Testament are these references to the Jewish history ; and these are so numerous and specific, that you might, had the Old Testament been lost, by a careful collocation of them all, reconstruct the Hebrew annals from the calling of Abraham out of Mesopotamia, the descent of Jacob into Egypt, the exodus of his posterity out of that land, the establishment of their peculiar liturgy, the scene enacted at Sinai, that mount that could be touched, that burned with fire, clad with darkness and blackness, quaking with tempest and the sound of a trumpet, and voices unearthly, at which man and beast were terrified beyond control—the very incidents now pronounced to be fabulous—down to the royalties of David. The first Christian Apologists, Stephen, and Peter, and Paul begin their defences of Christianity with these references to the history of their fathers, preserved in all the monuments, rites, and customs of their nation. Christ himself magnified that law which was given on Sinai, that barren range, on which the Arab sentinel still keeps his watchful guard, in preservation of his ancestral traditions ; and all the references which Christ makes to that law, as given to Moses, are as associated with the commonly received historic record of that marvellous scene. Not one word from his lips to abate the faith of man in all the wonders of that unique event. Not one syllable to cast a doubt over the accuracy of these circumstantial details ; but very much in all his discourses to authenticate them as realities. The *main facts*, of the giving of the law

on Sinai, corroborated by the teachings of Christ himself, all the *circumstances* connected with that central event are confirmed also ; for if the people were gathered at the Siniatic mount, then their exodus out of Egypt was accomplished, an event now affirmed to have been impossible ; yet an event which is incorporated in the very first commandment—I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, and if the Passover was actually observed after the method prescribed on that Arabian plateau, then there were animals in sufficient number for the purpose ; though it be now affirmed that the taking of so many flocks through the wilderness was an impossibility, something unhistorical and fabulous. Thus, at length, we discover that the very incidents which we are challenged to discredit, as being beyond the range of historic reality, are grooved and morticed into the very body of Christianity ; and we stand in front of this inevitable alternative—receive them as facts, facts not to be accounted for on natural causes, but by supernatural and divine force, or part with our faith in the Redeemer, as an infallible teacher, a faultless example, and abandon all belief in that historic Christianity, which is immortalized by so many monumental evidences and compacted into the very fabric of modern history. The notion of maintaining faith in spiritual Christianity as an assemblage of *ideas*, in revelation and inspiration as subtle, imponderable, and aerial forces, in disbelief of the historic mould in which that faith is cast, must be pronounced the most chimerical of all things.

By this course of thought we are fortifying faith in revealed Christianity. It might be thought that we were employed in defending an important outpost. We may not feel the need for ourselves of any such arguments in support of the one only religion revealed of God, accredited as it is to our living consciousness by its own divine qualities. But it is all important that our faith be established and settled in the oneness of this immortal Book, which, with no flaw, no falsehood, no fable, no error, contains the only authentic revelation from God to man. You cannot outflank Christianity by any movement however alert and unsuspected. Its lines extend backward too far into the past, and they run out too wide into all the earth, even to the end of the world. The result of all investigation, all discoveries, all sciences, is to confirm the faith of men in the reality and accuracy of historic revelation. The Deism of the last century, frantic with passion, threw itself in one combined assault upon revealed Christianity ; but like the waves dashing against the rocks, it was thrown back in harmless spray ;

and the Book of God abides firmer in the convictions of the world to-day, than it did before it was assaulted and pelted by infidelity. Judaism blossoms into Christianity. Sinai points to Calvary. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. At his feet we sit as disciples reverently, gratefully and trustfully. Whatever theme we select, it leads us to that cross of the Son of God, which is the focus of all facts, the center of all history, the substance of all truth, the light and life of every man that cometh into the world.

ART. IV.—CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION.

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A DISPOSITION to regard the intellectual, in distinction from the moral, as the only important influence in promoting human progress, has recently become quite apparent among literary and scientific men. Even where such an opinion has not been directly asserted or defended, it has been not unfrequently assumed as the unconscious or concealed basis of argument and of practical suggestions. It was, therefore, with some degree of satisfaction that we noticed the publication of two works devoted to the history of civilization and intellectual development,* and discussing, of course, what are the primary elements of social and mental improvement. The peculiar predilections and boldness of the writers warranted the expectation that they would neither avoid the discussion, nor shrink from any results, however unacceptable to the religious public. At the same time the obvious talent and ample reading they display, warrant the confidence that nothing will be wanting to a precise definition and a proper vindication of their theory. The direction of the argument and the style adopted in the two works are very different, being obviously dictated in each instance by the earlier and favorite pursuits of the writers ; but we presume no injustice will be done if we take the more elaborate performance of the English author as the fullest and most exhaustive statement of the view we wish to consider. He begins with the assertion that civilization

* History of Civilization in England, by Henry Thomas Buckle. From the 2d Lond. Edit. 2 vols. New York, 1859-61.

A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe, by John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., Prof. of Chem. and Physiology in the University of New York, and Author of a Treatise on Human Physiology. New York, 1863.

does not imply that individual minds under its influence must necessarily possess any larger capacity by nature than those found in barbarous communities. The advantage possessed by the former must therefore be in the opinions, knowledge, and associations, in the entire mental atmosphere in which their powers are nurtured. These advantages, he concludes, must be resolved into those which are either moral or intellectual, and then he inquires which of these two elements are the most effective. His final decision is, that moral motives have exercised an extremely small influence over the progress of civilization, mainly because their power has always been the same under all varieties of human condition, while social progress has been variable. All the moral systems which have ever existed, he maintains, have been fundamentally the same. Even the New Testament, he rather hastily announces, every scholar well knows, contains no maxims or beautiful passages which are not to be found in Pagan authors. To suppose, then, that moral influences, which never vary, can be the source of ever-varying effects, he thinks would be absurd. The influence of both good and bad men's actions he regards also as only temporary ; it soon subsides and passes away like a dream, or is neutralized by subsequent generations, and absorbed by the incessant movements of the ages. He even contends that the more earnest and sincere a man is, under the influence of the moral principle, if he is ignorant of the nature of truth and of the consequences of his actions, the more dangerous he will be likely to become, since he will almost certainly become intolerant toward all he regards as wrong. He maintains that history gives us no instance of an ignorant man with good intentions, and sufficient power to enforce them, who has not done far more evil than good. Diminish the sincerity of the man, mix some alloy with his motives, and you will diminish the evil he works, since you may play off his vice against his ignorance, and you may restrain his mischief by exciting his fears. On the other hand, the intellectual element is always active and capable of endless adaptations to the wants of society, and may therefore be a sufficient reason for the extraordinary changes and progress through which civilized nations have passed. It has never been, like the moral element, stationary, but continually augmenting with the advance of civilization, and productive of permanent results. The discoveries of great men are never, like the moral actions of good or bad men, lost to society ; they are fruitful of greater benefits, and become more effective with the lapse of ages. These assertions he illustrates by a great variety of

facts, showing that the progress of society has depended, not upon the moral system it has embraced, but upon the amount of knowledge possessed by its ablest men, the elevation which that knowledge takes, and the extent to which it is diffused among all classes. He selects two examples—those of persecution and war—and endeavors to show that moral principles without intelligence have only increased these evils, whereas every advance of knowledge has diminished them, by showing their ultimate tendencies and rendering their practical application more difficult.*

The general object of the American is somewhat different from that of the English historian. Both agree in the conclusion that moral elements have very little to do with human progress, but the former has nowhere given this point a formal discussion. We observe, however, that he never mentions the moral or religious influences among the causes which affect mental or social development. His main effort, as he himself describes it in his closing chapter, is to show that civilization does not proceed in an arbitrary or fortuitous manner, but through a determinate succession of stages, according to regular laws, and that the course of communities bears unmistakable resemblance to the progress of an individual. As the physiologist discovers definite provisions in the nervous structure for the intellectual improvement of each man through the several periods of infancy, childhood, youth, manhood and old age, liable to be disturbed only by accidents and diseases, so the historian finds that groups of men or nations have their ages of credulity, of inquiry, of faith, of reason, and of decrepitude, disturbed only by the accidents of emigration, the mixture of foreign blood, and other exterior influences. So necessary are these individual and social laws, that if any of them should suffer modification on account of changes in the climate, the light, the air, the shape of the country, or the oceanic currents, we might reasonably expect a transmutation not only of individual men, but of our species and of the whole form of society. Man's true interest, therefore, is to improve his individual and national intellect by so modifying outward influences and his own physical organization, that these shall be most favorable to his mental development.†

With the remaining portion of these histories we have at present nothing to do. The objects they had in view and their

* This statement of the author's argument is much condensed ; but most of the language may be found in detached sentences of his "General Introduction to the Hist. of Civilization in England," vol. i., pp. 126-163.

† See especially the first and last chapters of the "Intellectual Development."

method of pursuing them were, to some extent, novel, and required considerable courage and much reading, and the public are much indebted to them for their interesting and suggestive volumes. The cause of truth will doubtless gain in the end, in spite of the special pleading and one-sided statements which we regret to find in these otherwise valuable works. But our design is strictly limited to a consideration of the position assumed in them both, that moral motives have no important influence upon the progress of civilization. That the authors intended to include the religious under the moral element, is evident from the specifications of the motives which they designate moral, and from the fact that Christianity is principally spoken of among the moral systems said to be stationary and temporary in their effects.*

Now it certainly would have seemed strange if a system which claims to redeem man from all evil had not *promised* its votaries a high degree of social benefit. Such a defect in its promises for the life that now is, would have thrown great doubt upon those it made respecting that which is to come. In practical experience, its hundred-fold compensations here, are the surest pledge of an eternal life hereafter. And though social benefits are not directly named among the great rewards which follow the keeping of God's commandments, they are virtually included among the separate benefits promised to true religion. The positions rashly assumed by some eminent divines, that civilization never has existed except in connection with the true religion and that no people ever arose spontaneously from a state of barbarism without special assistance from a foreign or supernatural source, can by no means be sustained in face of historical facts. Those who accept the scriptural account of the origin of man, may indeed concede that our whole race has been affected by its original state in Eden, that the knowledge there received in intercourse with heaven could not have been entirely lost. Even after his expulsion from Paradise we have no reason to regard man's state as barbarous, but neither can we look upon it as possessing the advantages of more recent civilizations. With all their spiritual knowledge and ample means of outward comfort, men were evidently left to the development of their own intellectual powers and to the shaping out of their own social arrangements. Those arts and refinements which are usually reckoned among the rudimentary acquirements of civilization are mentioned in the sacred history, among the inven-

* See especially note 14th on p. 129, Vol. I, of the Hist. of Civilization.

tions not only of human discoveries, but of an impious race. Poetry, music, government, mechanical art, and society, had their origin among a people whose direct resources were anything but heavenly. Whatever may have been the skill put forth in the construction of the ark, we have no evidence that it was supernatural. Their religion was from heaven, the moral element was no doubt based upon faith, and had the same influence upon progress in the arts which it had in subsequent ages, but everything else was left to human development. God had given them eminent endowments of mind and heart, a beautiful nature around them, and powerful instincts for perfection, but theirs was the career of improvement. From the Creator's hand they had received a natural Paradise, but in this they were required to erect for themselves in the course of ages, a "City of God" to be the perfection of human art.

How much of earlier civilization was lost in the universal deluge we have no means of ascertaining. The intellectual degeneracy of the patriarchal times, however, does not seem to us as great as many would have us believe. The glimpses which the sacred history affords are not calculated to suggest that the inheritance of earlier periods had been much impaired. Distinct forms of civilization appear to have sprung up around great commercial and agricultural centers, so diverse from one another that we can hardly believe them products of the same original stock. On fertile plains, under temperate climates, by the banks of mighty rivers, whose rich valleys and extensive commerce supplied means for the acquisition of wealth, the minds of men awoke to great enterprises, and turned to the possession of physical comforts. Great as we may suppose the influence of one nation upon another, local circumstances were nevertheless powerful enough to impress upon each of them a peculiar character. Moral causes, it must be confessed, appear to have had very little sway over these ancient civilizations. Even intellectual causes seem to have been active only in the service of material interests. Where no natural advantages of soil, climate and position gave a stimulus to thought, the people remained for ages without social progress. It was in China, India, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Chaldea, that we meet with the first tokens of national and intellectual improvement, while in Media, Persia, Arabia and Scythia, we observe nothing but the extremest simplicity and even rudeness, until their people came forth from their seclusion and were quickened by contact with higher civilizations. In countries, however, where nature supplies all inducements to mental activity, a limit will

soon be reached where that activity will cease. Certain classes will, in course of time, become the only possessors of wealth, capital will go into the hands of the few, and labor will become the lot of the many, indolence will find its natural abode with the one, and stolidity and servility with the other ; foreign conquests will be invited, and from the new and old races will be formed dreamy priests and haughty nobles ; and as the result of the whole, all progress will be arrested, and social arrangements will assume an immutable form. Such has been the fate of all Asiatic civilizations. The Greeks, Romans and Phœnicians, on the other hand, whose soil and climate were less satisfactory, and whose geographical position invited them to go abroad for their supplies, became more interested in a higher culture, and were thrown upon mental energies of a more illimitable nature. Their forms of civilization consequently became more elastic, their speculations less dreamy, their religion more cheerful, and their institutions more favorable to individual development and freedom. With respect to these early periods the account of the English historian is eminently suggestive and satisfactory.*

Among the Jewish people however moral influences must have had a much greater power. Religion was not among them a product merely of their own mental culture. It was not elaborated by prophets imbued with the national spirit and then ascribed to a pretended divinity, but upon a revelation foreign to the dispositions and habits of the people. Their opinions and institutions were indeed much affected by those of surrounding nations. The inspirations of their lawgiver did not make him regardless of the wisdom of the Egyptians in which he had been educated. With an admirable adaptation to man's infirmity, institutions and habits of thought already wrought into the popular mind, were incorporated into the divine ritual, until all that was excellent and true in Oriental systems was selected, purified and engrafted upon the divine original. It is therefore no reproach to an inspired religion that, like a true educator, it supplies its pupils with only what they could not themselves work out. Still, it must be evident to any candid mind that the political commonwealth, the religious festivals, the devotional and historical literature, the prohibition of foreign intercourse, the minute prescription of each one's manners, dress and food, and the binding of the conscience to a peculiar domestic, social and civil arrangement

* Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the principal Nations of Antiquity. By A. H. L. Haven. 4 Vols. London, 1846.

provided for the Jewish people, must have given a religious character to their civilization.

But, though some kinds of civilization may result from influences not moral or religious, we contend that moral and religious influences are in other cases very powerful. We even maintain that no civilization of a healthy or permanent character has ever prevailed without being pervaded by true religion. Those ancient civilizations of which we have spoken, are all now extinct or effete, not because they were destitute of intellectual elements, but because their moral forces were feeble and directed to improper ends. They looked to the promotion of class interests, established social monopolies, excluded foreign influences, and prevented the free action of the social system. In spite of the intelligence and refinement of certain classes of society, they have always been incumbered by the rudeness and stupidity of larger portions, whose vast masses have weighed them down, they had no vital forces to equalize their energies, and they had no elevated aims to stimulate and direct their further movement. Their failure is not to be ascribed to their want of the intellectual element. The world has never witnessed intellectual achievements superior to theirs. To speculate, to invent, to grace with art and to form splendid ideals, they have had no peers. They seem to us to have wanted nothing but the love of God and man, and a pure faith. With these, their efforts might have been directed to the right kind of improvement, and sustained by a sufficient motive. Without these their refinements and arts seemed to have no sufficient aims. We have cultivated minds and lofty speculations, but no adequate purpose of life. No wonder that they all seem to have sunk down into general scepticism. Such mighty efforts with so little profitable result were the aspect of a pompous trifling, and the natural inference would be that truth was unattainable and life was only a glittering illusion.

Guizot, than whom we know of no one who has written more profoundly on this subject, makes all true civilization consist of two elements, the elevation of the individual man, and the melioration of the social life.* He remarks that these may sometimes be disunited, so as to constitute a dejective civilization. On the one hand, society may pursue general advantages to the injury of personal and domestic rights, and on the other, men of more than common energy and wealth may sacrifice the interests of thousands to their own private ends.

* Guizot's *Hist. of Civilization*. Vol. I, Lect. 1, pp. 23-28, Amer. Edit.

History presents us with a number of ancient states whose citizens were trained only to civil duties, and in more recent times we have had a multitude of societies in which each member was sworn to renounce all private aims, and live only for the interests of his order; and certainly we have not far to look at any time to find those who are themselves refined and learned, without giving society the benefit of their improvement. Now we maintain that true religion supplies the most powerful of all motives to both individual and social progress.

In approaching the individual, its object is not so much to civilize as to save him. In whatever condition it finds him, it seeks first to implant a desire to act worthy of all his relations. He may be highly cultivated already in his intellectual powers, and yet who does not know that he may have no lofty or worthy purpose? His mind may be filled with useless learning, fine sentiments, brilliant fancies, or the most sensual and vicious passions. Or he may be a savage stained with blood, and debased with the lowest superstitions. It does not directly attack his barbarism and attempt to polish his manners. It brings him no demonstrations of science or dogmas of philosophy. It tells him of his immortality, his responsibility to a Supreme Ruler, and his sins. It calls upon him to act as a subject of the divine government, to repent of his sins, and to seek a higher life through the aid of divine grace. He needs no cultivation or preparatory process to understand these simple truths and duties, which only need manifestation to commend themselves to his conscience in the sight of God. The most ignorant savage, the grossest criminal, and the subtlest philosopher, possess nearly equal advantages for perceiving the native lustre and power of these primary truths. Human nature cannot sink below or rise above their reach. And when a man receives them, repents of sin, enters into confidential relations with a Redeemer, and sincerely intends to live a holy life, he has taken the most important steps in personal improvement upon which a human being can enter. The rude and illiterate man may not instantly throw off his uncouthness of manners, or walk the heights of learning, but he has received an influence which may insure both these results. His regeneration does not of itself include or presuppose any refinement of outward manner. We only maintain that such is its tendency and probable result. It is not the highest aim of Christianity to polish a man that he may shine in courts or academic halls, but to pluck him from the mouth of the pit. Before his attention is turned to these accomplishments he may

be removed to a brighter than earthly sphere. Its hardest work is to get possession of the material in the deep mine of our humanity, but when the impure ore is brought up to the light, it is handed over to more leisurely processes that it may be purified and stamped with an ever-growing divine likeness. A new spirit is given to the soul, a new direction is given to our energies, and in following these the mind as well as the heart must be improved.

Then, to a society composed of such individuals, Christianity imparts the most powerful motives to social progress. It goes not to work like a master of ceremonies to train its subjects in courtly postures, movements and phrases, but it calls upon them to be courteous and study a neighbor's wealth. It implants within them an enlarged philanthropy which thinks little of the accidents, but much of the essentials of humanity. Each subject of its power becomes a center of activity for the improvement of others. The surest sign of its existence, and the invariable condition of its growth in any heart, is its longing to benefit all within its sphere, and its power to assimilate them to the divine original. It is not a cold and bright thought passively to be received by indolent minds, but a practical principle to stir up men's hearts and kindle within them a longing to do good. Debasing vices are threatened by it with penalties temporal and eternal. All men are held up as on the same level of spiritual privilege and amenable to the same immutable law. What system could be devised with more powerful motives or guarantees for individual and social progress?

The surest test, however, of the power of Christianity to elevate the individual or to civilize communities, must be *the actual facts of history*. Has it really transformed the rude man into the polished citizen, the barbarous into the civilized society, and carried forward the civilized community to higher and continually advancing stages of refinement?

When sent forth originally on its beneficent mission, its achievements were principally among illiterate peasants. Never, perhaps, has history recorded so remarkable an instance of elevation and enlargement of mind. Regarding them simply as ordinary men, what could have produced this? Have we any evidence that it was the desire simply for intellectual improvement or social refinement? Have we not rather what amounts to almost a contemptuous denial of this, from their own writings? They were indeed zealous for light and knowledge, but it was wholly of a spiritual nature. They had confidence in the power of the Gospel in due time to effect in-

tellectual and social progress, but their work was exclusively to plant the Gospel itself. In their case, at least, though most of them were unlearned and ignorant men with respect to everything but divine knowledge, and though the most educated of them was determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, power was not productive of evil in proportion to their sincerity and zeal. They were a precise exemplification of what we are contending for, that true religion is not of itself civilization, but the surest and best impulsive power toward it. It is not the thing itself, but the force which secures it. We are not absurd enough to deny that civilization must be attained by intellectual means, but we only contend that the dynamic force, which lies back of and pervades the best civilization, is moral and religious. We affirm that the only civilization which is progressive, which has grasped and made subservient to its purposes all intellectual and social agencies within its field, and has created many new ones, was commenced with a movement purely evangelical, and has derived its principal life and power from the moral element. Its moral heroes are the very ones who exert the most steady and the mightiest influence. If any persons may be sure to live and act in the hearts of men through all time, they may be sure of it. Moral acts, instead of being only temporary in their results, are precisely those which are surest of permanency. The achievements of goodness are seldom forgotten within the sphere where they once exerted their power, and many of them are remembered with enthusiasm in after generations and awaken thousands to emulation. The religious thoughts and deeds of Abraham, and David, and Paul, and Augustine, and Luther, and Calvin, and Wesley, are stirring more hearts to-day than the purely intellectual or political acts of their most highly endowed contemporaries. Grecian philosophy and Roman conquest cannot for a moment be compared with Christianity in their present influence upon the world. What if we shall concede that the moral and religious system of Christianity has always been and will forever be the same? A stationary power may act upon varying materials and produce upon them therefore ever-varying effects. God is for ever the same, but his influence is perpetually accomplishing new results. That system of truth, which is a transcript of his moral nature, may have always lived among men, even among the most benighted nations through some beautiful maxims and traditions, but like the unchanging vital force which is propagated in the vegetable world, it must give existence to ever-varying forms and activities while the earth continues.

The nations among which Christianity began its course were already far advanced in civilization. Its work was not so much to imitate, as to appropriate, fuse, and perfect existing civilizations. Its advent was in the fullness of time when human wisdom had demonstrated its own insufficiency, men's faith had very generally given place to a despairing and mocking scepticism, and the desire of all nations was for a coming One. All earlier intellectual movements were either absorbed by Christianity, or they settled down for ages into a hopeless immobility. The most active among them happened to be within the field of its operation and soon yielded up to it everything valuable among their treasures. Judaism, originally from heaven, and still retaining its divine Scriptures, but at that time, in fact, a degenerate human corruption, having gathered up in the course of ages the mystical wisdom of Oriental nations, contributed its patriarchal faith, its magnificent poetry and ritual, and its pure morality. Hellenism, which, under a beautiful sky and in busy intercourse with all nations, had elaborated imperishable models of literature and æsthetic art, presented her admirable translation of the Scriptures and her immortal language, to be the best vehicle of Christian thought for all ages ; and Romanism made over its wonderful legislation from which all subsequent jurisprudence has borrowed, and its tenacious system of government to which so many nations willingly submitted for centuries. With unsparing radicalism Christianity proved all things in these systems, but with equally unflinching conservatism she held fast all that was good. It needlessly destroyed nothing of which it could avail itself, and supplied only what was needful to direct and stimulate human effort. What our divine Founder needed not for himself, he graciously accepted from human servants, the better to draw forth and get into sympathy with our humanity. In his own personality there was such originality and harmony, such independence of social peculiarities around him, and such freedom in the development of his own peculiar nature, that sinful infirmity could contribute nothing to his fullness, but in the practical system he gave to men we find that much was borrowed from previous materials. His own piety was not especially Judaistic, his teaching was not Alexandrine, his tastes were not Grecian, and his respect for authority was not Roman, but his apostles were by no means equally free from outward influence. Their individualities of character were strongly affected by their earlier education, and were obviously impressed upon their respective circles of activity. The treasure was heavenly, but the vessel was

earthly, the light was from the Sun of righteousness, but it came to us through variously colored media. The essential nature of the gospel is like its author, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, but the form of mental culture and of civilization which its votaries assume, depends under divine direction very much upon human conditions. And most providential was it that the form of civilization which primitive Christianity adopted, embraced within its combination Jewish theology, Grecian literature, and Roman law. All the apostles were Jews, and it was with difficulty that most of them divested themselves of national exclusiveness and ritual partialities, and came up to the universal freeness of the gospel. Those, however, whose influence has since been widest upon Christian civilization, were precisely those who owed most to earlier systems of human culture. Paul, especially, whose style of thought and learning has impressed itself most upon European society, was educated at Tarsus as well as at Jerusalem; was familiar with Greek as well as Rabbinic literature, and knew how to plead his rights equally well before a Roman and a Jewish tribunal. Principally from his writings has our Occidental Christianity acquired its peculiar type, and only in a subordinate sense can we give the name of Fathers to those who have conveyed to us his particular spirit and mode of thought.

That the ancient church was at one time indifferent to classical learning is surely not a matter of surprise. In their zeal for the salvation of the world, the earlier evangelists had very little eye or heart for the refinements of philosophy, truly or falsely so called. The law of the spirit of *life* was then more active than that of speculation or of art. Like an apostle, they looked upon society as one great shipwreck from which they longed to save some, and woe was unto them if they preached not the gospel, or if they paused to study the enticing words of man's wisdom. It was not that in general they were opposed to learning or philosophy, but that they had no leisure or active love for them while the Macedonian cry of a perishing world was in their ears. In those instances in which a hostile spirit is apparent, we find some excuse in the fact that Greek and Roman literature was then almost wholly in the interest of paganism. Beautiful as in many respects it really was, to many it seemed a temple to demons, sending forth oracles of sensuality and deceit. Iconoclasts were needed to destroy its divinities before devout minds could quietly enjoy its humanities. Its poetry and art seemed like a mere external glitter upon a rotten substance, which needed to be

wholly swept away before a new social system could be created with body enough to receive, and spirituality enough to ensure an enduring polish. Those exquisite productions of refined art lost all their beauty when in the service of voluptuousness. Public entertainments, theatres, and halls of learning, as well as private galleries and literary circles, became hateful even to the better class of heathen moralists. At a later period was added the shocking brutality of the persecutions. The amphitheatre became a den of devouring beasts, and public shews, miserable exhibitions of ferocity against the Christians. Can we wonder that some should have learned to abhor those polite circles and customs which had become associated with the mangled remains of those they loved? And while themselves resisting unto blood and struggling against sin, shall we be surprised that many were not scrupulous as to the amenities, or uniformly just toward the minor moralities of life? Attention to these is not common even with good men while greater moralities remain unsettled, while persecution is relentless, and learning is frowning or sneering at goodness. And such was the usual lot of Christians in those primitive periods. But in spite of every obstacle their religion conquered and thoroughly renovated the decayed civilizations of the Roman Empire. Many social abuses she was not able to overcome, and some of them she was beguiled for a long time to support, but it was with a perpetual protest of her true heart. Slowly indeed has she been compelled to gain her victories over the inequalities of different classes. Slowly even to this day do her half-instructed votaries recognize and obey her doctrine of the brotherhood of man. But the process is sure, and nothing is more certain than the perpetual tendency of modern society in the direction of a Christian reform. The means may and must be intellectual, but the uniform force is moral and religious.*

A new trial, however, was prepared for Christianity just as she seemed to have achieved a general triumph. She had mastered the ancient civilizations;—could she tame and civilize barbarous communities? Scarcely had she consolidated her conquests in the Roman Empire when an irruption of Northern Barbarians appeared likely to sweep away all her institutions. Hosts of rude nations pressed upon her and threatened, like the Saracens in subsequent times, to exterminate the whole Christianized population before she had had

* Hase's Hist. of the Christ. Church, Div. I., Chap. 1. Neander's Gen. Hist. of the Chr. Rel. and Church, Introd. Chapter. F. C. Baur's Das Christenthum Erster Abschnitt, pp. 1-21.

an opportunity to try upon them her spiritual weapons. What could her gentle spirit accomplish against brute force and overwhelming numbers? Here was a trial under which she had good reason to tremble, and gloriously did she then evince her peculiar power. Those barbarians were by nature noble men, and only needed her spirit to become far nobler. Though the effeminate Romans were no match for their rude manliness and martial virtues, in their fiercest impetuosity they paused before the majesty of religion. The very "Scourge of God" humbled himself before a Christian bishop. To the stern mandate of repentance and the call for obedience to the Supreme Ruler, the instincts of nature's children yielded a ready submission. The ministers of Jesus—unlike the imperial soldiers, who, even in despair, frowned upon them, and the mantled philosophers who scorned them as of coarser clay—met them as brethren and trusted themselves to their generosity. It was to their moral and religious nature that the first appeal was made. The intellect was aroused only to reach the heart, and no doubt was felt that a higher refinement would soon be desired, and that every mental energy would be enlisted for its attainment. Christ crucified was the first power applied to them, and when they were thus drawn to the All-Father they had so ignorantly worshipped, they were elevated in every other respect of course. And in not a single instance did this policy prove to be unwise. Nation after nation laid aside its armor, accepted of the gospel, and settled peacefully among the churches to receive their discipline and worship at their shrines. No doubt their views were indistinct, and their practice was imperfect. Multitudes received baptism who knew not the full import of its vows, and in compliance with the example or the suggestion of their chieftains. And yet, who knows how far into their hearts even those faint impressions may have reached, notwithstanding their somewhat whimsical and boisterous humor? What was entered upon with levity soon deepened into serious devotion and an earnest life. It was not long before faith, working by love, produced the complete efflorescence of Christian graces, to ripen into the mature fruits of practical wisdom. Having attained peace with God and with their fellow-men, they found time and inclination to study personal and social improvement. Royal courts had scarcely become familiar with the name of Christ before palatinate schools were established in them, and monarchs strained their blue eyes to read, and schooled their rough fingers to write, the name of Jesus. Isles of saints soon became eminent for learned monasteries and

learned men. Not an instance is on record of a people becoming civilized and then Christianized, as if religion could not be understood or powerfully affect a community until it had received a considerable degree of intellectual culture. Men who knew that they had sinned and could be touched with the story of the cross, were amply endowed to be converts to the Saviour. Then, gathered around the rude church and the simple monastery (then a center of instruction for the people and of industrial employments) they soon lost the uncouth manners of the barbarian, softened into gentleness, submitted to the restraints of discipline and law, built themselves substantial dwellings, and cultivated the fields assigned them. We soon hear of organized governments and ecclesiastical discipline which the haughtiest monarch dared not entirely disregard, moral achievements which will stimulate the hearts of men to the latest time, and a knightly courtesy which sheds a lustre even over a dark age.*

Admirably, too, was then exhibited the reciprocal action of the two prime elements of civilization, as each individual was ennobled society became nobler, and as society advanced it fully returned the benefit by helping the individual. He who had the advantages of a liberal culture received a power he could never have acquired in a debased and ignorant community, and he made a higher achievement possible and probable to all around him. The wealth, universities and libraries which an Alfred and a Charlemagne established in their generation, enabled their successors to exceed them in thought and action. The discovery of printing powerfully promoted general intelligence through which multitudes have grown wiser than their teachers. The refinement of a Raffaele would have been impossible at an earlier period, and his own wonderful creations have bodied forth ideas to quicken inferior natures ever since.

These triumphs of Christianity in converting and civilizing the nations of Northern Europe are only a specimen of what she has often accomplished in later times. In Southern Africa, among the islands of the Pacific, in the American forests, are tribes which have emerged from a state so degraded, that even their humanity seemed doubtful, and have exhibited all the elements of an incipient civilization. But a high degree of improvement has never been realized in a single generation. It has always been the work of centuries. The reality of

* K. R. Hagenbach *Kirchengesch, d. Mittenalters, Erst., Th., pp. 1-37.*—*Capefigue's. L'Eglise au Moyenage, Chap. Prem., &c.*—*Hase, pp. 166, 175, 179.*

such a process, however, among those tribes should not be questioned, when their languages have been reduced to writing, a system of universal education has been established, regular laws have been promulgated, and constitutional governments organized, domestic relations are respected, public worship is maintained, the lands are cultivated with improved implements, and the costumes and manners of more polite nations are imitated. Individual chiefs among them have laid aside the brutalities and rudeness of their former life, and have been distinguished for a native dignity and wisdom which fairly entitle them to a place among a nation's benefactors. But even our most advanced civilizations are only in their infancy. Modern society, and the church itself, has inherited usages, once, perhaps, wise, but now obsolete and injurious, and to be removed with the greatest difficulty. The subjection of one class to another, which Christianity always enjoined her children to endure as a temporary evil for the Lord's sake, but to abrogate as soon as it could be safely done, has been in some cases needlessly continued and sustained. Oppressive monopolies, insuperable castes, and sectional restrictions have long been tolerated, though contradictory to both justice and expediency. Society, however enlightened by divine and human wisdom, and liberalized by the law of kindness, has been slow to recognize the equal right of every man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Even in the nineteenth century, and in a community boasting of superior freedom, a new type of civilization has been advocated, the fundamental principles of which are, that civil equality is a blessing only among persons of a superior race, that fraternity can have no proper place where there are differences of rank and station, and that slavery is sanctioned by God and indispensable to the equal happiness of all. The exclusivism of nobles, the divine right of kings, and the various forms of domestic servitude, have been the basis of prescriptive rights which have been contended for with an earnestness and even a sincerity which belonged to the natural relations. After all that has been done to remove the burdens of society, there are yet multitudes for whom there seems no relief but by some violent process. They cannot rise from their pauperism, whatever their industry or ingenuity, they feel no motive to be virtuous, and to enlighten them is only to make them perceive more distinctly their oppression. Never were there barbarians more degraded and brutal than large masses in our great cities, beneath the shadows of our churches and our palaces, defying our police, and scorning our

schools and colleges. To them, our facilities for intercourse are only means for extending their depredations over our whole country, and they have methods for educating one another in the sciences, the arts, and the language of crime, quite as efficient as our religious and literary institutions for training others to virtue. Even in Christian England, while some classes are progressing in refinement and wealth, another and growing class is sinking deeper in ignorance and vice ; every eighth person is a pauper, and more are saved from such a lot by habitual crime.* Christian philanthropy has devised the only method by which the true light can be made to penetrate those dark haunts, and by which their darker spirits can be illuminated. In vain we should wait for the action upon them of merely intellectual and social influences. They will never be reached by our schools nor by our literary and civil institutions. None but those who are actuated by a love of souls will go after them, and none but kind and sympathizing exertions will be effectual. A general effort of this kind may prevent an insurrection, quite as terrific as that which their rulers have contemplated with such complacency in our own unhappy country. A like proportion of our population in slavery has long awakened and deserved the reproach of the civilized world, and has finally proved an occasion for a national struggle of unparalled violence and loss, but our most earnest prayer is that those who have so patiently waited for our political disorganization, may be saved from a more fatal conflict. But the question relating to the Christianization and civilization of these dangerous classes refers not to one, but to every country on the globe, and may well be regarded as the most difficult and most pressing of our social problems.

There is one more line of argument by which we may show the tendency of Christianity in the direction of civilization : The gospel presents before its votaries a perfect ideal of civilization as the object and sure result of all their efforts. At the very commencement of his ministry on earth, our Lord announced that the kingdom of heaven was at hand ; that is, that he was then laying the foundation of a sovereignty whose origin, ruler, support, and termination was heavenly. Its consummation and complete inauguration was to be prayed for and contended for in an indefinite future, but its commencement be proclaimed when its King entered upon the scene and set up the royal banner. His apostles taught us more clearly to

* JOSEPH KAY, *The Social Condition and Education of the People of England.* Chap. I. On the Condition of the Poor in England.

expect, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, a restitution of all things to the original course which sin has disturbed, when the dominion under the whole heaven shall be given to the saints of the Most High, and our sanctified humanity shall constitute a great household of God, a building fitly framed together, an holy temple, an habitation of God through the Spirit. So vast are the results thus promised, so glowing the language with which inspired seers have described them, and so imperfect the progress hitherto toward their realization, that many have looked upon them as impossible without a new dispensation of miracles. But the more carefully we read the word of prophecy, the better we understand its high wrought symbolism, and the more accurately we observe the uniformity and stability of God's natural and spiritual laws, the more we are convinced that no other agencies are needed for the establishment of Christ's kingdom, than those now in action. It was the primitive building of God's people which was to *grow* into this holy temple, and the scriptural types of this kingdom were a mustard seed growing into a great tree which was to fill the earth, leaven hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened, and a stone cut out of the mountain increasing until it should become commensurate with the globe. Such expressions seem to teach us that this is no preparatory dispensation to be superseded by another, but that it is an ultimate and eternal kingdom, to be completed by causes at work within itself. Its conquering progress is accomplished under the dispensation of the Spirit, whose sword is the word of God, carried forward by human messengers. Our Lord is represented as now in heaven, directing this whole process, until all enemies shall be subdued and put under his feet. We have no hint that this process is to be broken off, or interrupted, or changed until the final consummation shall be reached. And as time advances and the books of revelation and of creation are better understood, reason would seem to dictate, what experience invariably suggests, that a miraculous agency would be less and less needful. The most enlightened philosophers, looking solely upon the the action of present agencies, have not been so incredulous as to the results they may accomplish. The progress which our humanity has already made and the perfectibility of which it appears susceptible, are themes on which they never tire to speak, though many of them are willingly ignorant of the promises which are our only hope. The great critic of pure Reason pronounced "all social movements on our planet slow preparations

for one grand ultimate form of universal social harmony, an organized ecumenical commonwealth, in which all parts shall be related to one another, and a central principle shall animate and attract the whole." We are far from rejecting the great principle, for which Draper, Buckle, Powell, and other writers of their school, have contended with such a profusion of illustrations, viz: that the progress of civilization and all social changes are never arbitrary or fortuitous, but determinable by regular laws. On the other hand, we strenuously maintain this theory, and build our highest hopes upon it. We only contend that those laws are an expression of a divine will, and have been devised and directed with a view to the attainment of precise and predetermined results. Our faith, if not our science, makes us firm believers in final causes devised by Him who sees the end from the beginning, and we regard every power in this universe as working under his control. Whether we must believe that the influence which secures definite ends was put forth only in the original constitution of things, or is communicated as the emergency calls for it, we need not renounce our confidence that every falling hair and every answer to prayer is provided for in the divine counsels. We have very little doubt that, at this moment, causes are in operation which only need to be intensified and extended to secure the coming of Christ's kingdom. Those causes include an almighty Spirit, an incarnate Redeemer, and all natural and spiritual agents, working by established laws, so perfect that they will never need suspension, violation or miraculous intervention. But whatever our views of the means by which God's kingdom is to be established, the believer in revelation has a joyful assurance that all social developments are subject to a divine control, and are working together to bring all nations into one grand Christian commonwealth.*

Defective views of this kingdom have sometimes restricted it to the sphere of the Christian church, and the result has been, on the one hand, that a hierarchy claiming only ecclesiastical power has yet demanded the control of all departments of human society, and on the other, extreme spiritualists have restricted Christ's kingship to matters exclusively pertaining to the church. The scriptural idea seems to us much more comprehensive. The kingdom of heaven or of Christ embraces not merely the church, but the state, whose magis-

* Herzog's Real Encyklopædie für prot. Theol. u. Kirche. Art. "Reich Gottes," by Kling. *Aug. Althaus*. Die letzten Dinge, pp. 59-66.

trates are ordained by him and his ministers, as truly as apostles, evangelists, and pastors. The various departments of science, art, and common life, are also under him, for even domestic servants are said to serve the Lord Christ. They are ~~not~~, in the same sense, subject to the church, except in their religious character. They have distinct laws of their own, are independent of ecclesiastical control, and have a coördinate jurisdiction under a common Lord. Each of them, too, is susceptible of a peculiar form of civilization, which it has a right to work out without dictation from the church or from any power but its own. Through their joint action and under the government of their theanthropic Head, there is to be a common Christian civilization, in the great "City of God."

The *church* will become a great spiritual family for mutual discipline and divine worship, diversified, perhaps, by national organizations, but one in essential faith, spirit, and purpose—without hostile sects, but with free developments of thought, taste, and social activity, lorded over by no selfish hierarchies, intruding into no departments beyond its measure, unfettered in spirit, healthy in life, and the mother of all spiritual living.

The *state* will have a sphere of activity of immense importance, as the center of all law and association for the common benefit, the arbiter of all rights where honest litigants may appeal to its bar, the common director, through whose wisdom all business may be brought into amity and reciprocity, and all diversities may be harmonized; and the representative of distinct nations in the arrangement of mutual interests. Principalities and powers may be needed, not to lift up sword against one another, or to conduct hostile armies, but to direct widely separated nationalities along the path of unending progress.

Science, unrestrained by authority and guided by her own independent rules, will read from the book of nature a history and a system of the universe in complete harmony with faith, will throw her keen glance into every secret of God's visible handiwork. will develop new powers and combinations of physical agents, and will shew how those forces which now terrify man and make him their sport, may be so tamed as to be his gentlest servants. And if the degree of a people's civilization may be accurately measured by their control of external agents and their substitution of physical for human and animal power, what will be man's position when he shall have that complete dominion over nature which the Creator originally gave him? It is almost within the recollection of persons

now living, when many of our sciences had their distinct commencement, and we have seen how a discovery of only two or three laws, like those of steam, magnetism, and the photographic light has enlarged the circle of human power ; what then must be the result when an indefinite number of such laws shall have been discovered, combined, and applied to the service of man and of the kingdom of God ?

And will there be no distinct province for *Art* in that kingdom ? Its *true* province is, after science has told us what our universe is, to direct us how to use it. In its *industrial* department it gives us rules to apply our knowledge to useful results, and in its *æsthetic* department it teaches us to give all things beautiful forms and arrangements. We have that in our original natures which craves both of these, and grace will not fail to form us more and more like him who has made everything beautiful in his time. What are all our Fine Arts but an attempt to give an expression to the spirit of nature, and what is that spirit but nature's Creator ? Who gave melodies and harmonies to sounds, color to forms, grace to motions, and a deep poetic meaning to all things ? There is a beauty to holiness, a delightful harmony to truth, and both are a perpetual hymn to our Creator. Heaven is such a profound harmony of thought, of action and of worship that it seems best described as a glorious song. Its streets are paved with gems, and its proportions are the perfection of architecture. And when Christianity has passed through her conflicts and can calmly indulge her æsthetic tendencies, she will thrust aside the tame imitations and romantic falsehoods which a low sensuality has forced upon art, and will embody in her poetry and music, her pictured and sculptured forms, her architectural structures and her useful instruments, a lofty ideal of loveliness and grace, which will render even common life the perfection of holy beauty. And while science traverses our universe as a prophet to thought and a preceptor to industry, and the church follows her to consecrate it as a temple for fellowship and worship, holy art, called and filled by the Spirit of God for all manner of cunning workmanship, will throw over everything the inspiration of mysterious forms, a truly religious light and the most perfect harmonies.

Need we add that from all this will follow a refinement of manners which is frequently mistaken for the whole of civilization, but which when alone is of very inferior value ? Every art pursued as an end is the sign of hollowness and falsehood, and tends to produce increased feebleness. A Chinese over-refinement, or a heartless courtliness, must necessarily be an

affectation and a lie, which is certainly no better than honest rudeness. But when the hidden man of the heart has been ennobled, and the outward life is its unconscious expression, the whole manner becomes not only stamped with importance but with grace. Where each esteems others better than himself, the proprieties of life will be as naturally regarded as the more cardinal virtues.

A Christianity then which appropriates to its use all which is truly valuable, and supplies all which is defective in earlier civilizations, has been the impelling motive and life to all existing civilizations of a healthy and progressive nature, has for its especial work to save and elevate the individual man and to send him forth to save and elevate his fellow-men, and finally, has for its great aim and promise to erect a kingdom which shall be the perfection of holy fellowship and worship, authority and law, science, art and manners, may surely be pronounced a mighty agent in human civilization.

ART. VIII.—THE COVENANTERS AND THE STUARTS.

By Rev. W. S. DRYSDALE, Philadelphia.

ON the broad top of Dunse Law, within six miles of the English border, on the 7th of June, 1637, was encamped the army of the Covenanters, under Alexander Leslie. Charles Stuart was on the other side of the Tweed, near Berwick, having advanced so far to meet them. Twenty-four thousand Scottish soldiers, with competent officers, sheltered by shingle huts covered with straw or turf, well armed, well clad, and resolute, were patiently awaiting the hour of conflict. They wore a dull gray uniform and blue caps or bonnets, adorned with blue ribbons. A large blue flag, bearing the Scottish arms, and inscribed with the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," waved before every captain's door. The Blue Bonnets, some months later, with as fearless hearts and in as complete array, were over the border.

There are three eras of the Covenant; the first establishes the Calvinistic type of the Reformation in Scotland; the second extends it vigorously to England; and the third finds it driven back to its original limits, in deadly contest with the Episcopacy of the southern court, which has recovered itself with the restoration of the Stuarts, and has become despe-

rately aggressive. The times in which we live give an unusual interest to these early struggles for liberty. The blue of the Covenanter's flag, as the emblem of truth and fidelity, rallies the hosts of freedom again in the star-spangled banner; and hence a brief sketch of this eventful period of Scottish history will not be thought untimely.

When the sovereigns of Europe, struggling for despotic rule, set themselves against the Reformation, their subjects had either to resign both religious and civil liberty, or to unite and resist. They pledged to each other "life, goods, and blood," and entered upon revolution; and the common judgment of mankind approves their conduct as that of patriots and heroes, because of the righteousness of their cause. The same impulse which made the Protestant camps great prayer-meetings, and gathered the people of France, and Scotland, and the Netherlands in armed crowds to field-preachings, banded together the Hollanders against Philip, the Cavaliers of Dauphiny and Provence against Guise, and the Scottish Presbyterians against the Stuarts. With the last the Covenant was the bond of association.

In 1557 the Protestant lords of Scotland, at a meeting held in Edinburgh, "unanimously resolved to adhere to one another, and exert themselves for the advancement of the Reformation." They subscribed a bond, sacredly pledging mutual help, and renewed invitations to John Knox, then in Geneva, to return to Scotland. They styled themselves the "Congregation of the Lord." The Primate of Scotland, Hamilton, had just sent a grey-headed priest to the flames for embracing the doctrines of Calvin. The Court had determined to proceed instantly against the reformed teachers, and the most eminent of them were summoned before the Council at Stirling. The Congregation armed and rallied to protect their preachers. Mary, Queen of Scots, temporized and collected troops, principally French, to subdue this Protestant party. Too wary to be amused by subterfuges, the Congregation gathered the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs of their side, and unanimously resolved that Mary of Guise should be deprived of the office of Regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom. Scottish nationality and the Protestant religion were then arrayed against the court, with its Romanism and its mercenaries of France. England came to the help of the Presbyterians; and when both English and French withdrew, Scotland was under Protestant control, and the Presbyterian form of worship was fully established on the ruins of Popery.

In 1581, the National Covenant was first subscribed. Scotland had long been in confusion, owing to the obstinate struggle between the Reformers and the Queen's party. Jesuits and seminary priests were swarming into the country. Letters from Rome were intercepted giving dispensations to Roman Catholics to profess the Protestant creed for a time, provided that they maintained an attachment to the old faith at heart, and secretly promoted it by every means in their power. An alarm spread through the whole nation, which resulted in the first public signing of the Covenant by all classes. They pledged themselves "under the same oath, handwrit, and pains, to defend" the King's "person and authority with goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm, or without." The King first added his name, then his household. The Privy Council and General Assembly of the Scottish church passed the necessary acts, and the instrument, under the influence of the ministers, was generally subscribed in all the parishes.

Two generations had nearly been numbered, and the almost forgotten Covenant was revived under more threatening danger, to become an effectual safeguard and be covered with its proudest glory. In the interval, the Reformation in the British isles had been shaping and consolidating itself. Elizabeth, the first James, and the first Charles, were not heartily with the Protestants; and none understood it better than their Protestant subjects. Motives of policy alone kept the daughter of Henry Tudor from union with the court of Rome, and James began to move towards it as soon as his crown covered the southern as well as the northern kingdom. Meanwhile the Reformed party, both north and south of the Tweed, had secured their ascendancy. When Charles manifested unequivocal signs of bringing his realm back again to the semi-Romanism which all understood was a convenient halting-place for the ancient superstitions, the Puritan revolution was at once inaugurated.

Under these circumstances, the Scottish Covenant comes into view the second time. The English had grown unaccustomed to war, but the peasant of the Scottish lowlands still carried his lance and broadsword to protect himself from the raids of the neighboring Highlandmen. Multitudes of Scotsmen had joined their fortunes with Gustavus Adolphus in his contest with the German emperor. As soon as the storm of battle threatened at home, these returned and were scattered abroad over the country, forming an excellent nucleus around

which an excellent army might be collected. The troops of Gustavus were the best disciplined in the world, and these Scotsmen brought home that discipline. In the ranks of Gustavus the voice of prayer arose as it did afterwards among Cromwell's soldiers, and military mingled with religious enthusiasm. It was a fit school of training for the Scottish Covenanter of this period.

The nation had forsaken Rome under the preaching of Knox and his compeers. Men of the same spirit abounded now, afraid of the face of no man, impressed with the belief that God had commissioned them for a mighty work. Their creed, drawn from the Bible, was distinct and supported by a powerful logic. Zeal made them eloquent, and they swayed the minds of their countrymen as men had never better done before, nor have more powerfully done since. The kirk-session, the presbytery, the synod, the assembly, bound clergy and people in one compact mass. Knox and Melville had not labored in vain; and Welch, and Ker, and Bruce, and Simpson, had entered into their labors. Faithful to their flocks, the whole land followed them as good shepherds.

The nation was thoroughly Presbyterian. The Court was determined that England and Scotland should be united in Episcopacy. The struggle had continued from the beginning of the Reformation between the Hierarchy in possession and the General Assembly, grown to be a power. Even during the regency of Morton, whilst James was still in the minority, some of the leading nobles, with too keen an eye to the estates of the church, had attempted to uphold what were popularly styled the Tulchan bishops. Now, a Tulchan bishop was one who brought conveniently into his patron's hand the revenues of his see. Andrew Melville led in the assemblies in defence of the parity of the clergy, and by 1580 Prelacy was routed from the kingdom and the second book of Discipline determined the character of the Scottish church.

But James would be a free and absolute monarch, and it was part of his king-craft to re-establish Episcopacy in Scotland. In 1606 bishops were restored. The General Assembly was subsidized, and the Parliament of 1621 ratified the five articles of Perth which had been passed, enjoining kneeling in the reception of the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communicating. The laws in these matters were dead letters. In Edinburgh, on one occasion of celebrating the communion, only seven persons out of the whole population yielded to the articles of Perth by kneeling. The High-

Commission which had been appointed had not been able to enforce these odious laws.

In 1625, came in Charles to rule over the United Kingdom. His ideas of his unlimited power as a prince placed the church of a whole kingdom at his control. He entered almost immediately into the struggle with the Presbyterians of the north, which proved his ruin. He first endeavored to regain for the bishops the estates of the church, which had been appropriated by the Scottish nobles. His next leading step was to introduce the Service-book or Liturgy among the churches of Scotland. He communicated this purpose as early as 1629 to Laud, whose heart was devoted to his scheme of conciliating the Roman Catholics. In 1636 the Episcopal Book of Canons superseded the Presbyterian Book of Discipline; and to complete the work of father and son, and restore Episcopacy in full to Scotland, it only remained to force the Book of Common Prayer on the people.

The clergy of England of this time were the worthy fathers of those who, a generation later, heavily preached and meekly practiced passive obedience to the sovereign of the realm. This subservience to the court had not escaped the notice of the Stuarts, and was in striking contrast with the freedom with which the Scottish pulpit dwelt upon the royal character and measures. In their extemporary prayers, king and subjects were brought directly to God, their sins alike confessed, and pardon for both alike supplicated; and here too, the Presbyter had a favorable opportunity of conveying sentiments, and dealing censures, that could not so well be expressed in the didactic sermon. Extemporary prayer was the abomination of both James and Charles. A Prayer-book would remedy these and other evils.

The General Assembly was Presbyterian, brain, and hand, and mouth. It had worked its way gradually into a real independence of the king; and to prostrate the Scottish church at his feet, the king must destroy the Assembly. The principle of liberty in alliance with religion had its advocates, men worthy of the cause, in the Presbyterian clergy; and English and Scottish liberty together, both civil and religious, were at stake in the contest gathering blackness over the nation. The success of the king was the overthrow of British freedom, now struggling, though in weakness, to understand and proclaim itself. Charles's policy of "Thorough", clearly defined by his minister of state, Strafford, was nothing short of strengthening and stiffening the king into a despot, and rendering the British realm an Austria under his heel.

Not to dwell upon this period of English history, so familiar to the general reader, we hasten to the crisis of British freedom and the Covenant, by which it was successfully met. Tamely to receive the Service-book was to enthrone the monarch in both church and state, and make him an irresponsible despot over both England and Scotland. The 23d of July 1637, came. A Scottish calm was over the countenance of the land, but Scottish courage and determination were in the northern heart. The Cathedral church of Edinburgh toned the rest; received without dissatisfaction at the High church, the Book of Common Prayer was not likely to excite clamor in other places. The church was crowded upon this revolutionary morning. Archbishops and bishops were arranged in their robes; the lords of sessions and municipal magistrates, with batons and badges, graced the occasion. The bishop of Edinburgh was himself to preach. The dean at length began the new liturgy. Instantaneously the Sabbath quiet of Scotland changes into the angriest storm. The people will not discriminate between the old robes of Rome and the new ones of the court; between the archbishops and bishops of the mass, and the dignitaries and the new religion which they deem just as popish without the mass. Groans and hisses, whoops and hurrahs, and clappings of hands and stampings of feet, drown the voice of the priest in the desk. But the hierarchy will press the service through the riot, and the riot in which the Scottish proprieties are forgotten rises at once into the dimensions and majesty of a revolution. The dean cannot hear his own words and stops for a moment. The bishop calls out to him to proceed with the Collect of the day. A woman's voice alliterates a pun: "Deil colic the name o' ye," she exclaims, and gives emphasis to her words with the movable stool upon which she is sitting, which she aims at dean James Hanna's head. He dodges only to become the mark for multitudes of clasp bibles which are hurled from every direction, after Jerry Geddes' "ticket of remembrance." The congregation is driven out of the church, and the forced service goes on; but as the service goes on, the congregation on the outside mutters and musters and gives the signal to Scotland that the hour has come.

It is but a mob, and the work of change must go on, is the decree of the Court. And on it goes blackening the storm to a tempest. The ministers who have not used the Service-book are "horned" according to the royal proclamation, or declared rebels. The bishops are deserted by the Scottish Council of state, and stand alone, exposed to public execration.

The liturgy is suppressed until the king's pleasure is known. It is to be the same all over Scotland ; the whole country scornfully and resolutely rejected the Service-book. But the king's pleasure is that the Liturgy shall be enforced upon the people, as though there had been no outbreak. Four ministers of Scotland petition for a suspension of the horning with which the bishops have threatened them, one of them is Alexander Henderson of Fife. The Council favor the petition and it goes to the king, whose reply will be received by the 2d of September, when the Council meet again. His answer is sent down by the duke of Lenox. Ten nobles, many of the gentry or barons, and crowds of the people, with a little leisure from the finishing of harvest, flock to Edinburgh for the eventful day.

The 20th of September has arrived ; Edinburgh is thronged. Lenox is there with the king's answer ; he does not relent, he will not relax his efforts to force the religion of the English court upon Scotland. But Scotland has no sin to confess in the tumult at the High church at Edinburgh ; the alternative was tumult or submission to tyranny. The determination of the Scots to resist is at least equally as firm as the king's to force Episcopacy. To convince the duke of Lenox and the king, of the nationality of the opposition, an immense concourse lines both sides of the streets through which the duke is to pass to the Council. The flower of Scottish nobility and gentry is here, representatives from numerous burghs and presbyters, ninety ministers, including the whole presbytery of Stirling, and thousands of yeomanry from the country. They bow low to the duke as he passes, impressing him by their respectability, numbers, and resolute bearing. A committee present him with a fresh petition, which he promises to bear to the king, and transmit his answer. The answer will come on the 17th of October. In the interval the clergy lead the people in prayer for a favorable answer to their supplication, and four leading preachers go through Scotland, waking up the people to the interests involved in the struggle before them.

The throng in Edinburgh on the 17th of October, 1637, is still greater than that of the last of September. The shires are fully represented, and the band of nobility is even larger. The reply to the petition does not attempt to soothe the discontent. The Council are to be removed to Linlithgow, and the petitioners are to depart from Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, under penalty of being proclaimed rebels. Then riot, the attendant of revolution, bursts forth again ; the cry is,

"God defend all who will defend God's cause, and confound the Service-book and all its adherents." A stronger supplication is drawn up and subscribed before night by five hundred of the best names of Scotland ; and consultation is hurriedly held, and some agreement reached for combination against the Court for the rights of conscience.

Revolution now ripens fast. The concourse in Edinburgh, on the 15th of November, exceeds that of either of the former days of excitement. Every part of Scotland is fully represented. Aberdeen is the only burgh which has no committee, ministers, or commoners. The earl of Montrose publicly joins the opposition. The Council of Linlithgow is prevailed upon to join commissioners from the people with them in their deliberations ; these commissioners give the preponderance to the popular party. The famous committees called the Tables are appointed : one of noblemen, another of gentry, a third of burghs, the fourth of ministers. Each committee has four members ; and a chief committee, or table, consisting of one from each of the other committees, becomes the center of organization for resistance to the Court. Charles will not listen to the alarm. His new proclamation approves again the Service-book, condemns the petitions, and prohibits all further convocation of the lieges under penalty of treason.

And now the storm breaks forth. Persistence in tyranny encounters stern resolve not to yield to the Court. The people of Scotland, with their tables, are as ready as the king, with the army of his realm. The earl of Traquair has come from England to publish the proclamation, and proceeds to Stirling where the council and session are sitting. With all possible quietness, so as to elude the vigilant tables, the earl will accomplish his business, and orders his horses at Edinburgh at two o'clock in the morning of Monday, to ride to Stirling. The ceremony of the royal proclamation takes place at ten o'clock, at the Market Cross ; but lords Home and Lindsay are promptly there, with instruments in the hands of a notary, publicly protesting against the proclamation. Stirling is full of armed petitioners, who have flocked in from the whole country around and after leaving some of their numbers to renew the protest before the council, they march an army two thousand strong to Edinburgh. On Thursday, the 22d of February, 1638, the Market Cross of Edinburgh witnesses a similar scene. The king's heralds, in glittering array, read the proclamation ; but their voices are at times perfectly drowned in tumult. Sixteen noblemen have erected a scaffold next the Cross, and as soon as the heralds are through than Archibald Johnston read

the protest, which the crowd around oblige the royal officers to stand and hear. So everywhere in Scotland the public protest meets Charles's proclamation face to face ; and the friends of the cause, as if by concert, leave their homes to rendezvous at Edinburgh, and, if need be, to meet the king in defence of their liberties hand to hand.

The revolution against tyranny is now perfectly ripe. The formation of the tables prepared the way, but at length organization for resistance is about to be completed. Scotland must be one band in the movement ; it is made one by the national covenant. Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers so nearly "horned" at the outbreak in Edinburgh, and Archibald Johnston, who had protested against the proclamation, were the leaders in resuscitating the old League against popery, and making it serviceable in the present juncture. It renounced Popery, confirmed Presbyterian worship and discipline, and bound its signers together in opposition to extremity against innovation upon the professed religion. On Wednesday, the 28th of February, 1638, the Covenant was first presented to the public in Grey-Friars church, Edinburgh. Henderson, so conspicuous in these days, opened the meeting with prayer. Lord Loudon made an impressive address. Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, read the Covenant, written on a sheet of parchment, not larger than an ell square. Committees were ready to reason with any that had scruples, and then the enthusiasm kindled bright. The earl of Sunderland first subscribed his name, then the other nobility striving who should first have the honor. Then all the people in the church. But an immense multitude crowded round the walls and in the church-yard. The parchment was handed out to these and laid upon the flat monuments over the dead, and signed with rapture and applause. That was independence-day for Scotland. A glow was on the face of the crowd, shout answered shout of earnest devotion to the good cause, and right hands were held up in solemn oath to Heaven as again and again the Covenant was read in a clear loud voice.

Like fire in the prairie, it ran through the city and nation. The popular mind was tinder, and the meeting in Grey-Friars blew the spark upon it. Amidst tears of joy and prayers for blessing, it was signed next day throughout the city by all classes ; by men, women, and children. Some punctured their skin and wrote with their blood : others added to their names the words "till death." A copy of the Covenant was sent through the whole country, and with the single exception of Aberdeenshire, obtained the signatures of a vast proportion

of the people, moved by the same impulses of religion and patriotism. "Now," exclaimed a leading royalist, when told what had been done during the past week, "Now, all that we have been attempting to build up during the last thirty years is at once thrown down."

Charles was obstinate. He sent the marquis of Hamilton to treat with the Covenanters, hoping the League would fall in pieces by delay. But war was in the wind, and all were getting ready. Approaching Edinburgh, Hamilton passed through an array of sixty thousand persons, among whom were seven hundred clergymen. Having accomplished nothing, he returned to London for fresh instructions. When he came back he proclaimed a free General Assembly for the 20th of November. That was a strange and bold body. Elders and ministers attended armed, and Glasgow was filled with their retainers. Every one understood it to be the mission of the Assembly to rid Scotland of Episcopacy. The same Alexander Henderson was elected moderator. Protest followed protest on both sides. The commissioner rose in the name of his majesty and in form dissolved the Assembly; but the Glasgow Assembly would not be dissolved. They protested; the moderator encouraged them in a solemn speech. They would go on without the commissioner; and they persisted, though the next morning he discharged their meeting again under the penalty of high treason. They pronounced the six assemblies since the commencement of the century, which had connived at Episcopacy, illegal; excommunicated and deposed the archbishops and bishops, and restored in full force the old Presbyterianism. The choicest spirits of Scotland were in that Assembly; and there was not a braver one than Alexander Henderson, the moderator.

Charles now mustered for deadly conflict. His sycophant clergy, his courtiers, his Catholic subjects, were all he could count upon at home. The English people regarded his appeal to arms with disgust and dislike. But his lieutenant in Ireland, the "Thorough" Strafford, engaged to supply Catholics for a descent upon the west of Scotland; the Catholic families of the north of Scotland would come to his help, and he bargained with Spain for regiments of Flemish soldiers. The Scots were able to raise a larger and far better army; every man in it urged by religious zeal and ready to fight to the death. France countenanced them; the Protestants of Europe sympathized; the mass of the English wished the success. The men who had seen battle under Gustavus Adolphus were all in their place, and the country north

the Tweed became a military camp. The grooms even in the king's palace were with their countrymen, and sent down copies of letters which they had found in the king's pockets, which revealed his most secret plans. Old Alexander Leslie, deformed and mean-looking, but who had attained the position of field-marshal under the best general of the age, and in the best army, brought the rich experience of the campaigns of the Swedish king to grace the post of General-in-chief of the Scottish forces. Refractory Aberdeen was taken, whose ladies had tied blue ribbons round the necks of their dogs and called them Covenanters. At the end of May, 1639, the king moved from York to the borders, and Leslie advanced to meet him. All were Scotsmen by birth and staunch Presbyterians, but a single German trumpeter: men strong in body and firm in mind. Prayer, the singing of psalms, and the reading of the Scriptures, were heard in the tents of the soldiers all day long. As Baillie says, "They felt the favor of God shining upon them, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit leading them all along." Charles saw that he must yield or capitulate; and both sides were reluctant, as yet, to shed blood; and Charles consented to the demands of the Scots, and peace was proclaimed.

The king called a General Assembly for the 6th of August, and a session of Parliament for the 20th. The Edinburgh Assembly made a deliverance, formally abolishing liturgy, canons, and every shred of Episcopacy; and the king was obliged to add his signature by deputy. Parliament met, but its spirit was determined, and it was prorogued until June 1640. The royal commissioner did not appear at that date, without whom, according to precedent, there could be no Parliament, but they elected a president, proceeded and resolved themselves into a committee to continue to sit after the regular adjournment, to have sovereign power over matters of state. Thus the power of the Tables passed over to the Parliament, which henceforth led the revolution. Charles resolved again on war: the alternative was yield or conquer. The Scottish army rose up like Roderic Dhu's men at his whistle, ready equipped in concerted bands and regiments, and Leslie was again at their head. The whole nation contributed liberally for the expense. At Edinburgh, under the stirring addresses of one preacher, enough of sheeting was furnished in one day, to provide the troops with tents. Leslie was soon over the border, and the English Parliament would not give Charles subsidies for the war. The sturdy general reached the Tyne and moved up the stream, and after a sharp fight followed the

retreating English to Newcastle. Alexander Henderson was along, and preached a powerful discourse in the great church of St. Nicholas. The Scots were 24,000 disciplined soldiers, and the king could only assemble 15,000 recruits. He was forced to make peace in October, the Scottish army to be paid and remain at Newcastle.

On the 3d of November, 1640, met the Long Parliament of England. Charles was driven to summon it, and its sessions ran through the following ten years. The Scottish spirit had infused itself into England, and its example of successful resistance was closely followed. Intimate alliance was formed between the nations, and the Blue Bonnets shared with Cromwell's Ironsides in the overthrow of the Stuart despotism. The influence of Scotland in the Puritan struggle, with which it mingled, and in whose changing fortunes it was lost, was prodigious. The Westminster Convention was called, and delegates invited from Scotland. Scotland proposed a perpetual Covenant between the two kingdoms, and the covenant passed both houses of the English Parliament and was solemnly sworn to both north and south of the Tweed. Baillie, Henderson, Blair and Gillespie turned the people of London in vast numbers to Presbyterianism. The Scottish delegation were the master minds, and swayed the Westminster Assembly by argument and eloquence. It was Alexander Henderson who preached when the House of Commons and the Westminster Assembly solemnly subscribed their names, in the church of St. Margaret. The Covenant in this period was more than national; it was the solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Its object was "to extirpate popery, prelacy, heresy, schism, skepticism, and idolatry" from both islands, and to endeavor to unite all in one Confession of Faith, one Form of Church Government, and one Directory of Worship. Cromwell and Vane signed the same instrument as Leslie and Johnston, and Hamilton. The Covenanter of this period had visions of civil liberty as well as religious. He was an earnest, pious, praying man, and his Bible was the key to all riddles. The kingdom of Christ was paramount to all earthly interests; it was bounded by no friths or mountains; it was limited to no nation, or tongue, or color, or generation. And in that kingdom he was right who resisted oppression, and freed and elevated the masses of men. Charles Stuart was as amenable to law as the veriest beggar in his kingdom.

The Covenant culminated in the Revolution, which, for a season, bound together the Scottish Presbyterian and the English Puritan. Puritan and Presbyterian in those days were

synonymous terms for the same class of people. The reins had fallen from the hands of the dead Cromwell; the kingdom was in confusion; all classes concluded that there was no other remedy for evils than the restoration of the Stuarts. The Scottish Presbyterians led the way, to find the little-finger of the Second Charles thicker than his father's loins. Divided among themselves, the new king summoned rack, thumb-screw, and boot, to impose the court religion on Scotland. Then came the days of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment. The Second Philip was scarcely more cruel with his Netherlanders; Alva was not worse than Claverhouse. The monarch has been gibbeted beyond the possibility of ever taking the carcase down, but there are hands to-day trying to sprinkle rose-water over the putrefaction of the murderer of John Brown, the Christian carrier.

The graves of Presbyterian martyrs are green in the old church-yards of Scotland still. The Covenanters could not be dragooned into love or even toleration of Charles' Episcopacy. The primitive religion, handed down by the Culdees, never lost in the west of Scotland, revived by Knox, and embraced by the nation, held the popular mind too firmly to be superseded. And never was religion more pure, nor more generally practised by the people, than the Covenanter's faith when the Stuarts were restored. We hasten over these days, the pages of whose history are blotted with martyr's blood. The traitor, archbishop Sharpe, is assassinated by a few whom persecution has driven into fanaticism. The divisions among the Covenanters are artfully fomented by the court. The inscription is effaced from the tomb of Alexander Henderson, the giant of his generation, who, with the Covenanters of his times, have fallen asleep. The Covenant obligations are set aside and declared unlawful, and absolute kingship over church and state leaps into the saddle again with a bound. The synods are dispersed, and the blood-hounds of tyranny unleashed upon the leaders in the Revolution of the last reign. Episcopacy must be foisted upon the unwilling land. Then follows the prohibition of Presbyterian meetings, the great gatherings of the persecuted in the glens and fields. But the Prayer-Book at the point of the bayonet does not enter into the affections of the people. Troopers cover the country, but the peasantry carry arms to their conventicles. Welsh and Blackader, and Alexander Peden, of whom the world was not worthy, confirm the people in their faith. A difference of opinion prevails as to the propriety of forcibly resisting the oppressor, the golden opportunity is lost, which,

had advantage been taken when the king first began to reign, would have made these cruelties impossible. Prayer-meetings and family-worship are forbidden under heavy penalty. Human nature can endure it no longer. In 1679 Hamilton and others publicly burn the obnoxious acts of the court, and boldly attach to the cross at Rutherglen "the Declaration and Testimony of the True Presbyterian Party in Scotland." Claverhouse and Dalziel are eager for their blood, and already booted and spurred are away for the west country. Drum-clog, with the 76th Psalm for its war-shout, brings a victory. The revival of the old Covenant has been a failure; the Presbyterian camp is torn with dissensions. The disastrous battle of Bothwell Bridge follows. The Blue banner floats before the ranks, inscribed with "Christ our King and Covenant;" the Psalm is raised, but owing to the want of military skill in the leaders, the bridge is won and crossed by the royal troops, and the day is with Claverhouse and Dalziel.

The Test Act cannot destroy the affection of Scotland's people for the Presbyterian faith and form of worship. They form societies among themselves, awaiting the dawn of a better day; and the Covenant disappears as Cameron, in the spirit of Knox and Welsh and Henderson, rallies a portion of the discomfited people. The Presbyterians are divided and suspicious, and the Covenanter becomes the Cameronian. There was never more heroic deed than the issue of the Declaration and Testimony fixed to the cross of Sanquhar in 1680, in which Cameron and his followers, representatives of the true Presbyterian church and Covenanted nation of Scotland, disowned Charles Stuart, who had been "reigning or rather, we may say, tyrannizing on the throne of Britain, and declared war with such a tyrant and usurper."

James the Second comes in only a more honest Papist than his predecessor. The Revolution of 1688 succeeds, and Scotland recovers its venerated Confession of the Westminster Assembly. In 1743 the Associate Presbytery, which, with the Erskines, has separated from the church of Scotland, deem it obligatory upon them to rescue the old Covenant, and Burghers and Anti-Burghers into which they divide, hold to the hallowed custom. And far up in one of the beautiful valleys of Pennsylvania, Scotsmen and their descendants have esteemed it a privilege, breathing the free air of their chosen republic, to bind themselves to one another and to God, in the same language in which the Hendersons and Camerons confessed their love of liberty and the pure religion of the Bible.

ART. VIII.—WHEDON ON THE WILL.*

THE CONFLICT between freedom and necessity has agitated all schools of philosophy and theology. Fate and chance, necessity and contingency, divine sovereignty and free will, foreknowledge and self-determination, certainty and power to the contrary, law and liberty—all these contrasted phrases indicate different forms of the same radical problem. The whole question centres in the application of the universal and rational idea of causality to the acts of the Will. Is the Will wholly and purely cause, or does it come under the law of cause and effect? The intricacy of the inquiry makes it difficult; its vital issues make it momentous. The government of God, and the responsibility of man are equally involved.

At the outset, each of the two factors, divine sovereignty and free will, seems to have for itself sufficient evidence. In simple and direct consciousness no embarrassment is felt; but in the reflex consciousness of the philosophic mind there come up conflicting speculations, which either imperil human responsibility or impugn the divine authority. The problem is, to reconcile the two; or, at least, so to state each that the other shall not be deprived of its rights. And here confusion is apt to arise, whether from poverty of language, inaccuracy of thought, or positive inability to grasp the hidden connexions of things so diverse and so profound. It may be, that from the nature of the case, we cannot fully master the consilience of law and liberty, until we can fathom, not only the depths of human consciousness, but also the mystery of the divine agency. And this sole thought, rightly weighed, will dint the edge of many a sharp definition. Man's freedom may be so defined, as logically to exclude even foreknowledge; God's agency may be so defined, as to imply that he is the efficient cause of all human volitions. And though we cannot penetrate the interaction of the two, yet we may see when either is ruled out by the very terms in which the other is propounded. Though we cannot solve a mystery, we may appreciate a logical contradiction. The problem is not a simple one, to be answered by an analysis of one series of similar facts; but it is in the highest degree complex, reaching to the very poles of the moral universe. No one is prepared to discuss it, who

* The Freedom of the Will as a Basis of Human Responsibility and a Divine Government. By D. D. WHEDON, D.D. New York. 1864. pp. 438.

has not an awe-inspiring sense of the divine majesty, as well as a deep conviction of the difficulties that environ the ultimate moral preferences of a responsible human will.

We are apt to imagine that the acts of the will are simple, and easy of definition. As revealed in immediate consciousness these acts are simple, being the direct expression of personal power ; but the will, in its supreme preferences, contains the most complex and subtle elements of our moral life. The will, in fact, brings our whole being into concentrated expression. At the basis are the generic elements of human nature ; these are individualized in a distinct moral personality ; and the person, putting forth power, especially in the form of choice or preference, is the Will. It is only logically that the will is distinguishable from the man or person ; really, it is never so. And all the other so-called powers or faculties of the mind converge here ; they run into, and so complicate, the will's energy. It is usually said, that the intellect acts first, and then the feelings, and then the will ; and this to a certain extent is true, as in formal, deliberate choice ; but this is far from comprising the whole of the will's agency. For a subtler analysis indicates, that it is rather below than on the surface of the other powers of the mind—next to the very person ; and that it is implicated in all putting forth of power, whether internally or externally. Its chief function, however, is in choice ; and this is in the two-fold form of immanent preference and executive acts.

In the idea, and in the act of choice, it is of course implied that there may be (not that there always are) two or more objects or ends in view ; that between them election is to be made ; and that, so far as the general capacity of choice is concerned, there is a natural possibility of electing the one or the other. But the actual choosing is dependent on other conditions than this possibility of different elections ; it includes as well, and by an equal stringency, motives, opportunities, and the moral bias, or antecedent states, of the will itself. These all help to constitute the volition. And, as a matter of fact, the generic bias of the will, its moral habit, determines the special volitions, until some great crisis comes. Every human being is in such a state in respect to sin, until he is led, and only by divine grace, to think upon his ways and come to his right mind. And this moral inability of the sinner to repent and turn unto God, without the impulse and aid of divine grace, is as certain as any fact in man's spiritual history. In human consciousness it is reconcilable and reconciled with the deepest sense of responsibility and guilt ; so

that it is only the logic of sophistry, and not the voice of consciousness or conscience, which sets the two at variance. **Whenever** man is religious, and so far forth as he is religious, **he** feels and knows his need, especially as a sinner, of entire dependence on God's grace for renewal and redemption. **And when** his trust in that grace is most absorbing, when his will and the divine will flow together, then, too, he has the highest conscious sense of freedom ; for his whole soul goes out in unimpeded love to God ; he has found the metes and measure of his moral being, and in the highest moral necessity is conscious of the highest moral freedom. Sin is a bondage of the soul ; and in holiness alone is its perfect liberty reinstated.

These now are patent and substantial facts about human nature, and man's moral experience and history, which every theory of the will is bound to recognize. They bring out some of the main points in the perennial controversy between Calvinists and Arminians, which Dr. Whedon has renewed in his treatise on the Freedom of the Will. The author is well known as the able and diligent editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, and is looked upon as the acutest representative of the theology of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His book, nominally an essay on the Will, is really an advocacy of Arminianism and an attack on Calvinism. And he brings all Calvinists, old school and new school, in New England and in all branches of the Presbyterian church, under the same condemnation. It is rather amusing to see Princeton and Andover, Bangor and New Haven, swept into the same drag-net ; all classed as "necessarians." The utmost he will concede to the Calvinistic advocates, even of "power to the contrary" is, that they are "crude freedomists." He will not admit them into the full Arminian fellowship unless they are prepared to say, that the "power to the contrary" has actually been exercised, or, that they do sometimes choose from the weaker inducement ; or, that God simply foreknows and does not foreordain—for, after all, it is the divine decree which most gravels a consistent Arminian. Yet still we think, the author has been rather hard on some who have gone as far as they could in his line, and only stopped just short of absurdities and contradictions. He seems to think that there are but two words in the whole discussion, *freedom* and *necessity* ; that these have invariably the same sense—which of course he defines ; that there is no debatable land between ; and that Arminians have the monopoly of freedom ; while Calvinists are fixed bound to fate. This is about the upshot of his argument. Even when a Calvinist says that by "necessity" he means only "cer-

tainty," Dr. Whedon retorts that by "certainty" he must mean only "necessity." He cannot get quit of the notions, that Calvinism is the same as pure necessity, and that predestination means that God is the author of sin. Nor will he allow to Edwards and his school the benefit of their own nice distinctions and emphatic disclaimers. Taking his prominent terms in an isolated way, he never thinks of making joints, or of harmonizing antagonisms; and so he finds it hard to understand such processes in other minds. More than half of his volume is devoted to a perversion and attempted refutation of the "necessarian arguments," especially those of the elder Edwards. For each new advocate of Arminianism must still storm that citadel—though it has been so often demolished. But every fresh "freedomist" is dissatisfied with the work of his predecessors, and has to provide himself with new weapons, that is, a new set of definitions, which have not yet run the gauntlet of the Calvinistic logic. Our new knight thinks that "self-determining power of the will" is an infelicitous expression; that "liberty of indifference" is inapt; that "contingency of volition" excites misapprehensions; that "power to the contrary," implies what it should not; and comes into the contest, armed cap-à-pie, in a complete panoply of new and strange words, phrases and definitions, which bristle defiance.

An author has an undoubted right to make his own definitions; and a writer of authority may now and then introduce a new and needed term, which will be welcomed to the language. But Dr. Whedon's volume is fairly disfigured by *verba insolentia*, and awkward, not to say barbarous, phrases;* such as, 'freedomism', 'volitionate', 'volitivity', 'motivity', 'intuity', 'definiting', 'certained', 'mustness', 'transgressoriness', 'resultant cause,' in the sense of the cause producing the result; 'free to alterities', 'eternal, divine, free volitivity,' and the like. Such grotesque novelties and freaks of expression add nothing either to the purity or the force of style. They are needless, especially in the case of an author, who is often clear and concise in his definitions and arguments, and who is quite able to express his definite ideas in good old English undefiled. They obscure the thought and embarrass the attention. To read this work intelligibly, we have to learn a new Arminianese dialect, which in a condensed form runneth somewhat after this fashion: "Freedom is the power of alternative choice, otherwise called

*We referred to a few of these in the July number of our Review, which the *Methodist Quarterly* for October comments on with slight courtesy, and some inaccuracy; saying, *e. g.* "The phrase 'equilibril will' does not occur." ; but it is found in the table of contents, p. 7, "Indifference is equilibril will."

pluripotential causality ; while necessity is unipotent and automatically resultant from inalterable particular causation ; the will, as an uncaused cause, is necessarily free to alterities ; its volitivity may be from pure intuition whatever be the motivity ; in a true equilibrial or equipollent cause there cannot be any mustness, for no one can really volitionate where there is non-existence of power but to a fixation."

One assumption underlies our author's reasonings, which demands a moment's consideration ; and that is, that Calvinism as a system stands or falls with the doctrine of "philosophical necessity," as expounded by Edwards ; as if that metaphysical dogma had a quasi symbolical authority. This is far from being the case. The essential Calvinistic tenet is that of the divine purposes ; "philosophical necessity" is but an adjunct of the system, employed to elucidate some aspects and relations of the divine decree. It has, in fact, been denied by many, who have still held to the general Reformed theology against both Lutherans and Arminians. The late Principal Cunningham, of Edinburgh, maintained in an elaborate essay, that the Westminster Confession neither requires nor forbids the holding of that philosopheme. And many divines of our own country, both old school and new school, have, on different grounds, dissented from some of the phraseology and arguments of the sage of Northampton. Since he wrote there have been great changes in the state of the question. Edwards himself would have written in a different tone against the evangelical Arminianism of the Methodist church as represented by Dr. Whedon, from that which he assumed towards the cold and rationalising Arminianism of his own times, which denied original sin, and special grace. Had he been opposing pantheism he would unquestionably have modified some of his positions and illustrations. Few persons now-a-days would accept all his definitions as final. He does not carefully distinguish between the different usages of the word 'cause' ; he seems to limit freedom too exclusively to executive volition ; at times he implies that the whole causal power, producing volition, resides in the motives ; his conception of causation (in conformity with the philosophy of his day) is derived from the sphere of mechanics rather than from that of living or spontaneous forces ; and he is so in earnest in arguing against the self-determining power of the will as to neglect that element of self-determination which is undeniably found in every personal act. But still a critic, who can see no essential difference between "D'Holbachian atheism and Edwardean Calvinism ;" who says that the system of Edwards is "accordant with the

worst forms of Universalism and Parkerism in our own country;" and who cannot even master his distinctions between natural ability and moral inability; is but ill prepared to do justice to a work, which has received the homage of high eulogy and sharp assault from many of the best minds of the last hundred years. With all its minor drawbacks, the system which Edwards espoused is still, in its essential features and necessary connexions and relations, what the great Bradwardine of old called it, in the title of his famous book, the *Causa Dei contra Pelagium*. For Arminianism logically demands Pelagianism. It is only, as we shall see, by a fortunate inconsistency, or rather by a complete disregard of his theory of freedom, that Dr. Whedon is able to maintain his orthodoxy when he comes to the main problems of the theodicy. Vaunting his notion of freedom, even in the title of his work, as the only "basis of human responsibility and a divine government," he is forced to ignore it, when he encounters the knotty questions about the divine prescience, the guilt of original sin, and the vindication of the divine justice in view of sin; and to put the whole stress of his solutions on an entirely different basis. Freedom is supplemented by a "gracious ability," and justice itself, it is argued, demands the system of redemption. And so this book, just because it is so sharp and strenuous, illustrates more fully, perhaps, than any single product of this school, the inevitable tendencies and inconsistencies inherent in the Arminian system, which stands, logically and theologically, between Calvinism and Pelagianism, having some of the main difficulties of both, without the consistency of either.

Dr. Whedon's work is divided into three Parts. Part First is entitled The Issue Stated: Part Second considers the Necessitarian Argument: Part Third is devoted to the Positive Argument for the writer's own theory. This arrangement involves the necessity of frequent repetitions, and the inconvenience of refuting the "necessarian" on the ground of the writer's theory before that has been fully established. But the argument after all hinges on the definitions of terms and the correct statement of the issue. And if an author in his definitions assumes the point in debate, or misstates the ground of those whom he opposes, the apparent victory may be both easy and unprofitable.

What is the Will? Edwards says it "is the power to choose." Dr. Whedon replies "choice is a word as obscure as will." But choice certainly indicates the chief mode of the will's action, and is less "obscure" than Will, since it is

directly known as an act in consciousness. His own definition is that "Will is the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act." But are not "conscious author" and "an intentional act" quite as "obscure" as choice? Can there not be an unconscious act of the Will? What room is left on the basis of this definition for making a distinction between the immanent preferences and the executive acts of the Will? Is the will all act? Has it no permanent states? This definition also neglects the essential element of "choice," which is, however, brought in afterwards when our author says (p. 18) that he always "uses volition and choice interchangeably." Choice, he adds, is "a volition in view of some perceived preferability" in the object. His peculiar usage of terms now begins to appear. "Volitions are neither voluntary nor involuntary, but volitional;" "a voluntary volition is impossible." That is, he calls the direct act of the will "*volitional*," and "the consequent act of the body or mind *voluntary*." But this is arbitrary, and contrary to the best usage and the common sense of the English tongue. To say that volitions are not voluntary, and that voluntary acts are not acts of the will, is to confuse the established meaning of words, and multiply vain distinctions.

In what does the Freedom of the Will consist? In all definitions of freedom there is a certain inadequacy in language to reproduce the precise fact of consciousness. The terms ought to be perpetually interpreted, not by looking at them logically, but by reading them psychologically. Freedom is born and lives in consciousness. It is known only in and with choice or preference. External freedom is the power or opportunity of doing as one pleases. Internal freedom is found both in the capacity and in the exercise of choice; it is in and of the will, because the will can and does choose. The will, in the act of choice, is free, not only from external coercion and inward necessity, but also *in* the choice actually made. It is free in what it chooses, as well as in respect to what it does not choose.* There may be a free choice when only one object is before the mind; but, as different objects or motives are usually presented, the choice of one involves the refusal of the others, as also the possi-

*"Every free act is done in a state of freedom, not *after* such a state. . . . It will not suffice that the act immediately follows a state of Liberty; but Liberty must yet continue and co-exist with the act, the soul remaining in possession of Liberty." Edwards, p. 42. Dr. Whedon, p. 187-8, comments on this, but fails to invalidate it. Our references to Edwards are to the second volume of the New York edition of his works.

bility, so far as the natural capacity is concerned, of taking another instead, the other conditions of volition being complied with. But the cardinal point in the will's freedom, that on which responsibility chiefly hangs, is the fact that the person is consciously free *in* the choice actually made.

And this is the point which Dr. Whedon and other Arminians strangely overlook, in their anxiety to vindicate a freedom, which is abstract and illusory, a freedom which is not, and can not be, realized in any act of the mind, but which remains a perpetual negation. He says that freedom is "exemption." But this is a narrow and partial view of it. There must, he insists, be freedom "to the act," that is, no impediment; and freedom "from the act," that is, another act may be put forth "instead;" but freedom *in* the act he does not recognize. In his usage, as we have already seen, a "voluntary act" is not free (not "volitional"). The freedom all went before the "voluntary act," and expired in giving birth to it, so that the voluntary act is in fact necessary and not free; it is the effect of the will as a cause, and "nothing that is caused can be free." Thus his whole definition of freedom reads: "an unrestricted power to put forth in the same unchanged circumstances a different volition *instead*" of the one "in the agent's contemplation." This definition of freedom has chief respect to a volition not put forth. And this, we say, is a negative idea of freedom. It allows no place for the vital distinction between *formal and real freedom*."

Freedom, as thus defined, consists in, is identified with, the "unrestricted power" of "putting forth a different volition." And this power is not merely the "natural ability" conceded by the school of Edwards, but something radically different. It is, in Dr. Whedon's view, a creative energy. Arminianism, driven by force of logic from its old phrases of "a self-determining power of the will," "liberty of indifference," and the like, is coming to represent the will's action as that of pure causality, in the form of a creative act. "Every free agent," says our author* (p. 42) "is thus an original creator, even out of nothing." The will is an "uncaused cause," and it "creates, brings into existence, shapes and limits, and in all these senses necessitates and governs its volitions." It is a kind of cause "different from all others," in this respect—that all others are "unipotent," while the will is said to be "pluripotent." A natural cause, under given circumstances, can act only in one direction; it is "unipotent." This is neces-

* The same view is indicated in the title of Mr. Hazard's recent work: "Every Being that Wills, a Creative First Cause."

sity, viz., "the impossibility of the opposite." But the will is "a pluripotent or alternative cause," and is as capable of acting in opposite directions, as a "unipotent cause" is of acting in one direction. Whatever may be the feelings, motives, or state of the mind, the will is equally adequate to the opposite. It can act against all possible counter motives, and by its action even transform the weaker into the stronger motive. And such a causal capacity is said to be essential to freedom and responsibility.

That man in willing is a proper, efficient cause of his own acts, we do not contest; nor yet, that motives are the occasional and final, and not the efficient causes of volition. The direct efficiency is in the man and not in the motives. And when man chooses in one way there is no natural impossibility, but rather a natural possibility, of a different choice. He weighs, deliberates, decides; and he can decide for one or the other as seems to him best. He has all the natural and moral capacities and powers, which qualify him to choose between different objects or ends. And he chooses as he does, not because he must, not because he can not do otherwise, but because he sees no sufficient reason for, or has no hearty pleasure in, doing otherwise. And all this is entirely different from any conceivable natural necessity, or "impossibility of the opposite." But Dr. Wheldon is not content with this; he will not stop at the end. He hypostatizes in the will a causal energy, a creative capacity, a "pluripotential power," which distinguishes it from all other kinds of causation. But this seems to be an unreal abstraction.

Not to anticipate criticisms, that must be reserved for other points, we do not see that this elaborate discrimination between "pluripotent" and "unipotent" cause, solves any real difficulty, or gives any distinct idea. It is an artificial way of stating an illusory distinction. In one sense all forces are "pluripotent," as they may act, or be made to act, in a variety of directions. The forces of the organic world have a greater variety than those of the inorganic; animals are more "pluripotential" than vegetables, and men than animals. And man has the capacity of choosing among and between a fertile variety of objects or ends, to which he is correlated by the complexity of his endowments; especially of deciding between the behests of reason and conscience, and the cravings of natural desire. But this capacity of choice is in no sense a double power; it is in its very nature one and simple. There is, and can be, only one undivided energy of choice, in how-

ever many directions it may turn. Even supposing that another end were chosen instead of the one that seems most desirable, it is the same capacity that makes the election. The alleged distinction indicates no real difference. And as to its being in any proper sense a "creative" energy, producing an opposite volition of its own motion, the whole idea is simply preposterous. No such thing was ever done. It is a vain imagination. To suppose it realized by man is to annul the distinction between divine and human power.

So that, upon the whole, this invention of a new kind of cause to suit the exigencies of the Arminian theory of freedom is needless and unprofitable. It is an attempt to state what eludes statement. This eccentric and pretentious "pluripotential cause," though rather formidable at first sight, turns out in fact to be only our old Arminian acquaintance, "the self-determining power of the will," brought out for a fresh airing, with a new *alias*, having been so thoroughly exposed under his former names, that he finds it inexpedient to appear in them any longer. But his new and high-sounding appellative (reminding one of the pompous titles given to petty German potentates), has not changed his nature. He is still as supple, Protean, and disputatious as ever, representing the ghost of an idea, and ever striving to elude the infinite series, into which Edwards banished him, by hiding in that intermediate state between thought and fancy in which he was begotten of old.

The general conditions "of volitional action" are reduced by Dr. Whedon to these three: "an Object or direction of action, Mental Comprehension, and Motive." "Motive is a usual antecedent of action," but its "strict universality" is doubted (pp. 71, 139). Then (p. 87) it is formally asserted that the maxim, "like causes ever and always produce like effects," is "inapplicable in the volitional sphere." And so we are prepared for "*the crucial question*," viz: the Cause of Particular Volitions. The whole theory of the book hinges here; it stands or falls with the author's view of the will as a causal power.

"What causes (determines) the will to put forth the particular volition and no other?" The question is not, how it comes to act at all, but, "Why it exerts such an act and not another?" Edwards concedes that the activity of the nature of the soul enables it to be the cause of effects, but says "*that alone* is not the cause why its action is *thus* and *thus* limited, directed and determined," as is the case in every par-

particular volition ; and that, therefore, besides * the general capacity of election, there must be particular reasons or motives to account for particular volitions. But Dr. Whedon says, in italics, "*an alternative power or cause is an alternative thing, and accounts for the coming into existence of either one of several effects*" (p. 90). And he adds, that "*so and at once and for all, the crucial question is answered.*" When pressed with the inquiry, What causes the will to produce any particular effect ? he replies, in capitals and italics, "*NOTHING whatever.*" And this for the reason, that "*every complete cause produces its effect uncausedly*" (p. 92). Such is the theory, and upon it we join issue.

(1) The will, in and of itself, is not a complete or adequate cause of any particular volition or effect. This seems to be sometimes conceded by Dr. Whedon, when he speaks of the will "*in its proper conditions,*" as "an adequate cause," and says that "a general power is not adequate to the effect," and "that another part of the power" is to be supplied. But if these conditions furnish a part of the power, the will is not in itself a complete cause. The will may be called the efficient cause, but this gives only the general possibility of action, until the occasional and final causes are added, and these are not of the will, but constitute the motives or reasons of the act. An efficient cause and an adequate cause are by no means identical. A volition is no more accounted for by its efficient cause than would be the building of a house by the general activity of the workmen, without brick or mortar. To account for any particular volition, there must be that in the cause corresponding with the particularity in the effect. The principle of life in a seed must contain a formative element as well as a vital force, in order to be able to produce any particular kind of plant. No definite act can be constructed in thought without relation to some end or object. No event or phenomenon can be produced by a bare, general efficiency. Else, from matter, force, and motion, according to Herbert Spencer's revival of the old, godless speculations, might be evolved the universe of particular existences.

It seems to be supposed, that, because the idea of cause is simple, all effects can be accounted for by simple power alone. Cause is indeed simple in idea, but when we come to its actings, it is, as Plato says of the beautiful, "very difficult."

* Dr Whedon, commenting on these statements, says that Edwards here teaches that motive is "the absolute cause" of the volition; but when Edwards says that active nature "alone" is not the cause of the particular volitions, he rather implies that it, as well as the motive, has a hand in the matter.

The relation of cause and effect is as complex as the frame of the universe. The most elaborate of the Aristotelian distinctions is that between power in possibility and power in act. Man (*in potentia*) may be viewed as a possible cause of either of several effects ; but to pass from power to action requires other conditions or causes, which help to constitute the effect.

(2) And if the will, in itself, is not a complete and adequate cause of any one particular effect, then an "alternative power or cause," granting its existence, can no more account "for the coming into existence of either one of several effects." The same reasons in part apply here as above. If no one effect can thus be accounted for, then no other can be. Whichever alternative is taken, there is still a particular determination which cannot be explained by any mere general efficiency. Dr. Whedon seems to imagine that there is a special virtue in an "alternative cause," somehow making it adequate of itself to particular, and even "alternative" particular volitions. The difficulty however is not lessened, but repeated. Neither can be accounted for, and so either can not be. The impossibility is just reduplicated. And such "alternativity," under the circumstances must be cruelly embarrassing. It is bad enough to be obliged to put forth any one volition without any particular reason ; but to decide between two opposite volitions, without any particular reason for either, is worse than the case of the traditional jackass between the two bundles of hay ; for the jackass had at least the satisfaction of having each of its eyes filled with the vision of an equal good ; and though it doubtless died between the two, yet, if it had chosen either, for the particular election there would have been a special inducement.

There is a still subtler difficulty about this complete power-to-either. The will is equipoised, in that it is an equally complete or adequate cause of either. It takes one : then there was a complete and adequate cause for the other, which cause, though complete and adequate, resulted in no effect. Dr. Whedon notices the matter (p. 94), and says in reply, "particularity coming into existence is itself exclusive of all counter." Very true, if it does come into existence. But why does this "particularity" come into existence, rather than the other, since there was a complete and adequate cause for either ? We do not see but that the best way of settling the difficulty would be to let both come into existence. That would give us the logical absurdity full blown in act and fact.

(3) The question is : "What causes the will to produce any

particular effect?" Dr. Whedon replies: "NOTHING *whatever*. For a complete cause needs nothing to cause it to produce its normal effects." But the reason here assigned gives the slip to the question. It is true, if we have an adequate cause (or causes) we do not need anything more; but the question happens to be, Whether the will, as an alternative cause, is thus adequate even to opposite volitions; and Dr. Whedon's answer assumes this point as settled. By saying that "nothing whatever" causes it to produce any particular act, he leaves us only the will's blind energy as the cause. And as these "particular effects" cover all the sphere of the will's action, we are landed in "nothing whatever," as the root and ground of moral agency. What causes a man to be honest, rather than to steal? "Nothing whatever." What caused Adam to fall rather than to remain holy? "Nothing whatever." What causes a sinner to repent rather than to abide in sin? "Nothing whatever." And so of all other possible alternatives. Such a will is, to borrow one of the phrases of the book, "a blind, insensate, projectile will."

(4) Our author asserts (p. 87) that "in the volitional sphere" the maxim that "like causes ever and always produce like effects," is "inapplicable." This law, more carefully stated, *viz: that the same causes in the same circumstances produce the same effects*, is at the basis of the whole inductive process. Without it, all uniformity is impossible. It is not a result of induction, but its ground; it is a universal rational principle, one mode of stating the law of causality. It is so universal, that it is not violated even in a miracle. Dr. Whedon says, it applies only to nature. But how does he know that? By assuming that it does not apply to the will, he makes the will's action a point blank contradiction to all law and all certainty. It is not even a miracle; it is a caprice.

(5) And yet he claims that this theory is in harmony with the "law of causality." The law of causality is, that *for every event or change of existence there must be a cause*. His theory, he urges, does not violate this law, because for every specific volition he assigns an adequate cause, that is, an act of the will. This is good as far as it goes. But how about the act of the will itself? What is the cause of that act? Why, *nothing whatever*; it is uncaused. Of course, then, it *is* an act without a cause; and of course, it *does* violate the law of causality, which avers, that *every* event or act must have a cause. We must give up the law of causality, or give up this theory of the will. It is absurd to say, that anything in the universe can be uncaused excepting the Great First Cause. All that

exists in time and space must be under the law of cause and effect ; or else we cannot prove that there is a Creator. No act can be uncaused without being absolute ; and no act can be absolute and remain human. Or rather, such an act is neither human nor divine ; for God in all his particular determinations must act in accordance with the highest and best of reasons ; his being is uncaused, but his purposes are grounded in truth and holiness. Such a power, begetting an opposite volition of its own spontaneity, is incogitable ; a wanton, wilful imagination ; a sheer anomaly.

Profound thinkers, like Kant, Schelling and Julius Müller, who suppose that man's original sin can be accounted for only on the assumption of preëxistence, also hold that the sin was engendered in a "timeless" condition ; and this, in part, so as not to interfere with the law of cause and effect which rules in all that exists under the limitation of time and space. But the theory of our author leaves the human will, even in its temporal limitations and conditions, in its every act, face to face with the abyss of nothingness. It breaks up the continuity of that law, on which the whole created universe depends.

Nor does it avail, in refuting objections, to say with our author (p. 105) that "the difficulties on both sides are identical," since the nature of cause is "a mystery." For in the one case the adequate cause is assignable ; in the other, it is not. In the latter case, "nothing whatever" is said to be the cause of the act ; in the former, a sufficient reason for the act is recognized. One is a mysterious something, the other is a mysterious nothing.*

(6) There is a wide difference between a logical possibility and a real possibility. Granting even the logical possibility of stating and conceiving such an "alternative power," such

* Edwards discusses at several points this question of an uncaused cause. Thus, Part 2, Sec. 4, is on the question, whether Volition can arise without a cause, through the Activity of the nature of the Soul. He says "the activity of the soul may enable it to be the cause of effects, but it does not at all enable or help it to be the *subject* of effects which have no cause." In the previous section he examines the point, whether "the free acts of the will are existences of an exceeding different nature from other things, by reason of which they may come into existence without any previous ground or reason of it, though other things cannot ;" and he argues that this involves the contradiction, that such a "particular nature of existence is a thing prior to existence, and so a thing which makes way for existence, with such a circumstance, namely, without a cause or reason for existence." And he further shows against Mr. Chubb (p. 123) that this Arminian notion, that the acts of the will spring "from nothing, implies necessity, for what the mind is the subject of without the determination of its own previous choice, it is the subject of necessarily, as to any hand that free choice has in the affair," etc.

an "uncaused cause," it would still be a mere abstraction ; and the confirmation of consciousness and experience would be necessary to establish its real possibility, to say nothing of its reality. Because an absolute causative energy is conceivable, it does not follow that it exists in us. Power to the contrary may be stated and conceived ; but is it ever realized ? If it is exercised it is annulled ; and so its exercise is really inconceivable.

And is there not, after all, an essential illusion involved in ascribing such attributes and qualities to the Will, as if it were isolated, and distinct from the man ? An absolute and uncaused efficiency of the Will, means an absolute and uncaused efficiency of the man. But the will is only the person choosing, acting. Into its choices there must perforce enter, not merely the form of personal agency, but also its vital substance. No choice is or can be abstract--hovering, as it were, in equilibrium above our souls. All in us that prompts to action, desire, feeling, conscience, the soul's bent, are concentrated and expressed in the will's energy. It cannot be otherwise, unless we can separate the person from his feelings and affections. These can no more be kept out of the will than they can be kept out of the man. And any scheme of the will's agency which does not recognize this must be unreal and abstract.

And so we may conclude that the crucial question, "*What causes the Will to produce any particular effect,*" has not been "at once and for all answered" by saying, "NOTHING *whatever.*"

On the theory that "nothing determines the Will," it is, of course, verbally easy to evade the Infinite Series, to which Edwards reduced the Arminian self-determining power. There is no series, because in every act of choice we start with nothing. Dr. Whedon says "the tail of the series is cut off ;" and he might have added, that he cut it off right behind the ears ; for the head is gone as well as the tail. His supposed act of the will is an absolute beginning, an uncaused cause, projected of its own accord out of nothing. The will is determined by nothing ; that answers all difficulties, except those contained in itself.

What is the Relation of the Will to Motives ? Motive, comprehensively considered, is whatever leads or induces the mind to act. In the last analysis all motives are internal. The strongest motive is identical with the bent of the mind at the indivisible instant before choice, in relation to the choice. The will as a capacity for choice, is a form without contents ; it is a blind force, which receives vision and direction only from the reason, the feelings or the conscience. Mot

are not the efficient cause of volitions. They furnish the material, the occasion, and the end or object of the action ; and are absolutely necessary for this. The will furnishes the efficiency, and the form of choice. But the form is to be filled with contents ere volition can be consummated. As soon, now, as it is agreed that volitions are not the efficient cause of volition, the doctrine that the will chooses according to the strongest motive (or in whatever similar phrase it may be expressed), is one of the most harmless and reasonable positions that can be taken as to the law of moral agency. No phraseology about it may be free from all ambiguity ; but the object is to state a general law, in contrast with the position, that the will is arbitrary, merely self-determined, cut loose from reasons. Choice for reasons lies between caprice and fatalism ; it is in contrast with chance, rather than cognate with necessity.

The question here is not as to an "impossibility of the opposite ;" but simply as to a matter of fact, to be determined by an appeal to conscious experience. The position that the will is as the greatest apparent good, decides nothing as to the intrinsic value of the motives ; it does not assert that any particular class or classes of motives always control volition ; nor does it even affirm that the mind, at the moment of choice, is conscious of the fact, that the motive yielded to is the stronger. It only says, that in reviewing our past decisions, we find, as a matter of fact, that they have uniformly been in accordance with what at the instant solicited the will most strongly. There may have been at the same moment the consciousness of the possibility of a different choice ; but that does not alter the fact that the actual choice was, on the whole, in view of what, for want of a better phrase, is called the greatest apparent good. And this never interferes, but rather harmonizes with the sense of freedom and responsibility.

But the object of the Arminian, in consistency with his assumption of the autonomy of the will, is to avoid any such general statement. Even when he grants that the will always acts, and must act, in view of motives, he tries to make out that it sometimes decides for the weaker against the stronger ; or that the will gives its strength to the motive ; or that the power to the contrary has actually been exercised in some cases. He insists upon it, that if the will always chooses according to the stronger inducement, that this is but a refined form of necessity. Yet he must needs concede, that all the instances covered by his seeming cases, are, at the utmost, but exceptions to the general law or fact. Or even if he does

not grant this, he will, we suppose, be willing to say, that he has sometimes, if only by way of variety, chosen according to the greatest apparent good. When he did so, was it either disagreeable or fatalistic ; did it upset for the time all his notions of morality and responsibility ? If it works well in some instances, why not in many ? why not in all ?

Even if the will can, or does choose the weaker instead of the stronger motive, we can not see what is gained, whether on the score of freedom, or of responsibility, or of the morality of the act, or in the way of defending the divine government. Certainly nothing on the score of freedom ; for a man is no more free in yielding to a weak motive than to a strong one—but rather subject to the charge of caprice. Nor on the score of responsibility is there gain ; for the responsibility attaches to the freedom. Nor is the morality of an act heightened when it is done without sufficient desire or love for it. And as to the divine government, even supposing that God foreknows that a man, under the circumstances in which he is placed, will choose from the weaker instead of the stronger motive, God is just as responsible, and neither more or less so, if he sees he will choose from the weaker, as if he foresees he will choose from the stronger motive.

It is said that motions cannot be compared—that certain classes of motives are incommensurable. But if they cannot be compared, how can we decide among or between them ? However different they may be, they certainly agree in the characteristic of appealing to the will as reasons or inducements. The difficulty here, is simply that of finding some common and unambiguous term which will express just this fact and no other. Cheap criticisms may be made on the phrases “sufficient reason,” “greatest apparent good,” “what seems most desirable,” and the like ; but the fact still remains, that the action of the mind, unless it be contingent or capricious, can be reduced to some such general scheme or law. When we come to the last point which separates the idea of will from that of caprice, it is that the former acts with reasons, and the latter without. To call such a choice “fatalism,” is to allow no middle term between fate and chance.

Dr. Whedon endeavors to reverse the relation of will and motives ; and he does this on inconsistent grounds. He maintains that we must not only have, but exercise the power of contrary choice ; that the will does sometimes choose from the weaker motive ; that it may at times choose without a motive (pp. 139, 190) ; that the will “projects volition ;” and, in fine, that it is the will itself which gives to the motive its

comparative strength. But if the will can, of its bare spontaneity, just "project a volition," why not give up the whole doctrine of motives altogether; it would vastly simplify, if it did not annul, psychology and ethics.

His main point, however, is, that "the so-called strength of a motive is the comparative prevalence which the will assigns to it in its action." Again (p. 79), "the last dictate of the understanding does not decide the will;" but "the dictate of the understanding becomes the last by the act of the will." And (p. 363), "the will, in and by choosing, brings the particular motive on account of which it acts, into the last antecedency to its choice." All this strikes us as more ingenious than thoughtful. Why does the will decide to make a given reason or motive the last? Not, we suppose, because it happens just then to be in view of the mind, for that would be childish. It either has a sufficient reason for stopping the series of motives, or it is wanton wilfulness. Again, "the strength of a motive" is said to be "the prevalence the will assigns to it;" but this is pre-posterous; for when the will acts, the motive, as a motive, expires; it is no longer a motive, it is incorporated in a volition; and we can no longer talk about either its strength or weakness as a motive. The discussion, by the very force and sense of the terms, is limited to the state antecedent to choice; and to slip the motive out of that state into a new mode of being, where it loses its identity as motive, is to evade the question by logical legerdemain. Yet again, the act of choice cannot change the character or force of the inducement: all that choice does is to appropriate it. If the motive was the weaker at the instant of appropriation, the appropriation does not make it stronger. If a man choose five dollars instead of ten, his choice does not make the five more than ten. Once more, if the will can be supposed to give, by its election, a greater comparative value to the motive than it had before, this must be on account of some peculiar quality or state of the will, additional to its mere power of choosing, which quality is imparted to the motive. That is, the will is not a naked power of choice, but has a moral bias or character. But this would be inconsistent with Dr. Whedon's whole theory of the nature of the will. A will that can give strength and character to a motive, is a will that contains perception and feeling, as well as power—that is, it is the man himself, and not merely one of his faculties.

. Our author further illustrates his position by the doctrine of probabilities, to show that the will may and does act from the weaker motive (p. 130). "The chance may be improbable,

and yet prove successful. So the volition calculably improbable, may become the actual." But, in point of fact, in the so called contingencies (as in dice), about external facts or events, the actual result is mathematically certain to an omniscient eye. The contingency is found only in our ignorance. How, then, can this answer the purpose of showing, that strict law does not rule in the sphere of the will? If the analogy is meant, however, to apply only so far as the result is uncertain to us, then the will is a synonym for chance, and the point of comparison must be, that volition is hap-hazard, and may from mere chance fall on the lesser probability—which undermines all rational ideas of freedom and responsibility.

If freedom wanes as motives increase in intensity and permanency; if "a law of invariability in choice be pure necessity" (pp. 38, 220); then God is less free than man; and Christ had less freedom than any other man; and the sinner's guilt decreases as his sin increases; and the virtue of saints is diminished as they grow in grace and holiness.* There remains no possibility of reconciling freedom with law. The great fact of consciousness, that the highest moral freedom and the highest moral necessity concur, remains forever inexplicable.

It is commonly said that all men have the same mental and moral constitution; but we have sometimes doubted this when reading these anomalous Arminian speculations about the will and freedom and responsibility. Look at the attributes of that contradictory capacity, which they call a Will, and judge if it be essential to moral agency and responsibility. It brings forth all its acts out of nothing by its own uncaused and motiveless efficiency; it can at times act without motive, and even without emotion or feeling (p. 44); it is able to make, by its bare power, the weaker motive strong, and the stronger motive weak; it is not and cannot be free, unless it sometimes exercises a power to the contrary, without any sufficient inducement; it is under the law of natural necessity if it always chooses what on the whole seems most desirable; while it determines everything, it is itself determined by nothing, and cannot be determined by anything without annulling its very nature; it cannot be governed, and in proportion as it is governed ceases to be responsible; by its bare willfulness, it can make any reason or motive to be "the last;" and, in fine, in view of any chance impulse afloat in consciousness, it can "project itself," in the twinkling of an eye, right

* Comp. Edwards on Will, pp. 113-4, 132-3.

athwart our habitual mental and moral states, and so change—us, by its arbitrary “alternativity,” that we become the opposite of what we are or wish to be, with no power to let or hinder. Such a lawless capability is nearer akin to omnipotent chance than moral necessity is to fatalism. It is safe only while shut up in the technical language of abstract metaphysical treatises. An arbitrary “pluripotential cause,” though it may claim to be the very essence of morality and responsibility, when it really appears in flesh and blood is furnished by society, in self-defence, with a safe retreat.

The idea of Necessity, as defined in this work, is equally abstract and one-sided with its definitions of freedom and cause. Freedom means only “exemption ;” Cause is only “efficiency ;” and Necessity signifies only the utter “impossibility of the opposite.” This definition of Necessity is so fixed in Dr. Whedon’s mind, that he seems incapable of appreciating the careful distinctions made by Edwards, and on this score does him manifest injustice. Necessity, in fact, is one of the most difficult of the categories, and requires the most careful handling. “Philosophical Necessity” is perhaps an unfortunate phrase to use in discussions on freedom ; but Edwards expressly repudiates the sense in which his critic quite uniformly ascribes it to him. He says the vulgar usage makes Necessity to mean that “it is impossible it should not be ;” but that, as he uses it, “metaphysical and philosophical necessity is *nothing different from certainty*.” And he adds : “It is really nothing else than the full and fixed connection between the things signified by the subject and predicate of a proposition, which affirms something to be true,” That is, a proposition which affirms something to be true, presupposes that there is a full and fixed connection between the things signified by its subject and predicate ; the proposition could not be true unless there were such a connection ; and this connection is certainty or philosophical necessity. Wherever there is certainty, there is philosophical necessity. The things signified by the subject and predicate may be connected in very different ways ; the connection may be metaphysical, logical, physical, or moral—but provided it be certain, it is philosophical necessity. Dr. Whedon cannot understand this. He says : “Edwards here does *not* certainly say what he means ;” but he *does* say just what he means. Whedon continues : “He surely cannot mean that necessity is the connection itself, but a quality of the connection.” And yet Edwards *does* mean that the “full and fixed connection” is the necessity ; the two ideas of “full and fixed connection,”

and “philosophical necessity or certainty,” are identical. This appears from the instances Edwards gives (pp. 11, 12), which relate to very different things, yet all agree in having the common element of certainty, though the ground of the certainty in each case is different. To adduce some instances: we say, *e. g.*: God is infinite. This is one case of such necessity or certainty: there is a full and fixed connection, in the nature of things, between the subject ‘God,’ and the predicate ‘infinite.’ Again: Dr. Whedon misunderstands Edwards; this is another instance of philosophical necessity or certainty; the connection of the subject and predicate is certain—because it relates to a fact already past, and not because there was a natural impossibility of the opposite. Again, the proposition: God will judge the world—is another instance; it is certain, because connected with what is in itself certain, the divine justice and purpose. Edwards labors this point so as to make a plain distinction between natural necessity, and that kind of necessity (certainty) which alone holds good of moral subjects and acts. In the former—the opposite cannot be; in the latter, though the opposite might be, yet it will not be, because the given fact or event is certain to occur. In natural necessity, the event takes place, even though the will be opposed; in moral necessity, the will itself chooses, prefers, and so its opposition is ruled out by its own act. Dr. Whedon says, this is “only a deeper necessitation”* (p. 42); but there must be some stopping place, and when we have come to a free preference, this is about the end of the matter, unless a voyage up the infinite series, or a “projected volition,” seems more desirable. And Edwards himself makes a formal statement of the point in its relation to Moral Inability, entirely at variance with Dr. Whedon’s constant misrepresentation of his views: “Therefore in these things to ascribe a non-performance to the want of power or ability is not just; because the thing wanting is not a being able but a being willing.” (See Part I., Sec. 4.)

But this leads us to consider the author’s cognate misrepresentations of Edwards’s distinctions between Natural and Moral Ability and Inability. To apprehend these distinctions is vital to the understanding of the New England theology. Dr. Whedon flatters himself that he has “rid-

* Our author (p. 210) writes: “Securing my volition in order that he may secure my voluntary sin and consequent damnation, is about the poorest piece of sneaking despotism that one could attribute to an omnipotent evil.” This comes out in connection with criticisms on Dr. Pond and Dr. Nehemiah Adams; but nothing they have said warrants any one in ascribing such views to them.

dled Edwards's entire theory of Moral Inability," but he has only riddled his own target. He says that by Moral Inability Edwards means "volitional powerlessness," "non-causality-in-will;" by "Moral Ability," "the power to will;" by "Natural Ability," "the power to obey the volition;" and that this natural ability is "a power outside the will," a "post-volitional power of fulfilling the volition." Thus "a man wills to strike by *moral ability*, and the arm executes the blow by *natural ability*." This, now, is a complete tissue of mistakes; these definitions are all framed for and not by Edwards, and seem to indicate either a natural or moral inability on the part of the critic to understand the most common-place points of the New England divinity. Thus, under Natural Ability are uniformly embraced all the capacities and powers of a moral agent, including the will itself—it is the possible reach of our natural powers of mind and body, under the circumstances and conditions of our being. It never means any such nonsense as "a power outside of the will to fulfil its volitions." It includes what Whedon, confounding the two, says "moral ability" means, that is, "the power to will." But moral ability, besides the power of willing, also involves the idea of an immanent preference of the will for the object chosen. Every man has natural ability, that is, all the capacities and powers necessary to moral agency; but no sinner has "a moral ability" (in the sense of Edwards) to love God, because his heart is averse to him. Thus an Edwardean would just reverse the proposition of Dr. Whedon (p. 243): "Where there is no *moral ability* there can be no *natural ability*," and would and must say, in consistency with his standard definitions, "Where there is no *natural ability* there can be no *moral ability*," for the natural is the logical and psychological *prius* of the moral. So, too, in the usage of this school, "Moral Inability" cannot mean "volitional powerlessness;" but it always and only signifies "the opposition of *inclination*, or the want of inclination;" it is an inability arising from the moral bent or state of the individual. The sinner, though endowed with all the capacities and powers of moral agency (his natural ability), is morally unable to repent and believe without divine grace, and this inability has its root, not in any natural impotence, but in the perverse and depraved state of his will. One object of the distinction between natural ability and moral inability is to show that the sinner is responsible and guilty, while also needing the aid of divine grace; so that both the obligation to immediate repentance and the sense of dependence upon God may be equally enforced. These plain and

familiar distinctions become so senseless and confused under Dr. Whedon's manipulation, that his criticisms on Edwards are well nigh unmeaning. One might as well attack Euclid after defining a circle as a figure bounded by three lines and containing three angles. It is much easier to refute Edwards on the basis of these interpolated definitions than to attack him on his own ground. His careful and refined discriminations being set aside, there is no end to the logical absurdities that may be worked up and out; only, nothing is demolished excepting some crudities, for which nobody but the critic is to be held responsible.

We are obliged to omit several points, on which we wished to comment, that we may come to the test question, in a theological point of the view, of the theory of freedom here advocated; that is, the certainty of the divine foreknowledge of such future events as are dependent on free agency. Dr. Whedon begins by saying, that foreknowledge must precede foreordination, because the former belongs to "the intellect," and the latter to "the will;" and we all know that God's intellect, like man's, must act before his will. But—not stopping to inquire what would then be left for foreordination to do—it is a serious misunderstanding to say, that foreordination is restricted to the divine will or the divine agency. God foreordains whatever comes to pass, as it comes to pass; and so, not only his own acts, but the acts of his creatures, are included in his eternal plan, with all the circumstances and qualities of these acts, just as they eventuate in time. In one sense, foreknowledge may be said to precede foreordination; that is, God knew what he was to ordain (in the order of thought and logic) ere he ordained it. But this is not the question in dispute, though Arminians sometimes like to think that it is. The foreknowledge of future events as certain being conceded, the question is, what is the ground or reason of that certainty. To foreknow them as certain, implies that they are certain. What makes them thus certain? The Calvinist replies—that they are certain because contained in the divine plan or purpose (i. e. foreordained). Dr. Whedon replies, in substance, that they are certain because they are certain, while he advocates a view of freedom, which logically excludes such certainty.

He says (p. 271) that "our view of free agency does not so much require in God a foreknowledge of a peculiar kind of event, as a knowledge in him of a *peculiar quality existent in the free agent.*" This "peculiar quality" is that of "alternative causation." The agent is "an uncaused cause," of "equi-

pollent ability" to decide either way, at every instant of action. It is "determined by nothing" in "all its particular volitions." How, then, can even omniscience foresee what its particular action will be? The more God sees into the very "peculiar" nature of such a cause, the more will he know that its acts must be uncertain. It is a pure *either-or*; and the deeper it is inspected the more *either-or* must it seem to be. How can any being foreknow the particular acts of (p. 217) "a self-centre, capable of projecting action, which, without the intrinsic nature of chance, would be *as incalculable as the most absolute chance itself*?" Who can read that riddle? Dr. Whedon says that "foreknowledge must take care of itself," and, that "he shall not enter into that inquiry." Foreknowledge will, doubtless, take care of itself; but then, on our part, we also ought to take care not to cherish a theory of the will, which excludes the logical possibility of such foreknowledge, even while we may grant that we cannot know just how God foreknows. One form of the *scientia media*, advocated by the Spanish Jesuits in controversy with the Jansenists, was much more consistent than such Arminianism; denying that God foreknows the actual event, but asserting that he knows and provides for all possible contingencies.

Yet Dr. Whedon advocates a kind of certainty; though his statements about it are so various and conflicting, that it is almost impossible to derive from them any consistent sense. This will appear from a comparison of his different utterances. Thus he says: "Whether there be any foreknowledge or not, it is *certain* that there will be *a one particular course of events and no other*." He adds that "*freedom* in every individual case *implies* that of several possible volitions, *one and no other* will take place" (p. 274). He says of certainty, that (p. 57) "its primary meaning is subjective. It exists in the mind rather than in the object." He also concedes, that there is a "pure certainty," which is "the futuration of the event," and which implies that "it will be," though "power exists for it not to be." At the same time, he maintains, that "certainty" cannot be "previously made" (p. 282); and that God's foreknowledge does not even "*prove* events to be certain" (p. 298). To complete his view we must also adduce the positions, that certainty "is simply futuration, and *takes its existence from the shaping of the free act and from nothing else*" (p. 778); and that "*all its reality receives its existence from the doing reflected backwards*" (p. 229).

These diverse statements seem to be not only irreconcilable among themselves, but also in part with his theory of the will.

He has defined the will as a free alternative cause, all whose particular volitions are determined "by nothing." It is an "uncaused cause." How, now, does such freedom "imply" that "one and no other volition" will take place in all possible circumstances? How can the "freedomist," as the logical result of this theory, in our author's words, see and say, that there is one vast "free, certain totality," which he can survey "with perfect ease and consistency?" Is it not a bold venture, to claim that such freedom implies such certainty? It does imply that one or another event will take place, but how can it signify that "one *and* no other will take place?" Does uncertainty imply certainty? Will calling shifting sand a rock, make it a rock? These different statements confuse a very simple matter. If an event *will be*, it is certain; if God knows that it will be, he knows that it is certain; and so his knowing it as certain implies or "proves" that it is certain. Such knowledge does not indicate, or make, the ground of the certainty; but it presupposes the certainty. But if, as Dr. Whedon says, certainty "*takes its existence* from the shaping of the free act, and from nothing else," then, the certainty cannot be until the free act has been; that is, there is no previous certainty; that is, God cannot foresee the act as certain, because it is not certain until it is done. Such a certainty, *post eventum*, is no certainty at all in the sense of the question. It is a mere evasion of the point in dispute. Who ever doubted that an event was certain after it took place?

Our author's position, in fact, amounts to this—that there is and can be no anterior ground of certainty, either in the laws of moral agency, or in the nature of things, or in the divine plan; but, a future event is certain because it is certain! We do not wonder that he felt compelled to say "foreknowledge must take care of itself." The point of mystery in the Calvinistic system is, how an act can be free and yet be embraced in the divine purpose; but this does not involve any such contradiction as is contained in the two positions, that God foreknows all future events as certain, and, that certainty "takes its existence from the shaping of the free act, and from nothing else." We may believe in a mystery, but who can accept both parts of a logical contradiction?

In his discussion of the divine decrees, Dr. Whedon habitually misrepresents the doctrine of predestination as held by the chief Calvinistic authorities. He represents it as "an act of the divine will;" as "producing the event;" as "embracing only the divine actions." Accordingly he claims that a "permissive decree" is Arminianism, and not Calvinism.

He asserts that Edwards quits his ground, when he ascribes sin to a "privative cause," and not to the direct divine agency (p. 427). But every student in theology knows that Calvinism makes a broad distinction between what God decrees and what he does; the confounding of the two is found chiefly among a few hyper-Calvinistic supralapsarian divines. The best theologians, from Augustine down, and the leading Confessions of Faith, have quite uniformly repudiated the positions, that God is the author of sin; that he is as directly the efficient cause of sin and damnation, as he is of holiness and salvation—producing each equally for his own glory; while they have, with equal unanimity, maintained that the decree in respect to sin is permissive, and that the agency of God in respect to sin is privative rather than positive. Such cheap and stale controversial imputations are refuted by the facts and documents of historical theology.

In applying his theory of the Will to the divine mind, our author does not flinch from the logical consequences which are wrapped up in it. Thus he says (p. 316); "God is holy in that he freely chooses to make his own happiness in eternal Right. *Whether he could not make himself equally happy in Wrong is more than we can say.*" Again (p. 317); "and how knows a finite insect like us that in the course of ages the motives in the universe *may not prove strongest for divine apostasy to evil.*" Again (p. 318); "our reliance in this case depends more upon the firmness of *our faith* than upon the firmness of the *object of our faith.*" This reduces our reliance upon the divine character to mere subjective belief, without any adequate objective ground. The essential holiness of God gives no sufficient basis of certainty. The "alternative power" of the will must be maintained at all hazards; for if it fails in relation to God, it fails in its highest application. Moral necessity and perfect freedom cannot co-exist even in the divine mind. Rather than give up freedomism," the possibility of "the divine apostasy" must be admitted. And so the theory judges itself.

Dr. Whedon is graciously pleased to say (p. 315), that "these same Edwardses every now and then have a lucid interval." The compliment may be reciprocated. Arminianism is reputed to be an inconsistent system. An eminent New England divine is said to have kept it out of his parish by frequent citations of sound Pauline views from noted Arminian authors. The latest defender of the system continues the illogical succession, being a frequent witness against his own speculations. Thus he asserts the certainty of events,

and recognizes no ground of certainty. Sometimes the will is represented as the sole adequate cause of volition ; and yet he concedes (p. 158), " that without motives there is no adequate power for the volition to be." He contends strongly against the "non-usance" of the power of contrary choice ; and yet says (p. 175) that " while there is a power that *each should not be*, yet each and all *will be*, in its own *one* way, and not another instead" (p. 275). Freedom is declared (p. 38) "to be contradicted by the law of Invariability," while it is also conceded that God is free though invariably holy ; and that men are free in sinning, though they invariably sin. At one time it is asserted (p. 216) that to be "able to predict which way a person will choose from knowing him *perfectly* is more than any one is able to affirm ;" and contrariwise (p. 272) it is argued, that " God is certainly to be conceived as able to know just what acts the creature will put forth," because he "perfectly knows" the capacities of free agents. The fact of the divine government of free agents is granted ; and yet it is broadly laid down (p. 184) that, "government, just so far as it goes, implies limitation . . . non-existence of power but to afixation." "To ensure the certainty of a free act is absurd, because contradictory" (p. 227) ; and, per contra, "powerful temptation often insures that, sooner or later, the sin will be freely accepted."

These inconsistencies, however, become more noteworthy, in relation to the doctrines of the primeval rectitude of Adam, original sin, the impossibility of self-regeneration, and the absolute need of the atonement. For Dr. Whedon is an evangelical Arminian, and cannot resort to the shifts and explanations in vogue in unsanctified ethical systems. He defends Whitby on freedom, and denies Whitby on sin. And so he is in a place where two seas meet ; where opposite dangers threaten.

Dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis
Obsidet.

In his chapter on Uniformities of Volition, he seems to grant as much as the strictest advocate of law need demand, the existence of a "total spiritual depravity," requiring even "the injecting the possibility of a spiritual motive." "Men may be so absorbed in their plans as to cease to be free alternative agents, yet their responsibility remains." His most explicit statements, however, are on the Responsibility of Obduracy.* Here he concedes that "the superinduction by the

* In a note (p. 327) the following slip occurs : Edwards selects as cases "of necessitated guilt, the Will of Christ, the Divine Will, Obduracy," etc. In another

sinner's own free act, or course of action, of necessity upon himself to sin, destroys the excuse for that necessity." This of course implies that he is responsible for continuing in sin, as well as for bringing himself into such a state. How, then, is it congruous with what is elsewhere and often asserted, that guilt attaches only as long as the will is in a state of "volitional alternativity." Necessitation and responsibility are over and over again declared to be incompatible (p. 203); but yet in the case of every descendent of Adam, there is "a necessity lying back of the freedom," and ensuring the "free appropriation" of original sin; and he adds (p. 339) that "it is in this fact that the *freedom* and universality of this fall are found to be reconciled." He allows that in Adam "there was a created and necessitated righteousness before choice" (p. 394), which, however was wholly unmeritorious; and that the "holiness of saints in heaven is none the less rewardable because it has become necessary" (p. 387); as also that "sinners finally damned are none the less responsible." However much such inconsistencies impair the logical coherence of the treatise, they give welcome evidence that our Methodist brethren will not abandon these cardinal doctrines, however enamored they may be of their impracticable theory of free will.

These contrasted positions, however, are not held without an attempt at adjustment. And the ingenuity of the latest and most strenuous defender of the Arminian system is here put to its severest test. To meet some of the exigencies of the case, he distinguishes (p. 388) between a holiness which is meritorious and one which is not; and, in like manner, between a sin which deserves punishment and a sin which does not. But his chief point is that the atonement is the means of "reëlevating man to the level of *responsibility* lost by the fall." Redemption "antedates probationary existence;" "grace underlies all our moral probationary freedom." And this grace God was in justice bound to bestow. Ability being lost by the fall, "a gracious ability" must needs be imparted. And thus the difficulty is supposed to be met.

The system of redemption has, doubtless, important and even essential bearings upon the theodicy, or the vindication of the divine government in respect to the existence of sin. And in a certain sense, what may be called a gracious ability is

note (p. 206) he refers to "a tribute paid by fatalism to freedom, just as hypocrisy is said to be the compliment which *virtue pays to vice*," which not only reverses the saying, but implies that freedom is vice and fatalism virtue. An author who undertakes to write down the Calvinistic theology should be more careful in his style.

imparted to man, through the divine favor. But if it is of debt, it can not be of grace. It can not be said to be necessary to make man responsible, without undermining both the system of law and the system of grace. Especially is it inconsistent with the whole previous argument of this book as to man's freedom and responsibility. The object of the author has been to show that responsibility attaches only to acts of free-will, done with full power to the contrary. He claims that such free-will is inalienable from human nature ; that with this capacity every man is born, and so, and so only, made a moral agent. How, now, does this native power of alternative choice stand related to this new and "gracious" ability? Here comes up several interesting possibilities and difficulties. We are now conscious, it is said, of having the perfect power of alternative choice. Is this our "gracious" ability? or is it our natural free-will? If it is the natural capacity of choice, how can it be said that responsibility was lost by the fall? If it is not natural, but "gracious" ability, wherein does it differ from the natural? And if the natural capacity is really clean gone, what becomes of the whole argument of this elaborate treatise? Still further, our author assures us that every human being is under a "necessity" of "freely appropriating" his native depravity ; and that when he does so, he becomes "responsible" for it. This "free appropriation," is it made by our natural ability, or by this "gracious" ability? If by the natural, then the gracious was not needed to make men responsible ; if by the gracious, then the immediate effect of the grace is simply to enable man to commit a sin, which otherwise he could not have committed, to make him responsible for what otherwise would have been simply an irresponsible state. Besides, if the native will is a "pluri-potential cause," what can be added to that by a gracious ability? It cannot, we suppose, be more than "pluripotent," and so it is needless ; while if it is less than "an uncaused cause," man rather loses than gains by the exchange. And yet he cannot have lost this "uncaused cause ;" for it is his very will. Is it then possible that these two abilities coexist in all of us? Are we ever conscious of them as distinct from each other? How can we distinguish the one from the other? We cannot see our way through the matter.

Perhaps we may be helped by some further statements of our author, about the relation of these respective abilities to the Old Law and the New Law (p. 336). God, it appears, gave to man the old law, which Adam transgressed. Adam's descendants being involved in the common ruin, God gave

them, through the atonement, a new law, less strict in its terms, and furnished them also with this gracious ability, adequate to the demand of the "intermediate" dispensation, though not to the demands of the old law. How will the case then stand? Granting that man's native free will was not adequate to the demands of the old law, why might it not still have been equal to the requisitions of the new and lighter dispensation? But waiving that point, we do not quite understand whether, when man now sins, he sins only against the Gospel, or also against the laws? If only against the Gospel, how can the law condemn him? And if against the law, how is he responsible, since his new and gracious ability is yet commensurate with the demands of that law? And this gracious ability is also, in fact, inadequate to meet even the demands of the new law. It is given to man at the dawn of his moral existence, and yet all men sin against it. All mankind fall from this grace. A gracious ability enables them to fall from grace. We need not wonder that Arminians talk about *believing* in falling from grace, as if it were an article of their creed. Our author says, in conclusion, "man is never responsible for a law he cannot meet; Christ's death and the new law are *demanded* by his case; and (*sic!*) all sin infringes against the new law and the old." And this sentence forcibly exhibits the height of the inconsistencies of the whole theory. The new law is demanded by equity, because man could not keep the old; but when he sins against the new, his sin also infringes upon the old, though he has been removed from its jurisdiction. And so we have two kinds of ability, and two kinds of law, and two kinds of punishment, and two kinds of moral government; and the whole makes a labyrinth, strikingly illustrative of the clearness and consistency of Arminian theology. Calvinism may be a sharp and hard system; but it takes no position, from which it can fairly be inferred that we are "damned by grace."

Nor have we yet reached the height of the theology propounded in this volume. For it is also maintained, that, not only is man's plenipotentary will under a necessity of appropriating native depravity, and responsible because it freely accepts it; not only that the atonement imparts to every man at the start a gracious ability (and, some say, justification and regeneration also), which enables him freely to keep or freely to sin against the new law; but also that there are "millions," in Christian as well as in heathen lands, whom the Creator is still bound to save, because they never came up to the lead of "moral responsibility." These are not infants,

whose salvation we all concede, but "irresponsible adults" in Christian lands, incrusts in "irresponsible sins." Such persons cannot, "by the law of moral equation," be "excluded from the kingdom of heaven any more than infants (pp. 346, 347). If it were only meant that such persons having little light may be saved, on condition of repentance and faith, according to the light they have, this would be common ground. But it is argued that they must be saved, because they are "irresponsible." This is hazardous teaching, on the basis of any moral or theological system. But it becomes anomalous, as well as perilous, on the ground of the general theory of the book, that all these persons have a perfectly "alternative will," supplemented by a gracious ability; that they were all, if not justified and renewed in their infancy, yet brought into existence under a probationary system of grace, against which they have sinned; and yet, in spite of all this, that they are still in an irresponsible state, and must be saved as a matter of equity. Such teaching undermines all rational basis for responsibility and runs far in the line of advocating universal salvation on the ground of equity.

In fine, the whole argument of this volume, so far as it rests the "theodicy" upon the peculiar theory of Will herein advocated, is a conspicuous failure. It is claimed that "freedomism" is the only basis upon which the mysterious problems of man's condition can be solved, in harmony with the rectitude and goodness of the divine administration. But when the author comes to the knotty questions, he does not, and he cannot, untie a single one of them by means of his theory of the will. He is obliged to find a wholly different clue to guide him through the labyrinth. He lays a foundation, and erects the superstructure on a different foundation. He makes certain premises, and his conclusions are drawn from entirely different premises. He launches a craft on these troubled metaphysical and theological waters, and the fore part beats about without any sort of connection with the after part, and the after part floats about without any sort of connection with the fore part; and no rudder can steer both parts through these vexed waves into the same haven.

This is manifest as soon as the matter is distinctly put. He abandons the possibility of reconciling the certainty of the divine knowledge with the fact of freedom; he cannot conceive or state any ligature between them. Both certainty and freedom are asserted and unreconciled. So, too, in accounting for the sin of this race, he grants that it is freely appropriated by a necessity, before which the will is really

powerless. And so impotent is the native capacity of the will, that God is obliged to give to all men "a gracious ability" in addition. So that here, again, "freedomism" quails before the difficulty. It is further asserted that God's goodness can be vindicated in the matter of sin only as he provides an atonement for all, which of course implies that it is not of him that willeth, but of God that sheweth mercy. An "alternative cause" gives no aid here. Thousands of irresponsible, adult sinners, are also to be saved all over the world, as a matter of equity, because their inalienable freedom was not able to bring them up to the condition of responsible guilt. Of what avail, then, is their free-will? The author's theodicy declares that God must provide redemption for all mankind, not merely on the score of grace but also of equity; and for the reason, that men have not power to avoid the common ruin into which they are plunged. What connection is there between such a theodicy and the doctrine of the freedom of the will, as a power to the contrary? And thus the vaunted freedom of the will, which was to form the only basis of a divine government, breaks down and is discarded at every step; and the whole weight of the solution of the problems of the theodicy is made to rest on entirely different grounds. By this process, the theory is doubtless here and there benefitted, some cardinal points of doctrine are crudely held and stated; but the logic of the book, as a defense of Arminian freedom against the Calvinistic theology, is sadly out of joint.

On several of these vital questions, Dr. Whedon does in fact come so near to the positions even of extreme Calvinists, that we have been tempted to think that he has an ironic as well as polemic intent. His inconsistencies on many points—*e. g.*, original sin, regeneration, the inability of fallen man to renew himself without grace, the absolute need of redemption, and the primitive rectitude of Adam,—indicate very clearly that his theory of the will sits lightly upon him, when brought into conflict with these fundamental doctrines. His book contains snatches of opinion from the most opposite schools. Sometimes he is almost Augustinian in his views. Again he reminds us of the subtle speculations of the old Hopkinsian divines. He bases his theodicy, in fact, not on the human will, but on the divine goodness and justice. A more thorough study of Calvinistic theology, and especially of the New England discussions, may possibly lead him to see that this whole ground has been traversed before, and by disputants more keen and logical than have as yet arisen in the ranks of Arminian divines.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of this country, rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth and general intelligence, has a great future before it, and is, we trust, to do good service in the common cause of evangelical religion. Its theology is a commingling of Arminianism and sound evangelical truth. Its preaching is full of the cross of Christ. It insists constantly on the necessity of divine grace. But it has a traditional horror of Calvinism in all its forms. When it learns to understand our doctrines more clearly, and to state its own more consistently, we shall doubtless come nearer together. But its present theology contains irreconcilable elements. If it is consistently shaped by such a theory of the Will as is advocated in this volume, the logical result must be the denial of original sin as well as of the doctrine of the decrees of God ; and its strong assertions about depravity and the absolute need of divine grace must be modified in its sense of the Pelagian system. But if it is steadfast to its doctrines upon man's native sinfulness and dependence upon divine grace, it may, on the other hand, modify its speculations about freedom, and come into closer harmony with the unquestionable historical sense of the eighth of its Articles of Religion, entitled *Of Free-Will*, adopted from the Church of England, which declares, that "the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God ; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will."

ART. IX.—CRITICISMS ON BOOKS.

THEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical. By JOHN PETER LANGE, D. D. Vol. I of the New Testament. Matthew, by Lange. Translated with additions. By PHILLIP SCHAFF, D. D. New York : Scribner. 1865. Royal 8 vo., double columns. pp. xxii, 568. We have often spoken of the value of this new and admirable commentary, and of its general plan. The American edition is not only much superior to the Edinburgh, but it also surpasses the German in several particulars. On the Gospel of Matthew, Dr. Schaff has added about one-fourth to the original, chiefly criticism of the text, and exegetical materials. We know that he has worked hard at it, and all his work bears solid fruit. The Edinburgh version has been revised ; its omissions supplied ; its mistranslations cor-

rected. A good deal of material has been added from English and American works, not noticed in the original. The textual criticism, wholly left out in the Edinburgh edition, has been restored and largely supplemented. Thus, *e. g.* the Codex Sinaiticus has been compared throughout. On many difficult passages Dr. Schaff has also supplied a full commentary of his own; especially in cases of peculiar interest to the English student and controversialist. He has likewise enlarged the scope of the "Literature," and introduced references to the chief English and American books and treatises.

We welcome this commentary as, upon the whole, the best single exposition that can be found, comprising all that is essential to a thorough, popular and useful work. Its spirit is evangelical. It treats the Bible as an inspired book; yet it is also critical, meeting and not giving the slip to difficult questions. For textual criticism it affords ample means. Its exegesis is concise and pertinent. The doctrinal and homiletical parts are handled effectively. It is not sectarian, but adapted for use in all denominations. Those who may, here and there, differ from it, will not complain that it is wanting in either candor or learning.

Mr. Scribner deserves the thanks of all our students and ministers for embarking in such times in so costly an enterprise. But we have no doubt he will find it a profitable as well as costly venture. Other portions of the work are in the course of preparation by such scholars as Shedd, Yeomans, Schäffer, Kendrick, Poor, Starbuck, Lillie and Mombert. The volume on Genesis will also be soon translated.

We have alluded to the defects of the Edinburgh edition. It sometimes omits sentences and paragraphs. The critical notes, various readings, and the whole "literature," are left out. It does not note the differences between the English version and Lange's revised text. It also abounds in curious blunders, thus: *e. g.* 9, p. 316, *Das hierarchische Gemeinwesen*, (the hierarchical communion) is rendered *ecclesiastical nature*; p. 323, it makes *Scripture* instead of *ignorance of Scripture*, to be the source of the errors of Sadducees and Rationalists; p. 318, *Abfall vom Christenthum* (apostasy from Christianity) is rendered *apostasy of Christendom*—not noting the difference between *Christenthum* and *Christenheit*; p. 367, *Beschleunigung des Weltendes* (hastening of the end of the world) is rendered *delay of the end*! *Nachhaken* (to make up for) is rendered *repeat*, as if it were *wiederholen*. P. 357, the translation speaks of the Psalter as a harp with *ten leaves*, instead of ten strings, mistaking *Saiten* for *Seiten*. P. 366, *Das Eine erkaufen um das Viele* (to gain the one thing needful instead of many things) is rendered, *to sell one thing to gain much* (as if it were *verkaufen*). P. 451, the *Wundenmaale* (the stigmata, or scars of the Saviour) is translated, *the meals of wonder*, as if it were *Wundenmahlzeiten*. P. 367, *Ehrsucht* (ambition) is rendered *reverence*, as if it were *Ehrfurcht*: *Allgemeinheit seiner Kirche*, is translated, *the equality*, instead of the *universality* of his church.

Notes on the Book of Genesis, from the Creation to the Covenant. By MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, D. D., Professor in Allegheny, Pa. New York: Carters, 1865, pp. 304. With a Map. The Notes of Dr. Jacobus on the Gospels and Acts have been widely and profitably used. He now appears in the field of Old Testament criticism, where popular critical helps are more rare and needed. His work indicates a wide range of study, clear method, and reverence for the Scriptures as the inspired word of God. The most important critical questions are taken up in the introduction. The question of the authorship of the book is candidly and satisfactorily

treated. The mythic theory is shown to be inapplicable. The unity of the race is ably and concisely defended against various modern hypotheses. The author seems to think (p. 87) that changes in complexion and constitution may have been "miraculously wrought" at the time of the dispersion from Babel. This is, indeed, possible; but such an hypothesis hardly seems to be necessary. Dr. Jacobus is an earnest advocate of the literal interpretation of the Six Days. In the present state of the question, he seems to us to speak too positively on this point. The able work of Dr. Tayler Lewis on this subject, to which he does not refer, certainly deserves consideration, and has not yet had a formal refutation. Critically speaking, revelation is entitled to whatever aid it may receive from considering this as still an open question. Dr. Jacobus also maintains the strict universality of the deluge. He even seems to imply (p. 174) that a partial deluge could not have answered the object, on "the ground that the population of the globe was *greater then than since*;" while on the next page and elsewhere he gives the population as "probably *less than four millions*." In contending for the impossibility of a partial deluge, he does not notice Hugh Miller's ingenious suggestion of a sudden depression of the earth's surface. Nor is he correct in intimating that the advocates of a partial deluge assert that "God could not" have made it universal (p. 162). The power is not contested; but that such a universal deluge was necessary, is doubted or denied. There are other points on which there will be found differences of interpretation among those who equally hold to the inspiration and authority of the sacred Scriptures. In so concise a work all difficulties cannot be met, nor all the arguments on both sides adduced. But Dr. Jacobus has made a useful and needed book, and discusses these difficult questions in a candid and reverential spirit. It is a work in the right direction, as vindicating the sacred record against plausible objections. Prof. Bush's commentary, and Dr. Turner's Companion to Genesis (to which last our author does not refer) are the only American exegetical works on Genesis for the last forty years. By his clear interpretations, his ardent regard for truth, his wide range of study, and his able defence of many points against objections, Dr. Jacobus will give needed aid to teachers and students of this oldest record of authentic human history.

Christ and His Salvation: in Sermons variously related thereto. By HORACE BUSHNELL. New York: Charles Scribner. 1864. pp. 456. All of Dr. Bushnell's writings bear the marks of genius and originality. He clothes common themes in new and rich attire; and knows how to extract hidden analogies and open rare veins of thought. Several of the discourses in this collection are quite equal, in point of literary excellence and finish, to any of the previous products of his pen. The one on Christ Asleep is full of the finest shades of reflection, with touches of the tenderest feeling. That on Christian Ability handles a difficult theme with true wisdom. The whole series has respect to Christ and his work; and few writers are so filled with a sense of the reality of the incarnation and the closeness of Christ's personal relation to his followers. This, rather than his special theories, is what attracts so many to his expositions of Christian truth. Theologically speaking, however, we fear that in his general theory of Christ's salvation, he merges the atonement too much in the incarnation; he is so earnest in setting forth the change which Christ works in us, that he neglects to emphasize what Christ has done for us. This appears more particularly in the sermon on Christ Bearing the Sins of Transgressors, though it also comes out in other con-

nections, and is to be found in his previous works as well. Christ bears the sins of the world, it is said (1) "By that assumption which his love must needs make of it;" (2) "By being incarnated into the state of sin, including all corporate sins of penalty," etc., and (3) "By bearing the direct attack of wrong, or sin, upon his person." And this includes the chief particulars. The idea of a proper expiation for sin, of any satisfaction to the divine justice, seems to us, we regret to say, to be left out of the account, if not formally discarded.

Pacts and Prophetic Theories. By a Member of the Boston Bar. Boston: Dutton & Co. 1864. pp. 112. This little volume will interest students of prophetic scriptures by its excellent spirit and simple style, as well as by the novelty of some of its theories, being those adopted by several of the Plymouth Brethren. Thus the chief judgments against Babylon are held to be as yet unfulfilled; its final destruction is made coincident with the future restoration of Israel. The symbol's Babylon, again, is not Romanism alone, but all forms of false religion and idolatry. The Jews are to be restored in unbelief, and then persecuted by anti-Christ. Israel and Jerusalem are to be finally exalted, in accordance with God's covenants concerning them.

St. Paul the Apostle: a Biblical Portrait and Mirror of the Manifold Grace of God. By W. F. BISSON, D. D. Translated by F. BELTMANN. With an introduction by J. S. HOWSON, D. D. New York: Carsters. 1864. pp. xiv, 210. Dr. Besson is well known by his valuable *Bible Hours*, which show spiritual insight, derived from a thorough study of the divine word, and confirmed by deep religious experience. His Gospel of John was translated two or three years ago by Mrs. Huxtable. He is a decided Lutheran, and has been kept in the background by his devotion to his principles. Now he is pastor of a small congregation in Silesia. This volume is an admirable exhibition of the life, character and influence of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. On a background of doctrine, the author's thorough studies and vivid imagination enable him to pour new light. The concluding chapters on the Man of Faith, the Man of Hope, the Man of Love, and the Man of the Church, are rich in evangelical instruction. The work has already reached a second edition in Germany. The occasional traces of Lutheran opinion will be but slight hindrances to its general usefulness.

PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy as an Absolute Science, Founded on the Universal Laws of Being. By E. L. and A. L. FROMMENGHAM. Volume I. Ontology. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1861. pp. xxxiv, 153. This elegant volume contains a new system of fundamental philosophy, a science of the sciences, an exposition of the universal laws of being. It labors under manifest defects as to method; it is wholly untrammelled by the processes and techniques of the schools; but it also indicates great force and originality of conception, and has the most far-reaching aims. The author is evidently little versed in previous systems; what he says, for example, of the German speculations is often quite aside of the mark; but he has a theory of his own, which is to solve the problems of thought and being. The whole scheme is to comprise Ontology, Theology and Psychology; only the first is elaborated in the present volume, which in three main parts discourses of the Laws of Absolute Being, and the Form and Nature of the Tri-Personal God as Absolute Creating Cause; of the Laws of Phenomenal Being, and the

Form and Nature of Creation as a Phenomenal Receptive Medium, and of the Law of Tri-Personality and its Application in Analyzing the Structure, Nature and Manifestation of the Universe. An Appendix gives Interpretations of the Symbolism of the Bible and of Heathen Mythology from the point of view of Absolute Science.

Owing to the want of definite arrangement, and too frequent and prolix repetitions, it is somewhat difficult to seize and clearly state the exact scheme of the author. As compared with other systems, his work seems to be a kind of *theosophy*, reminding us of the struggles of Behmen to communicate his incommunicable conceptions, and of some of the speculations of Schelling in the later stage of his philosophical career. The main idea seems to be, that the universe is constituted by two opposite and warring elements—the Male and Female—the Infinite and the Finite—the Good and the Evil: that, in short, the conflict and union of opposites is the law of universal being. These elements are everywhere found. The Infinite Principle, which is perfectly good, the Spirit of Deity, the Holy Ghost—manifests itself as truth, beauty and goodness. The finite Principle is the source of all evil. The union of the two resulted in the production of a divine personality, the Soul of Deity, the second person in the Godhead, or the Father. Then we have the third person of the Godhead, the Son, produced by the external manifestation of the deity. And thus there is a kind of Trinity at the basis of the universe: the law of tri-personality is demanded by philosophy.

Another peculiarity of the scheme is found in the Laws of Correspondences; the absolute science is viewed as a science of correspondences. These are traced out at length in the general forms of the universe, and especially of the human race and the human constitution. The laws of Contrariety and Circularity are also worked out in respect to the State. Art., Transcendentalism, etc.

In some of the practical applications of his principles to the complete subjection of woman to man, and to the lawfulness of bondage, the author runs athwart the prevalent tendencies of the day, and takes rank among the most extreme “conservatives.”

His fundamental position of the absolute nature of both the infinite and finite—or in other words, good and evil—strangely borders on the most noxious theories in the history of speculation. As soon as the finite is distinctly conceived, it cannot be held to be coeval with the infinite; whenever moral evil is distinctly seen, it cannot be imagined to be equally absolute with the eternal good. And the marriage of these two cannot produce the finite forms of being—for these finite forms are already one of the two, and so can not be the product of both.

Essays: Moral, Political and Aesthetic. By HERBERT SPENCER. New York: Appletons. 1865. pp. 386. The clear, penetrating and critical character of Mr. Spencer's mind shows itself in all that he writes. Few English writers of the present time seem to rivet their attention so fully upon the inner threads of the subject under examination. None of the writers of his school develop their thoughts with such unity and sequence. All his criticisms of special topics are of course controlled by his underlying, materialistic hypothesis; but this obtrudes itself less distinctly in this than in any of his previous volumes. The essay on the Philosophy of Style goes directly and forcibly to the central points. That on Gracefulness is a beautiful exposition of grace as the result of the least effort. That on Personal Beauty ingeniously does away with some of the objections to the theory, that inward and outward excellence so often seem to

be severed. The political topics, Over-Legislation, Representative Government, Parliamentary Reform, etc., are frank and forcible discussions, opening up at each step new veins of reflection. We are promised, by a competent person, a review of his general theory. A thorough and candid discussion of his main hypothesis is very much needed; for his works are attaining a wider authority in this country, than has been conceded to them in England, where, as yet, he hardly has a school.

The Laws of Thought, Objective and Subjective. By ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. London: Longman. 1864. pp. 110. The title of this volume is perhaps broader than its contents justify. It is rather an essay on moral philosophy than on metaphysics; it has more to do with the laws of moral government than with the laws of thought strictly so called. The Objective part of the volume has chief respect to the divine nature and attributes; the Subjective part to man's duties towards God as a moral Governor. It is written in an earnest and reverential spirit.

C. A. Brandis, Geschichte der Entwicklungen der Griechischen Philosophie. Band II. Berlin, 1864. This admirable compendium of the history of the Greek and Roman philosophy is now completed, with the exception of some further elucidations and extracts, which are to come out in the author's larger Hand-book of the Greek and Roman Philosophy. This volume discusses, in five divisions, the Epicureans, the Stoic Systems, the Greek Sceptical Philosophy, the Eclectics and Syncretists, and the Neo-platonic system—to the dying out of the Greek and Roman Philosophy in Boethius. The New Platonists take about a fourth of the volume, and particular attention is given to the system of Plotinus. That of Proclus is very concisely treated. A certain inequality in the handling of different schools is justified on the ground that these are adequately expounded in other works. The author shows his wonted mastery of the materials, and candor and ripeness of judgment—giving, with accuracy, the views of each philosopher, and not defining them by any assumed theory of his own. In this and in Ritter's History of Christian Philosophy, we have the best summary of the course and progress of philosophic thought. Both works ought to be translated into English.

Neander's Vorlesungen über Geschichte der christlichen Ethik. Berlin, 1864. These Lectures on the History of Christian Ethics make the 5th Volume of Neander's Theological Lectures, chiefly gathered from the manuscripts of his auditors. This volume is edited by Dr. David Erdmann, General Superintendent of the province of Silesia. The history is brought down only to the close of the 12th century. Christian ethics is defined as the science which derives the laws of human conduct from the nature of Christianity. An admirable statement is given, in the first division, of the relation of the ethics of Christianity to antecedent systems. Then follow the views brought out in the heretical systems, and an account of the special duties and virtues as modified by the Christian system. The same general plan is followed in the other divisions of the work, including the controversies and casuistries of the scholastic divines who had not yet sundered ethics from dogmatics. The work is not only instructive, but it has the peculiar charm of all that Neander wrote—bringing the facts of history and the discussions of the past, home to the conscience and heart, and judging all in the sight of the Christian consciousness. It is interesting, not to the theologian alone, but to all who wish to see the growth and working of Christian ideas, transforming the character of man and the institutions of society. It is well edited.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. By E. H. GILLET, Author of the "Life and Times of John Huss." 2 vols. Presbyterian Publication Committee, Philadelphia, and for sale by A. D. F. Randolph. This work will everywhere be warmly welcomed by the ministers and intelligent laymen of our branch at least of the Presbyterian church. The delay in bringing it out has enabled the author to add to his materials and give finish and completeness to the history. The Committee have brought it out in a neat and substantial manner.

We congratulate the author and the church on the completion of this long-looked for history. Its need has been long and extensively felt, but every attempt to supply it hitherto has failed. The field was unoccupied: Dr. Hodge's history only brought it down to 1789, and is rather a series of essays on history than a detailed and formal history itself. From that period the author has had to pioneer his way, and this has greatly added to the labor and difficulty of his task. Dr. Gillett's previous studies and his unwearied industry and indomitable resolution, eminently fitted him to write this important history. The task assigned him has been performed with thoroughness, impartiality, and good taste, and we believe the work will very generally be received with favor and become a standard history of the American Presbyterian church.

We shall probably notice this history more fully at a future time, but we note now our general impression of it.

We think the entire history of the Presbyterian church up to 1825 or 1830, shows great and predominating liberality of sentiment, a disposition to fraternize and coöperate as far as possible with other bodies. This is made clear without any special calling of the reader's attention to it by the general course of the history. The manner of the Adopting Act, the welcome to New England men, the basis of the Reunion, the urgent invitation to Suffolk Presbytery, the Plan of Union, the Presbyterianising of the New York Associations, coöperation in the voluntary societies, the representation of New England Associations in the General Assembly, the method of dealing with Rankin, Balch, and others, the silent acceptance for a long period of committee men, the avowed opinions of leading men like Dr. S. S. Smith, Dr. McMillan, Dr. Kollock and many others, the revival spirit of the Virginian especially, and Southern leaders generally—all these things, and others that might be mentioned, seem to mark the contrast between the spirit of American Presbyterianism and that of rigid Scotch ecclesiasticism. Soon after the accession of the Associate Reformed in 1822, we mark a change. A disposition in favor of strict construction manifested itself. Perhaps it had become something of a necessity with the growing self-consciousness of a denomination which had come to occupy an unexpectedly commanding position, as well as on account of the more extended field in which divergence from the standards or erroneous sentiments threatened unprecedented danger. The New School, perhaps in reaction against strict construction, were driven to the opposite extreme, but precedent was on their side, and the spirit of the early church is manifest most signally in them, clinging as they did to coöperation, till it betrayed their confidence and forced them to give it up.

Still the great body of the history is clear of all controversial aspect. The leading men of the denomination are portrayed. The labors of pioneer missionaries together with their hardships, are set forth. The changes wrought by their zeal and fidelity, and the methods by which

they secured the desired result are brought to view. Facts, fast passing to oblivion, have been rescued, incidents of local as well as general interest have been brought up out of obscurity, and the siftings of volumes of all kinds, missionary records, biographies, state and local histories, and periodicals almost innumerable have been gathered to fill up the naked outline of the history.

We trust the work will receive a patronage worthy of its merits. Dr. Gillett deserves the gratitude of the church for such a labor of love.

Apologia pro Vita Sua: being a Reply to a Pamphlet entitled "*What then does Dr. Newman mean?*" By JOHN HENRY NEWMANN, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1865. pp. 393. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth. Mr. Kingsley, in his haste, said that Father Newman held that "truth, for its own sake, need not be, and on the whole ought not to be, a virtue of the Roman Catholic clergy." When called upon to prove this, he at first tried to throw the burden of proof on the accused; and so a sharp quarrel arose, which has given us, as its result, one of the most interesting and instructive autobiographies in the English language. We have here partly the outward, but chiefly the inward history of one of the ablest Englishmen of the present day, the head and heart of the old Oxford movement. This volume gives us the key to his career, and his changes of opinion, until he arrived safely in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church, since which time, he says, all doubts have passed away. He rests securely upon the rock, St. Peter. The prominent leaders of the Tractarian movement are introduced; and also most of the leading Oxford men of Newman's time. The motives of his conduct, so far as he was conscious of them, are fairly presented. But we presume that most readers of this remarkable volume will wonder, how causes apparently so slight could produce such wide results. The reasons which Dr. Newman gives for his changes seem trivial and superficial. There is an entire want of thorough grappling with the principles. Philosophical reflection had little to do with the result. Nor are there indications of profound religious experience; there is nothing of such religious depth as we find in Augustine, Luther and Calvin. It is amazing to hear the author confess, that as soon as he submitted to the Papacy, all his doubts and difficulties fled, and he found it very easy to receive infallibility, transubstantiation and the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. It looks like magic rather than reason, conscience or religion. The story is well and plausibly told. Mr. Kingsley is refuted with great pertinacity and fatiguing prolixity. The style is perfectly clear and bright. An appendix gives the authorities in favor of the "economy," that is, lying which is not lying. The volume is a good specimen of book-making.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D. Vol. III. New York: Carters. 1864. pp. 467. This volume narrates the career of Calvin to the time of his writing the Institutes; and the growth of the Reformation in Geneva before Calvin's appearance on the stage there; and also its beginning in the Pays de Vaud. It is issued at an auspicious time, when the third centenary of Calvin's decease has attracted renewed attention to the life and works of this greatest of the Reformers. Dr. d'Aubigné has produced a most interesting and detailed history. He has the rare art of bringing in the most minute incidents, and still keeping up the interest of his readers. Many new facts in respect to Calvin's earlier career are here, for the first time, incorporated into history. The analysis of Cal-

vin's Institutes is a most favorable specimen of the author's power of throwing new light and interest upon a theme usually esteemed dry and technical. No one can read this volume without having a deeper sense of the real greatness of Calvin's character, and of the vast issues at stake in the Genevese reformation. It may not have the general popularity of D'Aubigné's account of Luther and the German Reformation, but it will appeal even more strongly to reflective and studious minds.

Memoirs of Lieut. - General Scott, LL. D. Written by himself. 2 vols. New York : Sheldon & Co. 1864. Few living men have deserved so well of their country as the author of these Memoirs. His life extends through the larger portion of our national history, and in many prominent events he has borne a conspicuous part. He has been acquainted with nearly all the leading men in civil as well as military life, and his reminiscences and graphic details about them give no inconsiderable part of its interest to these frank and welcome volumes. He is entitled to the lasting gratitude of his country for his noble part in the removal of the Indian tribes ; for his measures and advice in respect to Nullification in South Carolina ; for his wise and pacific policy about our North Eastern boundary ; for his splendid Mexican campaign, which put him into the rank of great generals ; and for his counsels, unhappily unheeded, in respect to the prevention of the present gigantic rebellion. Though his profession has been that of arms, yet his spirit has always been pacific. A sincere Christian faith hallows his character. Still living in a serene old age, covered with honors, he sends out these interesting volumes, which can not but enliven the spirit of a true Christian patriotism. The work is handsomely got up, and adorned with two likenesses of its author.

History of the Peace : being a History of England from 1816 to 1854. With an Introduction. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Vols. I and II. Boston : Walker, Wise & Co., 1864. This important work is based upon a History of the 'Thirty Years' Peace, 1815-1846, commenced by Charles Knight, and completed by Miss Martineau. To the original work, Miss Martineau has prefixed an Introduction, 1800-1815, with a valuable American Preface, and added an entire new Book, bringing the work down to the termination of the Peace by the Russian War. The present work is, therefore, a Complete History of England from 1800 to 1854. It will be completed in four volumes, post 8vo, of about 500 pages each, and brought out in the best style of the celebrated Riverside press. While the work lacks unity, it is an ably written and a most impartial history of this interesting period of English politics and literature. Miss Martineau possesses many admirable qualities for a historian—a clear perception, pains-taking industry, great vigor of thought, a concise style, and remarkable candor. It is written from the stand-point of a thorough "liberal," both in politics and religion, and some allowance must be made for this fact. No part of English history demands a closer study than the period covered by this work, especially to students of democratic institutions. It deserves a place in every library, and will be found a great help in the study of English history and literature in the present century.

The Hand of God in History ; or, Divine Providence Historically Illustrated in the Extension and Establishment of Christianity. By HOLLIS REED. 2 vols. New-York : A. A. Constantine. 1864. This is a new and revised edition of a well known and valuable work which has already

had a very extensive sale. The title indicates its scope and purpose, and the author has executed his task with judgment and ability. One can study the numerous and striking facts here presented and fail to recognize "the Hand of God" as the controlling power in human affairs.

The Days that are Past. By Thomas James Shepherd. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1864. 12 mo, pp. 191. The excellent Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, gives us in this book, got up in superb style by the Publishers, an exceedingly interesting history of the church to which he ministers. During the fifty years of its existence it has been favored with the ministrations of the saintly Patterson, the eloquent Carroll, the beloved Ely, and eleven years by the present pastor. In connection with the history of the Church property, sketches of these honored men are given. The record here made, bears a noble "testimony to that exceeding grace of God which through fifty years, has been signally revealed to this church and congregation." May the next fifty years be as fruitful of good as the past! There is much that is highly suggestive and interesting beyond the sphere for which the book was specially intended.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Human Sadness. By the COUNTESS DE GASPARIN. New York: Carters, 1864, pp. 273. The themes of these meditations are, Oppressions, Mistakes, Weariness, Decay, Soul-Torture, Beautiful Sadness, Death, the Reason Why. These various forms of Human Sadness are presented, with a deeply sympathising spirit, in the light of the Gospel, and in relation to its abundant consolations. The book has to do with the problems of feeling, rather than with those of thought. It is written in so earnest a spirit, and with such tenderness, that it will find its way like a balm to many a wounded spirit.

The Martyrs of Spain and the Liberators of Holland. New York. Carters, 1864, pp. 400.—*The Cripple of Antioch and other Scenes from Early Christian Times.* pp. 426. Same publishers. These two books are by the well-known author of the *Schouberq-cotta Family*, which has obtained such a celebrity. One of her earlier works was, *The Voice of Christian Life in Song*, containing translations of many admirable Greek and Latin hymns, etc. This is also published by Mr. Carter. These two new volumes show the same skill in delineating characters and events, the same power of re-animating the past, the same knowledge of all the phases of Christian experience, which are found in her other volumes. The first work is upon the Martyrs of Spain, and the liberation of Holland. The second is on scenes and characters in early Christian history. No English writer has done so much to clothe the history and struggles of Christianity in a style attractive to all classes of readers.

The Forty Days after our Lord's Resurrection. By Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL. D. New York: Carter & Brothers, 1864. Dr. Hanna's "Life of Chalmers" is admired by all who have read it, and his "Last Days of our Lord's Passover" is a work of fine and reverent genius; so that the present volume is sure to find many delighted and profited readers. The topics are, The Resurrection, the Appearance to Mary Magdalene, The Journey to Emmaus, The Evening Meeting, The Incredulity of Thomas, The Lake-Side of Galilee, Peter and John, The Great Commission, and The Ascension; and these themes are handled with admirable

skill, by one whose pen is ever full of the aroma of the Cross, and commands the choicest stores of language.

God's Way of Holiness. By HORATIUS BONAR, D. D., author of "God's Way of Peace," "Hymns of Faith and Hope," &c. Carter & Brothers. 1864. Few religious writers are more widely and favorably known than is the author of this little work. Its clear statement of doctrine, its warm devotional spirit, and its thoroughly evangelical character, will make it a welcome and profitable companion in the closet and the family.

The Hour which Cometh and Now is: Sermons preached in Indiana-Place Chapel, Boston. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 1864. pp. 348. There is eloquence in these sermons, a genuine, soul-stirring patriotism, but very little theology of any kind, and none of the evangelical spirit or teaching. The author is so intensely "liberal" as to reject not only all religious creeds and dogmas but the obvious sense of Scripture. The plainest facts are liberalized to mean anything or nothing. The "Resurrection is a rising up of the good into *love*, a rising up of the evil into *truth*." "The hour cometh and now is, when Christian doctrine shall be redeemed from the Jewish and Pagan errors which have clung to it, and so be brought back to the simplicity of Christ, when men shall no more be afraid of God, as though he were angry, and had to be appeased by a bloody sacrifice; no more be driven from their dear Father by Pagan doctrines concerning his need of some expiatory victim, before he can forgive his children. They will no more be taught that man is all corrupt and evil—nothing but sin; they will be taught to see in every soul something good, something allied to God, some conscience, some heart, something of holy fire lingering under the ashes of vice and sin." These are fair specimens of the teachings of the book so far as they bear on man's spiritual nature. Christianity thus robbed of all that is vital and distinctive has no redeeming element in it; it is no longer "the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation." It is sad to see so much talent thus misapplied.

Life Lessons in the School of Christian Duty. By the author of "The Life and Times of John Huss." New York, A. D. F. Randolph. 1864. 12mo. pp. 407. Very different is the atmosphere of this book from that of the preceding one. The author, Dr. Gillett, has won golden opinions by his history of the Bohemian Reformation, and as a fertile writer in our periodical literature. He here appears in a new field, the pulpit, discoursing familiarly and earnestly on the great themes of Christian doctrine and duty. "The aim of the volume is practical throughout." The sermons are short, pithy, direct, and often solemn and forcible. Our social relations and responsibilities are shown in the clear and certain light of scripture truth. We commend the volume as eminently adapted to quicken Christians in their duty. The publisher has given the book a fine appearance. The author and the benevolent parishoner who has been the means of bringing it out, will not lose their reward.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

An American Dictionary of the English language. By NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D. Thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged and improved, by C. A. GOODRICH, D. D., LL. D., and NOAH PORTER, D. D. Springfield, Mass. G. C. Merriam. 1864. 4to. pp. lxxii, 1768. With 3000 Engravings. In the preparation of this new edition of Webster's Dictionary, no pains

have been spared to make it the most complete and useful Dictionary of the English language. It is about thirty years since Dr. Webster completed his great labors, and English lexicography has since advanced at an unprecedented rate. This edition has been in the course of preparation for more than five years; and full thirty years of literary labor, by highly competent scholars, have been devoted to it. The Vocabulary has been enlarged, so that it now contains upwards of 114,000 words, being 10,000 more than are found in any other lexicon. Rejecting self-explaining compound words, and words so obsolete or technical that they are seldom or never used, all terms are retained which can fairly claim a place. As the English is still a growing language, there must be in every new lexicon some new words or new significations of old terms. The Etymology has been thoroughly revised, under the charge of Dr. C. A. F. Mahn, of Berlin; so that, though much remains to be done in this direction, it is here presented more carefully and fully than in any previous work. Able scholars in this country and Europe are now at work in this field, and before many years we shall doubtless have a tolerably complete etymological dictionary of our language; but for the present this edition of Webster must take the lead.

The Definitions of Dr. Webster have always had the highest reputation; and the present edition improves in this respect upon the previous ones. The *order* of the definitions is, in many instances, changed so as to give the literal sense first and then the derived. Numerous extracts have also been added from the best writers. No one can consult the work without profit on this score; though there is here, too, an endless field, and, of course, a great variety of usage. Hamilton, we see, is largely used, and rightly too, for philosophical terms. But Mansel's definition of *Personality* ("as we can conceive it, it is essentially a limitation and a relation") represents the view of a special philosophical tendency, and is, on the face of it, inconsistent with the ascription of personality to God. A learned friend has pointed out to us the definition of *Temeration*, as *temerity*—Jeremy Taylor being cited as authority; but he uses the word in the sense of *stained*, *polluted* (derived from *temero*). The same friend criticizes the definition of citizen—"one who has the privilege of *voting*," etc.—as too narrow: it is not the American sense or usage. But these are slight points compared with the general fullness and accuracy of the definitions.

Among the other points that give pre-eminence to this work are the careful revision of the Pronunciation, with a full list of Words differently pronounced, and Dr. Goodrich's able paper on the Principles of Pronunciation; a Table of differing Orthographies, with Mr. Wright's Rules for spelling certain classes of words; and the addition of a list of Synonyms to the most important words. Some 3000 pictorial illustrations are incorporated in the work, and are much better than verbal descriptions. Mr. Wheeler's Vocabulary of Names of Fictitious Persons and Places is a novel attempt, and very successful. Besides this, we have a Pronouncing Vocabulary of Scripture Names, of Greek and Latin Names, of Modern Geographical and Biographical Names, of English Christian Names; a select list of Quotations and Phrases from various languages; Abbreviations and Contractions; Arbitrary Signs in Writing and Printing; and Ancient, Foreign, and Remarkable Alphabets. Nor must we omit to commend Professor Hadley's excellent Brief History of the English Language.

This great work is an honor to American scholarship. It is a monu-

ment of careful and protracted labor. On the whole it is now the most complete Dictionary of the English Language. Those engaged in it, and foremost among them that accomplished scholar, Professor Noah Porter, are to be congratulated for their high success in a laborious undertaking. And the publishers have shown great efficiency and a laudable ambition, in producing a work which, on the score of typographical clearness and compression, and whatever goes to make a convenient and elegant book, stands foremost among the productions of modern book-making.

The Isizulu. A Grammar of the Zulu Language: accompanied with a Historical Introduction. By REV. LOUIS GROUT, Missionary of the American Board. Natal: printed by J. C. Buchanan at Umsundusi. 1859. 8vo. pp. lii, 432. Our missionary gives us better fruits of his sojourn in South Africa than those we have received from Bishop Colenso. This volume strikingly illustrates one of the subsidiary advantages of Christian missions, in promoting linguistic research. The philologist will find topics of rare interest in examining the structure of this curious language, and in comparing it with others. An appendix gives, in the original and in translations, noteworthy specimens of the Zulu literature. The Introduction is a valuable disquisition on the history of the Amazulu, and a comparison of their language with that of their neighbors. The Standard Alphabet of Dr. Lepsius is fully explained and applied. The Orthography, Etymology, and Syntax are treated at length. There is one specialty in the character of the inflections in the Zulu language; most of the modifications are found at the beginning instead of at the end of the word. Thus; *Umfana* (boy) makes its plural *abafana*; the plural of *izwi* (word) is *amazwi*. The same is the case with the adjectives; *umfana omkulu*, large boy; plural, *abafana abakulu*, large boys; *amazwi amakulu*, large words, etc. The alphabet contains 32 letters; the letters are divided into vowels, consonants, and *clicks*—sharp sounds, unknown as a part of human speech, except in South Africa; they are divided into *dental*, *palatal*, and *lateral clicks* or *clacks*. The volume is admirably printed in clear type. It makes a book of unusual philological value, and gives Mr. Grout a high place in linguistic literature. The author, we are glad to learn, is about to publish a work entitled “Zululand, or Life among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal” etc. It will be issued by the Presbyterian Board.

The Negro Problem Solved: or, Africa as she Was, as she Is, and as she Shall Be. Her Curse and her Cure. By HOLLIS REED. New York: A. A. Constantine 12mo, pp. 418. 1864. The title of this book is a little too ambitious. No finite mind is as yet equal to the task of solving this problem—certainly one of the greatest and most difficult which at present taxes human intellect. The theme of the book is, however, of peculiar and intense interest at the present time. God himself, it would seem, is fast solving the problem in connection with the greatest war of modern times. The author does little more than present the workings and results of Providence in the past and present history and condition of Africa and her races. While the volume shows some haste in preparation, it yet contains a mass of facts, many of them new to the majority of readers, and all of them bearing more or less directly on the future of Africa. With no nation on earth has God dealt more wonderfully and mysteriously than with this; and judging from the analogies of Providence, a bright and signal destiny is in store for her. The solution of the problem, according to our author, is to be found in voluntary colonization, in

the development of an African nationality, and in the influence of commerce, and especially of Christianity; and this part of the work is of special interest and value. We warmly commend the work as a timely and valuable contribution towards solving a problem, in interest and importance second to none which now agitates the world. Mr. Constantine, the publisher, was for years a Baptist missionary to Africa, and is himself thoroughly informed in regard to her present condition and the demands of the times upon the friends of this long-abused land and race.

Queens of Song: being Memoirs of some of the most celebrated Female Vocalists who have performed on the Lyric Stage from the Earliest Days of Opera to the Present time. To which is added a Chronological List of all the Operas that have been performed in Europe. By ELLEN CREATHORNE CLAYTON. With Portraits of Mrs. Billington, Madame Pasta, Madame Sontag, Madame Garcia Malibran, Madame Giulia Grisi, Madame Clara Novello, Madame Viardot Garcia, Madame Marietta Alboni, Madame Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, and Madame Marietta Piccolomini. Harpers. 1865. 8vo pp. 543. We give the title in full of this beautiful book as the best description of its character. The lovers of song will be delighted with it. The author has executed her task well. She gives us brief but lively sketches of thirty-nine women who have obtained great celebrity in the musical world during the last 150 years. While she does full justice to their queenly qualities as singers, she does not attempt to hide or palliate their womanly weaknesses and frailties, where the truth demanded the record. The book is a fitting companion to the "Queens of Society" and similar works published by the same house. "An instructive moral may be gathered" from it, as well as entertainment.

Real and Ideal. By J. W. MONTECLAIR. Philadelphia: Frederick Leopoldt. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1865. A small book of poetry, elegantly printed. The poems are short, some of them only tolerable, while others possess considerable poetic merit.

Crusoe's Island: A Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk, with Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe. By J. ROSS BROWNE. Harpers: 1864. The author has achieved quite a reputation in this line. The present work is crowded with incidents, some of them thrilling and horrible enough to satisfy the intensest curiosity, mingled with graphic description of scenery and travel. The fame of "Robinson Crusoe" is sure to make this book popular.

Egypt's Princes. A narrative of Missionary Labor in the Valley of the Nile. By Rev. GULIAN LANSING, missionary of the United Presbyterian Church in Egypt. New York: Carter and Brothers. 1865. This volume is well illustrated and in good style. The contents of it are unusually interesting and exciting for a work of its kind. It does not profess to give a complete view of missionary operations in Egypt, but only one feature of it. In September, 1860, this mission—located at Alexandria and Cairo—purchased a Nile-boat, for the purpose of facilitating the work of the mission in Upper Egypt, where the Copts mainly reside. This volume contains the record of this novel experiment, and is accordingly full of stirring narrative and exciting personal adventure. No book of Nile-travels could be more interesting to the general reader, while the friend of missions will have his heart warmed and cheered by such a record of missionary zeal and success in that land of wonders and darkness. "In Alexandria and Cairo," says the author, "we have had committed to our care large numbers of young, impressible souls; and in training them in

our schools as well as in the regular services of the sanctuary we have spent years of toil. We have been digging deep, and laying broad and firm the foundations, while our enemies have said, 'What do these noble ones? If a fox go up he shall even break down their stone-wall.' Under the mask of patience and hope we have labored on, and at length God in his providence has removed the mask, and our enemies see with confusion that a deep trench has been dug and a solid breastwork built in front of their very citadels; and late reports from Cairo show that a strange, mysterious light from heaven is playing about our ramparts which attracts to it all eyes. This, the work of years in these great cities, I have not undertaken to describe; I have only attempted to give a view of the beginnings of a great work in the whole land of Egypt."

Diary of Mrs. Kitty Trevelyon. A story of the times of Whitfield and the Wesleys, with a Preface by the Author. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1865. The Author of this work has achieved a reputation as sudden and great as it is deserved. It is only a year since she first became known in this country through the Schönberg Cotta-Family, published first by M. W. Dodd, and afterwards by T. Nelson and Son. No book of its kind was ever a greater success. Combining the dramatic interest and excitement of a romance with the solid worth of history, it has been read and admired by a very large number. That was followed some months since by *The Early Dawn*, and now we have the third volume from this gifted pen. The other works by the same author, republished here, are her earlier productions. We need only add, that the last work strikingly resembles the *Cotta-Family* in its essential features, and we doubt not will be as eagerly read in ten thousand households.

From Dan to Beersheba; or, The Land of Promise as it now Appears. By Rev. J. P. Newman, D.D. Harper & Brothers. 1864. Another popular work on Palestine, and a valuable one to the students of sacred history. The author traveled extensively in the Holy Land recently, and took special pains to gather the most accurate and the latest knowledge of whatever relates to its boundaries, topography, agriculture, antiquities, cities and present inhabitants, and to verify on the spot the accuracy of the sacred writers in their allusions to their native country. The maps and numerous illustrations add to the value of the work.

Arizona and Sonora: the Geography, History and Resources of the Silver Region of North America. By SYLVESTER MOWRY. Harpers. A valuable work on the subject by one who understands more of it probably than any other man. Two editions of this book have been printed and sold chiefly in California. It is now revised and enlarged by the author, published by the Harpers in this city.

Arctic Researches, and Life among the Esquimaux: being the narrative of an expedition in search of Sir John Franklin in the years 1860-62. By CHARLES FRANCIS HALL. With maps and 100 illustrations. 8 vo. pp. 595. Harpers. 1865. The enterprising Publishers merit praise and a large patronage for the character and style of their issues in this department of literature. Their several works of travel and exploration in Africa and other countries, have involved an immense outlay, and an appreciative public, we believe, will reward their enterprise. The present work is full of exciting interest. Captain Hall, it will be remembered, commanded the "Grinnell Expedition," sent out from this country four years since in the fruitless attempt to ascertain the fate of Franklin's party. Hope is still alive in the breast of our indomitable

countryman, and on the very day he wrote the last pages of this volume, he started on a new expedition, sanguine that success will finally crown his labors. The illustrations are remarkably well executed.

Under the Ban. (Le Maudit.) A tale of the Nineteenth Century. Translated from the French of M. l'Abbé * * *. Harpers. 1864. We are glad to see this work in English, and the three volumes brought into one of reasonable size. In some respects it is a remarkable work, and has produced no little sensation in France. It purports to be written by a French Catholic priest, and aims to expose the despotism and wickedness of the hierarchy. It is the experience of certain priests, who, for preaching a purer doctrine and life than do the mass of the Romish priesthood, were interdicted by their superiors and persecuted in every form. It is a dark picture. It details some new aspects of French clerical life. An excellent review of *Le Maudit*, and *La Religieuse*, which is but the sequel to the first, may be found in the *Eclectic* for February, copied from the *Edinburgh Review*.

Margaret Denzil's History. Annotated by her husband. A Novel. No. 247, Harpers' Library of Select Novels. 1864. A singular story, full of mystery and tragic interest; but not altogether healthy in tone.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PROF. TAYLER LEWIS'S *State Rights: A Photograph from the Ruins of Ancient Greece*. Albany: pp. 96 is the most instructive parallel that has yet been drawn in respect to our own contest. "Autonomy" led to the results in Greece, which State Rights will do in our land. The doctrine that we are essentially one nation is ably advocated on historical and rational grounds. We are glad to hear that the author intends to pursue the subject farther. No one can better do a most needed work.

Harpers' New Monthly Magazine began its 30th volume with the December number. It is deservedly the most popular magazine in the land. Besides its usual variety, it will contain serials by Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, and others. We should like it still more if due credit were always given for matter borrowed from other magazines. Thus in the last number (January) at least two of the illustrations and the accompanying letter-press are literal reprints from English monthlies, without acknowledgement.

The Eclectic Magazine, (January, W. H. Bidwell, New York,) begins a New Series with the year. For more than twenty years this monthly has furnished to its readers the best part of English periodical literature, and considerable from the French and German. Familiar with it from its first number to its last issue, we unhesitatingly commend it, as furnishing more valuable literature for the price than can be had in any other form. It appears now in a new dress, as it has attained to ripe manhood, and gives evidence of renewed vigor and increased attraction for those who would possess the best thoughts of the best writers of the Old World.

The Presbyterian Publication Committee (Philadelphia, and A. D. F. Randolph, New York), send us *The Shepherd of Bethlehem*, King of Israel. By A. L. O. E.; and *Stories from Jewish History*, by the same; excellent books for juveniles, in the family and in the Sunday-school. Also, *The Communion Week; Save Souls*, by Richard Baxter; *The Work of the Christian Church*; Dr. Brainerd's sterling Tract on *Profanity*, and the

Soldier's Scrap-Book, all good. These, with other and larger recent and prospective issues, indicate that our Publication Committee is now fairly and efficiently at work.

The Grahams. By JANE GAY FULLER. M. W. Dodd. 1864. A sensible and healthy book for juveniles. Add it to your Sunday-school library.

The Reconstruction of States, in a letter of MAJOR-GENERAL BANKS to Senator Lane, is a bold and sensible pamphlet, vindicating the course of Louisiana in her free State action, and animadverting on the action of Congress and the protest of Senators Wade and Davis relating to it. It will be read with interest.

Debates of the Fiscal Convention. New York: 1865. 8vo. pp. 90. An exceedingly able discussion of the Finance Question, by one who is a master of the subject. In the form of Debates in open Convention, the various theories of currency are passed in review, and the views of the writer are clearly and forcibly presented. These views differ materially from the current views which prevail, and are opposed to the policy and interests of those who are striving to keep up the price of gold; but they are sensible and sound nevertheless, and will carry conviction to the minds of most persons who will be at the pains to read them.

ART. X.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE. GERMANY.

The 13th Evangelical Church Diet of Germany has been held in the ancient city of Altenburg, and was largely occupied with a discussion of the recent *Lives of Jesus* by Renan and Strauss, with references to Schenkel. This discussion was participated in by Profs. Beyschlag, of Halle, Köstlin, of Breslau, Dr. Liebner, of Dresden, Hofman, of Berlin, Tischendorf, and De Pressensé, of Paris, (just on his way to Paris from his journey in the East), who all concurred in saying, that while the Gospel has nothing to fear in the end from these assaults, yet that they call on the defenders of Christianity to elaborate the life of Jesus more definitely and fully from the human side so as to deepen our sense of its reality.

Dr. Kahnis, of Dresden, devotes the second volume of his *Lutheran Dogmatics* to a concise and able review of the history of Christian Doctrines; still maintaining those views of the inspiration of the Scriptures, the nature of the Lord's Supper (anti-Lutheran), and the subordination of Christ, which aroused such a spirited controversy upon the publication, three years since, of the first volume of his work.

Prof X. Schmid has written a work on Nicholas Taurellus, rector of the University of Altdorf, in the Reformation century, claiming for him the credit of being the first genuine German philosopher; since he was a sharp opponent of the Aristotelian scholasticism, and insisted that metaphysics should be built upon a new basis. Leibnitz and Wolf owed to him many of their definitions and distinctions. He contended warmly for the reconciliation of faith and knowledge. In him is another example of how much Bavaria has done for philosophy; Hegel taught eight years in Nuremberg; Fichte was for a time at Erlangen, and Schelling there gave his first academic lectures. Leibnitz was for a time

in Altdorf and Nuremburg. Descartes began his system while he was a soldier in Neuburg on the Danube.

Dr. H. L. Ahrens, of Hanover, in his recent work on the *Office of the Keys*, interprets the Keys (Matth. xvi : 19), not as a symbol of opening the gate of heaven, but of a householder over the blessings of the Gospel, with the power and duty of imparting these to others ; the power of "binding and loosing" refers to the function of interpreting the law. The author is a philologist, and not a theologian by profession, and brings illustrations of his views from classical as well as from Christian antiquity, also exhibiting at length the opinions of the reformers, and of the Lutheran Church.

An edition of the Hebrew Masora, under the title, *Das Buch Ochlah Wochlah*, by Dr. S. Frensdorff, has been published at Hannover ; price 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ thr., making this important work generally accessible. A manuscript of the imperial library at Paris is used for comparison.

A new edition of Melancthon's *Loci Communes* has been published by G. L. Plitt. The cheap edition of 1860, by Vollheding, is very defective—whole lines being sometimes omitted, and more than 70 passages deviating from the original.

Schleiermacher's Lectures on the Life of Jesus, delivered at various times, 1819 to 1838, have been published, edited by K. A. Ruterik. They appear at a time when they will excite fresh interest, in consequence of the recent works of Renan, Schenkel, and Strauss. Dr. Jonas, the chief editor of Schleiermacher's remains, was not able to get students' manuscripts of sufficient accuracy to edit the work ; for Schleiermacher left only some slight memoranda. But Herr Ruterik procured a full one of the year 1832, and has executed his task of combining the different manuscripts with commendable fidelity. He promises a supplementary volume, giving a comparison of the author's views as propounded in different years. With all his critical skill, Schleiermacher's reverence for the person of Christ kept him from going to the extremes of later writers.

Gregory of Nyssa's charming dialogue on the Soul and Resurrection, fashioned after Plato's *Phaedon*, has been well done into German by Dr. Herm. Schmidt, Halle.

John Huber, a Catholic philosopher, author of a work on *Erigena*, has published a treatise on *Immortality*.

The Dictionary of the Grimms is to be continued by two competent scholars, R. Hildebrand and K. Weigand. The first part of the fifth volume is out, edited by Hildebrand, comprising K. to Kartenbild. G. H. I. are not yet published. These will be edited by Weigand.

The romanizing tendency of some Lutheran ministers is seen in a work published by W. O. Deitlein ; *The evangelical Ave Maria*, devoted to the praise of the Virgin.

Dr. Geffken of Hamburg has recently found a copy of a treatise of Joachim Jungins, a divine of the 17th century, on the Original Language of the New Testament. It is a small pamphlet of 29 pages. Jungins was a very able writer—so able that Humboldt, Goethe, and Schelling compare him with Bacon and Leibnitz. His biography was first published in 1850. Dr. Avé Lallemant also published a work on him in 1863. The above work was called out by the noted controversy about the the purity of the New Testament Greek, and was written in 1637.

Prof. Theodore Waits of Marburg died May 20, 1864, aged 43 years. He wrote a work on the Foundations of Psychology, 1846 ; *Text Book of Psychology*, 1849 ; on *Pædagogics*, 1852. His chief works on which he

labored for many years before his death, was *Anthropology of the Native Races*; the 4th volume was published last year.

The *Zeitschrift f. die Lutherische Theologie*. Hest IV. 1864, contains an account by Delitzsch of the services of Jacob Fabri of Deventer, in the textual criticism of the New Testament as shown in the Codex Fabri; Volbehr on the Rich Man and Lazarus; Köhler on the Descent of Christ to Hades, defending the common Lutheran doctrine; and the usual full review of theological works, which is one of the main features of this periodical.

The fourth part of the *Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie*, 1864, is wholly taken up with the continuation and conclusion of Rippold's learned and thorough account of the life, doctrine, and sect of David Joris of Delft, the fanatical Anabaptist, who claimed to be David Christ, and was driven from Delft and for a long time lived under an assumed name, John von Bruck (or Buügge) in Basle, where he died in 1554. He claimed that God had revealed himself by three human persons, Moses, Christ, and David Joris. This sketch clears up many points about his career and is one of the most curious and instructive pieces of heretical biography. Gieseler gives a slight sketch of David's libertine and enthusiastic views, in his *Church History*, vol. 4, pp. 313 and 353.

Zeitschrift f. exacte Philosophie Band V. 1864. Hefte 1. 2. This periodical advocates the principles of the Herbart school, and is conducted with ability by Allihn and Ziller. G. Schilling contributes a clear account of Herbart's reforms in Psychology; Geyer on the Doctrine of Contract in relation to the theory of the State; Drobisch an able review of the different applications of the terms Idealism and Realism in philosophy; Thilo on the Philosophy of Religion in the system of Leibnitz; Allihn on Herbart's Ethics.

FRANCE.

Revue Chrétienne. Sept., Oct. 1861. L. Rognon on the Religious Crisis, in relation to Guizot's recent work. L. Ruffet, a valuable account of Peter Paul Verger, bishop of Capo d'Istria, who gave up place and power in the reformation century, and became an exile and did much for truth. The first full biography of him was published by Sixt of Nuremberg, 1855. There is an interesting account of him in Mrs. Young's *Life of Paleario*, published in London in 1860. Casalis de Fondouce contributes an interesting lecture on the Antiquity of Man. This subject is continued in the October number, with special relation to the antiquity of man. The author gives the calculations of an Italian professor—according to which, putting the present population of the world at 1,300,000,000 and allowing the annual increase to be 1-292, it is shown that the present population would be reached in 5,863 years. This is putting the annual increase at a low figure: in France it is 1-227 annually. Calculated on the latter basis, the present numbers would be attained in 4,207 years from Noah, allowing that he left the ark with three sons and three daughters. The other articles are De Pressensé on the late German Church Diet giving his own speech in full, and Durand's review of Guibal's Poem on the Albigensian Crusade.

Schools in France, 1863; 82,135 for primary instruction, with 4,731,946 scholars. Of these schools, 41,476 are public and free schools for boys, or mixed as to sex; 37,895 being taught by lay-teachers and 3,531 by ecclesiastics. There are also 26,592 schools for girls, 13,491 directed by laymen, and 13,101 by "sisters." There are 3,162 infant schools. Average salary of male teachers, 800 francs; of female 600.

Didot's edition of Stephani's *Thesaurus Græcae Linguae* is now complete in 8 vols.

The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has gone to Yucatan to make new explorations, aided by an architect for the drawings.

H. Wallon of the Institute has published in 2 volumes, a work on "*Richard II. of England, an Episode of the Rivalry of France and England.*" He defends Richard against the current reproaches, partly on the basis of new documents, gathered in France.

Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne. Sept. Viscount de Rougé on the New Discoveries in the History of Egypt; Abbé Dedone, History of the Monastery of Lerins; Henri de Riancey, the Oriental Origin of the European Races; Jules Mohl, of the Institute, Progress in Oriental Studies; Tamizey de Larroque on the question Whether Chrysostom was in the habit of reading the Comedies of Aristophanes, vindicating him from this aspersion; Coste on Spontaneous Generation.

The *Correspondance Littéraire* gives from the Alsatian Bibliography extracts from an article by Kopp, showing that Foucher de Careil's new edition of the works of Leibnitz contains numerous and unscholarly instances of mis-translation. He renders, *e.g.* Sylva Ducis (Bois-le Duc) by Sedan.

ENGLAND.

Did Bacon write the "Paradoxes?" Rev. A. B. Groshart, editor of Dr. R. Sibbes's Works (7 vols. in Nichol's Standard Puritan Divines) sends a communication to the *Notes and Queries*, Sept. 17, 1864, saying that he has cleared up the long disputed question as to the authorship of the Paradoxes, usually ascribed to Bacon. Spedding admits them into his new edition of Bacon's works, but under protest. Mr. Groshart has succeeded in finding the original in the *Memorials of Godliness and Christianity*, by Herbert Palmer, B. D., Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, first published in 1644-5. Palmer there says, that the portion of his work which contained the Paradoxes had been surreptitiously published in 1643. In 1648 it was inserted in the Remains of Bacon. Palmer died in 1647; he was born in 1601; was appointed in 1644 Master of Queens' College; was a member of the Assembly of Westminster—an eminent scholar, a fearless patriot, a devout and humble man. The thirteenth edition of his *Memorials* was published in 1708.—In Basil Montagu's edition of Bacon, vol. vii, pp. xxvi to xl, the question of the authorship of the Paradoxes is discussed at length.

A new and greatly enlarged edition of the writings of Charles Lamb (Elia) is announced by Moxon & Co. A subscription is also in progress for erecting a monument to his memory.

In the year 1831, the circulation of papers in the United Kingdom was 38,648,314. In the year 1864, the circulation had risen to 546,059,400, being an increase of no less than 13·13 per cent. In the year 1831, the circulation of the weekly and monthly magazines and periodicals was under 400,000. In the year 1864, the number has risen to 6,094,950. In the year 1818, the whole number of scholars in England and Wales was 674,883, or 1 in 17 of the population. In the year 1861, there were 2,535,462 scholars, or one in 6·4 of the population.

Professor Jowett is preparing a work on Plato in three volumes. It will contain a history of the earlier Greek systems, an analysis of all the Platonic Dialogues, and a translation of the Republic.

A work on Spiritual Philosophy, founded on the teachings of Coleridge,

by Joseph Henry Green, edited with a biographical Introduction by John Simon, is announced by Macmillan ; also a new edition of McCosh's *Institutions of the Mind*.

The London Quarterly Review No 45, Oct. contains : 1. Laws and Penalties ; 2. British North American Colonies ; 3. Calvin and the Reformation ; 4. Madame de Sevigné ; 5. Life in Java ; 6. Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman ; 7. Enoch Arden ; 8. Miller's Lectures on Language ; 9. The Wesleyan Conference.

The Christian Remembrancer, Oct., 1864. No. 126 : 1. Influence of the Ancient Régime on Modern France ; 2. Trinity College, Toronto ; 3. Father Mathew ; 4. Subscription to Formularies ; 5. Theodore Parker ; 6. Scrivener's Codex Bezae ; 7. Dr. Manning ; 8. The *Filioque* Controversy ; 9. New Books and Pamphlets.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October. St. Patrick ; Christian Church and Social Improvement ; Smith's Dictionary of the Bible ; Bishop Mackenzie and African Missions ; Relics of the Glacial Period in Britain ; Dr. Newman ; Authorship of the Pentateuch, by Prof. Bartlett ; Intelligence, &c. The article on Smith's Dictionary is chiefly a criticism of Stanley on the Septuagint.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1864. William the Conqueror ; Hansel's Greek Testament ; The Dolomite Mountains ; Chevallier's Mexico ; Our Foreign Policy ; Mind and Brain ; Knight's Autobiography ; Tennyson's Poetry ; Projected Reforms in Germany.

Those two able works by a Layman of the Church of England, against Colenso, entitled *The Historic Character of the Pentateuch*, and *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch*, are by a Mr. Skeffington.

King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boëthius *De Consolatione* has been published with an English Version and Notes, by Rev. Samuel Fox.

The Journal of Sacred Literature, Oct. 1864 : Israel in Egypt ; The Tree of Life, from the German of Dr. Piper ; the Rich Man and Lazarus ; Analogy between the Apocalypse of the Old Testament and that of the New ; Caneiform Inscriptions ; Hebrew Chronology ; Encomium of Martyrs, by Eusebius, from the Syriac ; Correspondence, etc.

UNITED STATES.

In the *New-Englander* for October, Prof. George P. Fisher, of New Haven, continues his discussion of the Conflict with Skepticism and Unbelief, examining the Recent Discussions on the Origin of the First Three Gospels. These articles, with those he has published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and his examination of Baur in our Review last year, ought to be collected in a volume. They are candid and able, and they are on topics of permanent as well as present interest.

The *Christian Examiner* (Unitarian) for November has a strong protest against Miss Beecher's Pelagianism, as set forth in her recent book on the *Religious Training of Children*. It says that Pelagianism, as "a system adequate to solve the hard problems of existence, to satisfy either the heart or the intellect, and bring man into God's profound and sufficing peace, has always been found wanting, and will always continue to be ;" that "it discharges the fundamental facts of the Gospel of their vital import ;" that it "has no basis in the facts of life." "The party of Augustine did not prevail over the party of Pelagius" because the former happened to outvote the latter, but because human nature, searched under the blaze of Gospel light, becomes conscious of troubles and wants, which Pelagianism cannot reach with its shallow soundings."

ART. XI.—COLLEGE RECORD.

By E. F. HATFIELD D. D., New York City.

HONORARY DOCTORATES IN 1864.

June 2, Adrian Coll., Mich.,	D. D.,	C. Prindle,	W. M.,
" 16, Illinois Coll., Ill.,	do	Enoch Miller, C.,	Liverpool, Eng.
" 22, Rutgers Coll., N. J.,	do	A'phonso A. Willets,	R. D., Brooklyn N. Y.
" " do do	do	Eugene A. Hoffman,	P. E., Elizabeth, N. J.
" " do do	do	Samuel M. Hamill,	P., Lawrenceville, N. J.
" " do do	do	James R. Talmadge,	R. D., Chittenango, N. Y.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Hon. Henry C. Murphy,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" " Ingham Univ., N. Y.,	D. D.,	William L. Parsons,	C., Mattapoisett, Mass
" " do do	do	Josiah Crofts,	Eng.
" 23, Univ. of City of N. Y.,	do	Hiram P. Arms,	C., Norwich, Ct.
" " do do	do	Philip Phelps, Jr.,	R. D., Holland, Mich.
" " do do	do	William P. Breed,	P., Philadelphia, Pa.
" " do do	do	Robt. Russell Booth,	P., New York City, N.
" " do do	do	John H. Manning,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" " do do	do	John R. Adams,	C., U. S. Army.
" " do do	do	Raymond H. Seeley,	C., Springfield, Mass.
" " do do	do	Frederick G. Clark,	P., New York City, N.
" " do do	do	Lachlin Taylor,	C. E.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Rev. Asa D. Smith, D. D.,	P., Hanover, N. H.
" " do do	do	Rev. John Lord,	C., Stamford, Ct.
" " do do	do	Edward J. Sears,	New York City, N.
" " Hanover Coll., Ind.,	do	Rev. Lemuel G. Olmsted,	Washington City,
" " do do	D. D.,	Samuel M. Hamill,	P., Lawrenceville, N.
" " do do	do	William Hamilton,	do Sistersville, Va.
" " do do	do	William C. Cattell,	do Easton, Pa.
" " Ind. Asbury Univ., Ind.,	do	W. L. Thornton,	W., London, Eng.
" " do do	do	H. C. Benson,	M. E., Stockton, Cal.
" 29, College of N. Jersey,	do	William C. Cattell,	P., Easton, Pa.
" " do do	do	Samuel Miller,	do Mount Holly, N. J.
" " do do	do	Edward D. Yeomans,	P., Rochester, N. Y.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Frederick T. Frelinghuysen,	Newark, N. J.
" " do do	do	Hon. Mercer Boesley,	N. J.
" " Wabash Coll., Ind.,	D. D.,	Thomas Wickes,	C., Marietta, Ohio.
" " Ohio West. Univ., Ohio,	do	James Stacy,	W., Sheffield, Eng.
" " Columbia Coll., N. Y.,	M. D.,	Henry S. Cutler,	New York City, N.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Henry Drisler,	do do
" 30, Trinity Coll., Ct.,	D. D.,	Robert B. Fairbairn,	P. E., Avondale, N. Y.
" " do do	do	David H. Short,	do Broadbrook, Ct.
" " do do	do	Samuel M. Emery,	do Portland, Ct.
" " Miami Univ., Ohio,	do	D. Judson Starr,	M. E., Cincinnati, Ohio.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Edward D. McMaster, D. D.,	P., Poland, do
" " Dickinson Coll., Pa.,	do	Rev. John Raby,	W., Eng.
" " do do	D. D.,	Robert S. Maclay,	M. E., China.
" " Westminster Coll., Pa.,	do	John B. Clark,	P., Alleghany City, Pa.
" " do do	do	A. M. Black,	do Monmouth, Ill.
" " do do	do	Samuel Priestly,	P., Poyntzpass, Ireland
" " do do	do	Alexander Wallace,	P., Glasgow, Scotland.
" " Centre Coll., Ky.,	do	Livingston M. Glover,	P., Jacksonville, Ill.

June 30, Centre Coll., Ky.,	D. D.	Charles W. Forman,	P., Lahore, N. India
" " Monmouth Coll., Ill.,	D. D.,	William Davidson,	P., Hamilton, Ohio.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Thomas D. Baird,	Baltimore, Md.
" " do do	do	George Scott,	do Holmes' Mill, Ohio.
" " West. Univ. of Pa.,	do	John Brown,	do Pittsburgh, Pa.
" " do do	do	Daniel March,	do Philadelphia, Pa.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Ben. Franklin Palmer,	do do
July 7, Chicago Univ., Ill.,	D. D.,	N. W. Miner,	B., Springfield, Ill.
" " do do	do	D. B. Cheney, do	Cal.
" " Ind. State Univ., Ind.,	do	Samuel C. Brown,	M. E., Fall River, Mass.
" " do do	do	William Davidson,	P., Hamilton, Ohio.
" " do do	do	Granville Moody,	M. E., Piqua, Ohio.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Hon. George A. Bicknell,	New Albany, Ind.
" 13, Amherst Coll., Mass.,	D. D.,	Daniel Bliss,	C., Beirut, Syria.
" " do do	do	Gordon Hall,	do Northampton, Mass.
" " Univ. of Rochester, N. Y.,	do	E. H. Gray,	B., Washington City, D. C.
" " do do	do	Isaac Westcott,	B., New York City, N. Y.
" " do do	do	Israel Foote,	do Rochester, N. Y.
" 14, Hobart Coll., do	do	Solon W. Manney,	P. E., Faribault, Minn.
" " do do	do	David Keene,	do Wis.
" " do do	do	Theodore Babcock,	do Watertown, N. Y.
" " do do	do	Marcellus A. Herrick,	do Sanbornton Bridge, N. H.
" " do do	do	Alvi T. Twing,	do Lansingburgh, N. Y.
" " West Reserve Coll., O.,	do	William H. Goodrich,	P., Cleveland, Ohio.
" " do do	do	Henry M. Storrs,	C., Cincinnati, Ohio.
" " do do	do	Joseph B. Bittinger,	P., Sewickly, Pa.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Rev. Henry B. Smith, D. D.,	P., New York City, N. Y.
" 20, Harvard Coll., Mass.,	do	Reuben A. Chapman,	Springfield, Mass.
" " do do	do	Hon. William P. Fessenden,	Washington City, D. C.
" " do do	do	Hon. Charles F. Adams,	London, Eng.
" " do do	do	Edward Laboulaye,	Paris, France.
" " Tuft's Coll., do	D. D.,	James P. Weston,	Galesburgh, Ill.
" 21, Wesleyan Univ., Ct.,	do	Robert Allyn,	M. E., Lebanon, Ill.
" " do do	do	Isaac W. Wiley,	do Cincinnati, Ohio.
" " do do	LL. D.,	George Thompson,	Eng.
" " Dartmouth Coll., N. H.,	do	Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D.,	C., Hanover, N. H.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Rev. Benjamin Labaree, D. D.,	do Middlebury, Vt.
" " do do	D. D.,	Levi Spaulding,	do Ceylon, India.
" " do do	do	Joseph C. Bodwell,	do Woburn, Mass.
" " do do	do	Ezra E. Adams,	P., Philadelphia, Pa.
" " Hamilton Coll., N. Y.	do	James Glentworth Butler,	P., do do
" " do do	do	Samuel M. Campbell,	do Utica, N. Y.,
" " do do	do	Ezra H. Gillett,	do New York City, N. Y.
" " do do	do	Edward Strong,	C., New Haven, Ct.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Hon. Henry E. Davies,	New York City, N. Y.
" " do do	do	George Wm. Clinton,	Buffalo, N. Y.
" " do do	do	Anson S. Miller,	Rockford, Ill.
" " do do	Ph. D.,	H. P. Sartwell,	M. D., Pen Yan, N. Y.
" 27, Lewisburgh Univ., Pa.,	D. D.,	Benjamin Griffith,	B., Philadelphia, Pa.
" 28, Union Coll., N. Y.,	do	Levi Sternberg,	Hartwick, N. Y.
" " do do	do	John D. Wells,	P., Brooklyn, E. D., N. Y.
" " do do	do	Robert T. Lowell,	do Duanesburgh, N. Y.
" " do do	do	Wm. Chauncey Childs,	Boston, Mass.
" " do do	LL. D.,	Richard M. Blatchford,	New York City, N. Y.
" " do do	do	William T. Allen,	do do
" " do do	do	Hon. George F. Comstock,	Syracuse, N. Y.

July, 28,	Union Coll., N. Y.,	LL. D.,	Hon. David Pratt,	do	do
" "	do	do	Hon. Josiah Sutherland,	New York City, N. Y.	
" "	Yale College, Ct.,	do	Gen. John G. Barnard,	Washington City, D. C.	
" "	do	do	Henry A. Dubois,	New Haven, Ct.	
" "	La Fayette Coll., Pa.,	do	Hon. Daniel Agnew,	Beaver, Pa.	
" "	do	do	Rev. Charles Hodge, D. D.,	P., Princeton, N. J.	
" "	do	D. D.,	George W. Janvier,	do	Daretown, N. J.
" "	Westminster Coll., Mo.,	do	James H. Brooks,	do	St. Louis, Mo.
" "	do	do	Robert Watts,	do	Dublin, Ireland.
" —	Alfred Univ., N. Y.,	do	Joel Wakeman,	do	Almond, N. Y.
" "	Acadia Coll., N. S.	do	Robert J. Wilson,	do	Hamilton, C. W.
" "	Hamline Univ., Minn.,	LL. D.,	Rev. J. G. Blair, D. D.,	M. E.,	Athens, Ohio.
Aug. 8,	Williams Coll., Mass.,	D. D.,	Simeon H. Calhoun,	C.,	Mt. Lebanon, Syria.
" "	do	do	Lowell Smith,	do	Sandwich Islands.
" "	do	do	Theron H. Hawks,	P.,	Cleveland, Ohio.
" "	do	LL. D.,	M. Gen. Benj. F. Butler,		Lowell, Mass.,
" "	do	do	Hon. Stephen J. Field,		San Francisco, Cal.
" "	Univ. of Vermont, Vt.,	D. D.,	James Dougherty,	C.,	Johnson, Vt.
" "	do	do	John F. Bigelow,	B.,	Keeseville, N. Y.
" "	do	do	Israel E. Dwinell,	C.,	Sacramento, Cal.
" "	do	do	John B. Wentworth,	M. E.,	Troy, N. Y.
" "	Jefferson Coll., Pa.,	do	J. Brinton Smith,	do	Jersey City, N. J.
" "	do	do	Andrew B. Happer,	P.,	Canton, China.
" "	do	do	William M. Cornell,	P.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
" "	do	LL. D.,	Hon. James Veech,		Pittsburgh, Pa.
" 10,	Middlebury Coll., Vt.,	do	Rev. Myron Winslow, D. D.,	C.,	Madras, India.
" "	do	D. D.,	Seth H. Keeler,	do	Calais, Me.
" "	do	do	George P. Tyler,	do	Brattleboro, Vt.
" 17,	Madison Univ., N. Y.,	do	S. J. Creswell,	B.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
" "	do	do	Sampson Talbot,	do	Granville, Ohio.
" "	do	do	William S. Mikels,	do	New York City, N. Y.
" "	do	LL. D.,	George Wm. Curtis,		do
" "	do	do	Rev. John Hebb,	P.,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
" "	Lawrence Univ., Wis.,	do	Hon. James T. Lewis,		Madison, Wis.
" "	do	D. D.,	Wesson G. Miller,	M. E.,	Milwaukee, Wis.
Sept. 7,	Brown University, R. I.,	do	Robinson P. Dunn,	P.,	Providence, R. I.
" "	do	do	Edward A. Stevens,	B.,	Rangoon, Burmah.
" "	do	LL. D.,	Prof. Goldwin Smith,		Oxford, England.
" "	Washington Coll., Pa.,	do	Hon. Daniel Agnew,		Beaver, Pa.
" "	do	do	Rev. Charles Hodge, D. D.,	P.,	Princeton, N. J.
" "	do	D. D.,	Robert B. Walker,	P.,	Plaingrove, Pa.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review.

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THE
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REVIEW.

NEW SERIES. NO. X.—APRIL, 1865.

ART. I.—THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.*

By PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D., New York City.

THE Westminster Assembly, so called from the place of its meeting, in the west end of London, is the most important Synod held in the history of the Calvinistic churches, not excepting even the Synod of Dort. Its doctrinal standards are the ablest and clearest exposition of Calvinistic Protestantism, and became the established Creed of Presbyterians, and Independents or Congregationalists in England, Scotland, and America, but did not extend their authority over the Continent of Europe. The contemporaneous judgments on the Assembly differed widely, according to the position of the writers.

Lord Clarendon, the Episcopalian and royalist historian of the "Puritan Rebellion",† disposes of the Assembly in a few

* SOURCES: The Westminster *Confession of Faith*, *Larger and Shorter Catechism*, *Directory of Public Worship*, and *Form of Church Government*. The official reports of the proceedings are lost. But we have the private journals and letters of several members of the Assembly, especially *Dr. Lightfoot's Journal*, *Robert Baillie's Letters*, and *Dr. Goodwin's* fifteen volumes of *Notes on the Proceedings*; of which, however, only three are preserved in manuscript in *Dr. Williams' Library*, in London. Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, devotes only a short page to this important body.

WORKS: DANIEL NEAL: *History of the Puritans*, part iii. ch. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 (vol. i., p. 457 sqq.; ii. p. 5. sqq. in Choules' ed., New York, 1855). W. M. HERBERT: *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, 1843, (republished, New York, 1856). Anonymous: *A History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, pub. by the Amer. Presbyt. Board of Publication, Phila., 1841. JAMES REED: *Memoires of the Lives and Writings of those eminent Divines, who convened in the famous Assembly at Westminster*.

† *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Oxf. ed., p. 770.

summary and contemptuous sentences. "Of about one hundred and twenty members," he says, "of which the Assembly was to consist, a few very reverend and worthy persons were inserted; yet of the whole number, there were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies of the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; some were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation but of malice to the Church of England." Milton, also, who himself belonged to the opposite party of the Puritans, wrote bitterly against the Assembly, in his "Fragments of a History of England." He objected mainly to the intolerant spirit of the Assembly, for enforcing conformity, and setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power; also to the inconsistency of many members who violently opposed non-residence, plurality of offices, and quickly became non-residents and pluralists themselves, by eagerly accepting various places of honor and profit. As an Independent, he disliked Presbyterianism as much as Episcopacy. Besides, he had a personal pique against the Assembly because some of the members had denounced his work on the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce", which he had dedicated to this very Assembly two years after its opening, and that, too, in very respectful terms. Richard Baxter, on the other hand, who was no member, but well acquainted with the Assembly, asserts: "The divines there congregated, were men of eminent learning, and godliness, and ministerial abilities, and fidelity; and, being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak that truth which I know, even in the face of malice and envy, that, as far as I am able to judge, by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a Synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this Synod, and the Synod of Dort were. . . For all this dissent, I must testify my love and honor to the persons of such great sincerity and eminent ministerial sufficiency, as were Gataker, Vines, Burgess, White, and the greater part of that Assembly." To these names must be added especially those of Lightfoot, Selden, Twisse, Tuckney, Arrowsmith, Reynolds, Baillie, and Henderson, who were among the most distinguished scholars and divines of England and Scotland in that stirring period.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines was called together by the Long Parliament (1640-1652) during the civil war between it and King Charles I, when politics and religion

were in a state of anarchy and confusion. It was no regular convocation in the Episcopal sense, nor an independent Synod with legislative authority, but an ecclesiastical committee or council of Parliament, created by and subject to its authority. It never had the consent of the bishops, nor of the king, who opposed every measure of reform in church and state, and refused any compromise which might have saved his crown, and disarmed the radical reformers. In the treaty of Oxford, a bill for such an ecclesiastical assembly was presented to the king, but rejected. Then the Parliament concluded to call it on their own authority. Both houses passed a joint ordinance, June 12, 1643, creating the Assembly "for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations." The ordinance sets forth that the Church of England "required a more perfect reformation," which should bring it into "nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed churches abroad." It entrusts the Assembly with power to discuss such matters as Parliament shall propose, and to deliver, from time to time, their advices to this body. But beyond this, they should have no "jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever." The ordinance also names the persons who were to constitute the Assembly, as well as the place and time of its meeting; appoints the learned Dr. William Twisse as prolocutor or moderator, and fixes an allowance of four shillings per day for each member, and freedom from all penalties and losses arising from absence from their respective charges. The Assembly was to consist of 121 divines (60 of whom should constitute a quorum,) and 30 lay assessors, 10 lords and 20 commoners. The divines were chosen by Parliament, from the various counties. Among the lay assessors were several of the most distinguished statesmen and lawyers of the time, as John Pym, (the leading member of parliament), Sir Henry Vane, Whitelocke, Sir Matthew Hale, (afterward lord-chief-justice of the King's bench), and John Selden, (the famous antiquarian and Hebrew scholar). The Scotch commissioners, five able ministers, Henderson, Douglas, Rutherford, Baillie, and Gillespie, and three ruling elders, were appointed a year afterwards, August 19, 1643, by the general Assembly at Edinburgh.*

* See a complete list of the clerical and lay members of the Assembly, including the four ministers and three lay assessors from Scotland, in Neal's *Hist. of the Pur.*, Part iii. ch. 2 (vol. i. p. 449). One of the Scotch commissioners, Douglas, did not attend, and is left out in Neal's list.

The king, by a proclamation of June 22, forbade the meeting of this Synod, and threatened to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law.

Nevertheless, the Assembly was opened according to the ordinance, on July 1, 1643, in Westminster Abbey, by a sermon of Dr. Twisse, in the presence of both houses of Parliament. After service, the members of the Assembly, sixty-nine in all, repaired to the chapel of king Henry VII, where the sessions were to be held. But when the cold weather set in, they exchanged this place for the Jerusalem Chamber, in Westminster Abbey. Every member, before his admission to a seat and vote, had to take the following vow: "I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine, but what I believe to be most agreeable to the word of God; nor in point of discipline, but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of this Church."* This vow was also read in the Assembly every Monday morning.

Few of the Episcopal divines appeared; some of the most eminent, who had been appointed, as Archbishop Dr. Usher, Bishop Dr. Prideaux, and Dr. Hammond, refused to attend because the Assembly was not a legal convocation, and met contrary to the king's proclamation. Others withdrew after some time for the same reason, and because of the mixture of the laity with the clergy, and the puritanical and anti-episcopal tendency of the Assembly. Dr. Fealty, of Lambeth, a Calvinist in doctrine, but a moderate Episcopalian in government, continued in the Assembly, even after the adoption of the Scotch Covenant, but was subsequently expelled for holding correspondence with Archbishop Usher, and revealing the proceedings of the Assembly, contrary to pledge, and committed to prison—an act of severity strongly condemned by Baxter.

The divines of the Assembly, with the exception of the Scots and a few foreign French ministers, were in Episcopal orders, and most of them graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. But they were high Calvinists in doctrine, and Puritans in matters of discipline and worship. Some would have been

* This is the form of the vow, as given in an old authorized Scotch edition of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, approved by the General Assembly, 1647, and established by Act of Parliament 1649, p. 15. Neal (i. p. 462) gives the vow with somewhat different words, but it is substantially the same. It was probably administered in Latin (although I find no authority for this fact), and this would account for the slight difference in translation.

satisfied with a modified episcopacy as the one proposed by Usher. But the great majority were in favor of the Presbyterian form of government, and a few were Independents.*

The Scotch nation and church heartily co-operated with the Assembly, and exerted all its influence to make it subservient to the interests of Calvinism in doctrine, and Presbyterianism in government. They were invited by the English Parliament to make common cause with them in this ecclesiastical reform, and to send some of their ablest divines as delegates to the Assembly at Westminster. The general Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland complied with the request, but adopted first, August 17, 1643, as a preliminary basis of agreement between the two nations and Churches, "A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT for reformation and defence of religion, in honor and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This important document, which was probably drawn up by Alexander Henderson, one of the clerical commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, consists of a preamble and six articles, whereby the civil and ministerial representatives of the three kingdoms pledge themselves by a solemn oath for the defence, mainly of the following objects: (1) The preservation of the Reformed religion in Scotland, the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government according to the Word of God, with the view to bring the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion; (2) the extirpation of popery, prelacy (episcopacy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever be found contrary to sound doctrine and godliness; (3) the preservation of the rights and liberties of Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom, also the defence of the king's person and rightful authority. The Solemn League and Covenant, being unanimously adopted by the general Assembly, was on the same day sanctioned by the "Convention of Estates," at Edinburgh, and the next morning dispatched to the English Parliament, which considered it approved, and sent it to the Westminster Assembly for concurrent action. On Monday, September 25, 1643, the House of Commons, the Assembly of divines, and the Scotch commissioners convened in the

*Archbishop Laud was mistaken when he said of the Assembly: "The greatest part of them were Brownists, or Independents, or New England ministers, if not worse; or, at best, enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." According to Neal (I. 461) there were but six Independents (according to Baillie ten or eleven), and not one New England minister in the Assembly.

church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and solemnly swore, member by member, to the League and Covenant. The House of Lords followed the example on the 15th of October. It was ordered that the Covenant be read in all churches, and subscribed by all ministers of the gospel and civil officers. But the king issued a protest, and prohibited all his loyal subjects from taking this covenant which he styled, "a traitorous and seditious combination against the king, and the established religion and laws of the kingdom," under cover of "specious expressions of piety and religion". In many counties the order of Parliament was disregarded. Even Baxter not only refused the covenant himself, but used his influence against it.

The Assembly also addressed letters to the Reformed Churches of Holland, Switzerland, Hesse, Hanau, Anhalt, and to the Protestant congregation at Paris; and received replies more or less favorable to the cause of the Parliament, and the Assembly, with the exception of that from Hesse Cassel, which advised the Assembly not to meddle with the bishops. The king, however, issued also a manifesto in Latin and English to all foreign Protestants, dated Oxford, May 14, 1644, in which he protests against the imputation of designing to introduce popery.

The Assembly was in session for nearly six years, from July 1, 1643, till February 22, 1648, and nearly every day except Saturday and Sunday, from nine o'clock till one or two, the afternoon being left to the committees, and held in all no less than 1163 sessions.* Some members were very negligent in

*The mode of proceeding is thus described by Baillie, one of the Scotch commissioners (vol. ii. p. 108-109, as quoted by Neal I. 459): "No man is called up to speak; but whosoever stands up of his own accord, speaks so long as he will, without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name, whom they desire to hear first: on whom the loudest and maniest voices call. he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long, and very learnedlie. They study the questions well beforehand, and prepare their speeches, but withal the men are exceeding prompt and well-spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make. When upon every proposition by itse'f, and on every text of Scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, duplies, and triplies are heard, then the most part call 'to the question'. Byfield, the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the prolocutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says: 'As many as are of the opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say, 'Ay'; when 'Ay' is heard, he says, 'As many as think otherwise say, 'No'. If the difference of 'Ays' and 'Nos' be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first scripture alleged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of 'Ay' and 'No' be near equal, then says the prolocutor, 'As many as say Ay, stand up'; while they stand, the scribe and other

attending, so that the Assembly, as Lightfoot informs us, found it necessary to inflict a fine of one shilling for absence from any session, and sixpence for tardiness. Once a month the Parliament observed a solemn fast, when one minister would sometimes pray for two whole hours. The Assembly was afterwards changed into a standing committee, for the examination and ordination of ministers, and met every Thursday morning, till March 25, 1652, when they informally broke up with the dissolution of Parliament, by Oliver Cromwell. It would have been better for the honor and reputation of the Assembly, if they had been dissolved in 1648, after completing their standards of doctrine and discipline, for "after this," says Neal, "they did little more than examine candidates for the ministry, and squabble about the *jus divinum* of Presbytery."

I. The *doctrinal* labors of the Assembly :

In doctrine, as already remarked, the Assembly was, as it would seem, almost unanimously in favor of the Calvinistic system. There were no Arminians, Pelagians, or Antinomians amongst them. But there was some difference of opinion as to the doctrine of predestination, although we are not informed as to its exact nature. Perhaps it was the question of infralapsarianism and supralapsarianism. Baillie, in his Letters, says simply : "In the Assembly we are going on with the Confession of Faith. We had long and tough debates about the decrees of election ; yet, thanks to God, all is done right according to our [i. e. the Scotch Presbyterian] mind." Lightfoot's Journal closes before the Confession of Faith was commenced ; and Neal says nothing about theological differences. It is certain that the doctrinal formularies of the Assembly, as ultimately adopted, are strictly Calvinistic.

By an order of Parliament, the Assembly was at first directed simply to revise the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. On this review they spent ten weeks before the arrival of the Scotch commissioners. They only went over the first fifteen articles, provided them with scripture references, and made them more explicitly Calvinistic.*

number them in their minds ; when they sit down, the Nos are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. . . . They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthy of our imitation ; only their longsome-ness is woful at this time, when their Church and Kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion."

* Neal, in Appendix No. 7, and the Hist. of the Westm. Ass. by the Am. Presby. Board, p. 67-74, give in parallel columns, these fifteen articles in their original and amended forms.

The alterations are unimportant, the most significant is the omission of article VIII, which adopts the three ecumenical creeds. The Assembly was unwilling to adopt anything as a rule of doctrine, but the Scripture as explained by them; while the Church of England was reformed on the basis of the Bible, with respectful reference to the ancient Church.

In compliance with the earnest wishes of the Scotch commissioners the Assembly resolved to prepare a new Confession of Faith, by which they hoped to be better able to bring about a conformity between the two churches. This was a wise conclusion. For the alteration of an established creed is in itself a difficult and delicate task, and more apt to produce confusion than harmony.

Consequently a committee was appointed for the purpose, May 9, 1645, consisting of Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyle, Herle, Gatacker, Tuckney, Reynolds, Vines, and the Scotch divines. They first settled the titles of the 32 chapters of the Westminster Confession, as they now stand, and then distributed them among several sub-committees, who sat two days every week. Owing to the many interruptions occasioned by the disputes about discipline, the work continued for a year and a half. On Dec. 11, 1646, the Confession was presented to Parliament, which ordered the addition of the scriptive proofs to the several articles, and also the printing of 500 copies* for the use of the members of both houses. Wilson, Byfield, and Gower made the selection of the proofs, which, after examination by the Assembly, were inserted in the margin. After a final review by three committees, the Confession was sent to the printer, May 11, 1647. The House of Commons began the examination of this Confession May 19, article by article, and completed it March 22, 1648, making some alterations. Parliament then ordered the publication of the Confession, June 20, 1648, under the title: "Articles of Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, called together with them for that purpose." But those chapters which relate to government and discipline, as they now stand in the Assembly's Confession, were not printed by order of Parliament, but re-committed, and at last laid aside, namely, chapters 30 and 31, and a part of chapter 24. The English Parliament thus never committed itself to the Presbyterian form of government and discipline. But the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland adopted the whole confession

* Neal says 600 copies; but he is corrected by his latest editor, John O. Choules.

as it came from the Westminster Assembly, and published it accordingly. It has ever since remained the established Creed of the Church of Scotland to this day.

The Westminster Confession is one of the best systems of high Calvinistic divinity, and Presbyterian discipline. It is divided into thirty-three chapters, commencing with the Holy Scripture, and ending with the Last Judgment, and is amply fortified with Scripture references. The doctrine of predestination is stated almost with supralapsarian rigor, yet so as to disclaim the inference that God is the author of sin (ch. iii.) "God, from all eternity, did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby *neither is God the author of sin*; nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established. . . . By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and *others fore-ordained to everlasting death*. These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished. . . . The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, *to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.*"

Simultaneously with the Confession, the Assembly prepared two *Catechisms*; a larger one, for public exposition in the pulpit, according to the custom of the Reformed churches on the Continent, and provided with ample Scripture proofs; and a smaller one for the instruction of children, a clear and condensed summary of the former. The questions of discipline are omitted by both. The Catechisms were likewise presented to Parliament for examination and approval, and first printed by authority, Sept. 15, 1648. The Committee who prepared the Catechisms, consisted of Dr. Tuckney (born 1599, a graduate and fellow of Cambridge, since 1633 the successor of the celebrated Rev. John Cotton, at Boston, after the removal of the latter to America; then Vice-Chancellor and professor of divinity in Cambridge since 1648, forced to resign after the Restoration, died in London 1670), Dr. Arrowsmith (born 1602, Master of St. John's College, and then of Trinity College, Cambridge, died 1659), and Dr. Newcommen (educated at Cambridge, distinguished as an awakening preacher and able

disputant, died 1668, as pastor of the English church, at Leyden).

The Larger Catechism is based mainly on the Latin system of Wollebius.* It has never come into common use, as a basis for lectures to the people, for which it was originally intended ; but it is regarded as a valuable commentary on the shorter Catechism. Its exposition of the Ten Commandments is exceedingly minute and almost bewildering by detail. Take for example the question 113.

“ What are the sins forbidden in the third commandment ?

“ The sins forbidden in the third commandment are, the not using of God’s name as is required ; and the abuse of it in an ignorant, vain, irreverent, profane, superstitious, or wicked mentioning, or otherwise using the titles, attributes, ordinances, or works ; by blasphemy, perjury ; all sinful cursing, oaths, vows, and lots ; violating our oaths and vows, if lawful ; murmuring and quarreling at, curious prying into, and misapplying of God’s decrees and providences ; misinterpreting, misapplying, or any way perverting the word, or any part of it, to profane jests, curious and unprofitable questions, vain janglings, or the maintaining of false doctrines ; abusing it, the creatures, or anything contained under the name of God, to charms, or sinful lusts and practices ; the maligning, scorning, reviling, or any ways opposing God’s truth, grace, and ways ; making profession of religion in hypocrisy, or for sinister ends ; being ashamed of it, or a shame to it ; by uncomfortable, unwise, unfruitful, and offensive walking or backsliding from it.”

The Shorter Catechism is simply an abridgement of the Larger, although it was in fact first finished, and reported to the Assembly.† It is an admirable, popular summary of Calvinistic theology, and very extensively used in Scotland, England, and America, by nearly all the Anglo-Presbyterian and orthodox Congregational churches. Some answers are unsurpassed for precision, brevity, and fulness ; for instance, question 4, on God, question 21, on the Redeemer, question 92, on the idea of a sacrament. Next to the Heidelberg Catechism, it is the best and most widely adopted Catechism of the Reformed Confession. It differs from the former, in that it presents the doctrines more in the form of clear logical

* See Rushworth’s Collections, and Hist. of the Westm. Ass., Phil. 1841, p 81. John Wolleb was a German Swiss divine, and antistes. in Basel, who wrote a brief but most suggestive and concise *theological compendium* in 1626.

† According to Rushworth the Shorter Catechism was presented to Parliament Nov. 5, 1647, the Larger, in April, 1648.

statement to the understanding of the catechumen as an interested outsider, while the Heidelberg Catechism presents them in a more practical form to the heart, with a direct bearing upon the catechumen regarded as a baptized member of the church, growing up in the nurture of the Lord. This difference can be best illustrated by comparing the first question in each work.

The Heidelberg Catechism commences: "What is *thy* only comfort in life and death ?

"That I, with body and soul, both in life and death, am not my own, but belong unto my faithful Saviour, Jesus Christ, who, with his precious blood, hath fully satisfied for all my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil: and so preserves me, that without the will of my heavenly Father not a hair can fall from my head: yea, that all things must be subservient to my salvation: and therefore, by his Spirit, he also assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto him."

The Westminster Catechism begins thus: "What is the chief end of man ?

"Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever."

The difference brought out in the first question is, however, more a difference in the catechetical method than in doctrine. For every believer in the Westminster Catechism can most heartily respond to the first question of the Heidelberg Catechism, in its own language, as every pupil of the Heidelberg Catechism, on the other hand, must acknowledge the truth, and admire the beauty and appropriateness of the first question and answer of the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. Both Catechisms agree in doctrine throughout, with the single exception that the Heidelberg Catechism ignores the *decretum reprobationis* as a matter to be left to theological science, and private judgment.

It is an astonishing fact that a political body, consisting of many hundred noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of the kingdom, as the English Parliament, should have adopted these three formularies of uncompromising Calvinistic orthodoxy. Only the extraordinary religious excitement of the nation accounts for the fact. A few years afterwards a reaction set in, and Arminianism, Pelagianism, and practical infidelity succeeded rigorous Calvinism under the reign of the dissolute and unprincipled Charles II.

The three doctrinal standards of the Westminster Assembly are retained by the Presbyterian churches, Old and New School, in the United States, with the exception of Chapter

XXIII, Section III, in the Confession of Faith, which treats on the Civil Magistrate, and has undergone an entire change so as to adapt it to the separation of church and state as it obtains in this country. The change is as follows :

ORIGINAL TEXT.

The Civil Magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better affecting whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.

It is the duty of people to pray for magistrates, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority for conscience sake. Infidelity, or difference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him; from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people; and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.

AMERICAN REVISION.

Civil Magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the word and sacraments; or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. Yet as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatever; and to take order that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

2. " *The Directory for the Public Worship of God* agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with the assistance of Commissioners from the Church of Scotland as a part of the covenanted Uniformity in Religion betwixt the churches

of Christ in the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland."*

The subject on public worship was taken up in the Assembly by order of Parliament, in October 1643, and completed in 1645. The Assembly found it easier to agree in pulling down than in building up. They were all opposed to the Book of Common Prayer as it then stood, on account of its obligatory character to the exclusion of free prayer and the depreciation of the sermon, and on account of "many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it." These and other objections are set forth in the Preface. On the other hand they were unwilling to run into the opposite extreme of leaving every minister to his own individual discretion and caprice in conducting the public worship of God. Hence they adopted a middle course, and composed a general Directory of Worship, suggesting the topics of prayer before and after the sermon, and prescribing certain regulations for the reading the Scriptures, preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and other ministerial services. On a number of points there was considerable difference of opinion, especially on the form of administering the sacraments. Concerning the mode of baptism, the Assembly was almost equally divided, and the proposition of inserting the word *dipping* as an allowable mode with *sprinkling*, and *pouring* was lost by a majority of only one vote. On the mode of receiving the Lord's Supper the Scotch divines insisted upon a sitting position at and around the table, while the English members preferred the sitting in the pews at some distance from the table. Two whole weeks were spent on this trivial controversy, until it was agreed that each nation should retain its own mode of communing. The Assembly also recommended the use of the metrical version of the Psalms by Francis Rouse, a pious member of Parliament, and lay member of the Assembly of Divines, but although composed by an Englishman it never went into general use in England, while in Scotland, after undergoing some revisions, it is exclusively used by the Presbyterian churches to this day.

Parliament adopted the Directory, repealed the acts of Edward VI. and Elizabeth concerning the use of the Anglican Liturgy, and imposing even a fine of five pounds upon all who used it. The new Directory was adopted in Scotland in February 1645, by act of Parliament and the General Assembly.

* In the old Scotch edition above quoted, of the public standards of the Church of Scotland, p. 485 to 511.

But in England where the people were accustomed to the Common Prayer Book, the new mode of worship was never generally introduced ; for habit, with most people, is often stronger than reason and law, especially in matters of worship. The King issued a counter proclamation from Oxford, November 13, 1645, forbidding the use of the new Directory, and enjoining the use of the Common Prayer Book.

3. "*Form of Presbyterial Church Government and of Ordination of Ministers*," ect.*

All the English members of the Assembly were originally Episcopalians, and aimed at first at a modification of Episcopacy, and reduction to its primitive simplicity, on a plan similar to that proposed by Archbishop Usher. But after the arrival of the Scotch commissioners, and the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, the whole Episcopal system was given up, together with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and a new standard of government adopted. After the expulsion of Dr. Fealty, there was no advocate of diocesan episcopacy left in the Assembly. But, nevertheless, there were three parties on the question of government.

1. The great majority were in favor of *jure divino Presbyterianism*, after the Scotch model as matured at the time and under the influence of Knox, and especially of Andrew Melville. The leading principles of this system are the parity of ministers, or the identity of bishops and presbyters, and the popular government of the church by representative judicatories (consistorial, classical, and synodical). The Presbyterians favored also uniformity in government as much as the Episcopalians ever did. In some points, however, as the question of ruling elders, and ordination, the Presbyterians were themselves disagreed.

2. A small minority of about ten members were *Independents*.† They gave the Assembly much trouble, and by their zeal and tenacity often delayed the decision of disputed questions for weeks. Their ablest speaker was Dr. Thomas Goodwin, born 1600, educated at Cambridge, a supralapsarian Calvinist in doctrine, an intimate friend of Cromwell, by whose influence he became President of Magdalen College, Oxford, till the restoration, died 1680. They were called Brownists by their

* Loco citato, p. 515-545.

† Ballie says there were ten or eleven, Neal only six Independents in the Assembly. But Ballie being himself a member of the Assembly, should know better. He mentions among them Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridges, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, and Sterry.

Opponents, but wished to strike a middle course between Presbyterianism and Brownism. Their principles were as follows: They held that every Christian congregation was independent of foreign jurisdiction, and had the divine right of self-government; that none but regenerate persons should be admitted to church membership; that all who are able may publicly pray and preach whether ordained or not; that a limited liberty of conscience and of worship should be allowed to all Christians, as far as they do not trouble the public peace by any seditious or wicked practices. Their principal difference, therefore, from the Presbyterians, was their opposition to the jurisdiction of Presbyteries and Synods over particular congregations, and to uniformity and intolerance in matters of conscience. They stood up for the principles of individualism.

3. The *Erastians* (so called from the Swiss professor and physician Erastus) maintained the supremacy of the civil power, denied to the church the power of the keys, and referred the punishment of offenses, civil or ecclesiastical, to the magistrate. In this way they hoped that all collision between church and state, and all priestly tyranny over the conscience could be effectually prevented. They were willing to submit to a *jure humano* Presbyterianism, or a Presbyterianism of expediency. But they denied that any particular form of church government was prescribed in the Bible, and maintained that it belonged to the state to establish such a form as might be most expedient. Their appeal was mainly to the Old Testament, and the example of Moses and the kings of Israel. The chief advocates of Erastianism were Lightfoot, Selden, Colman, and Whittack, all of them distinguished for Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. They were strengthened by a considerable party in Parliament.

Finally, the Assembly adopted the Scotch Presbyterian form of government by a large majority, or almost unanimously; inasmuch as the Independents and Erastians withdrew before the vote was taken. Parliament sanctioned this government, at least to some extent, and authorized the expulsion of about two thousand ministers and heads of colleges who refused to fall in with the new order, and had to make room for Presbyterians.

But the attempt of overthrowing the Episcopal hierarchy, and of forcing the Scotch Presbyterianism upon England, succeeded only partially and temporarily, to make room again for the re-establishment of Episcopacy in common with the Liturgy. In Scotland, however, the Assembly's form of govern-

ment, which was substantially the same with the one already established there, was adopted in full in February 1645, and continues in force to this day.

The American Presbyterian churches have considerably modified both the Assembly's Directory of Public Worship, and Form of Government.

The differences of the Assembly of Westminster on Church Government and on Toleration, gave rise to difficulties between it and the Parliament. The Parliament gave the Presbyterian government only a modified sanction, to the great distress of the Scotch Church. First, they adopted it not as a divine institution, but as a matter of expediency in this resolution, "that it is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies." Second, they allowed an appeal from church censures to a committee of Parliament, thus sanctioning the Erastian theory of a supremacy of the state over the church. Finally the Presbyterian government was enacted only on probation, with the distinct declaration, "that if, upon trial, it was not found acceptable, it should be repealed or amended."

This modified adoption equally displeased the Scotch Presbyterians, and the Dissenters who were as much excluded as the Episcopal hierarchy.

But the question of toleration led to still more serious difficulties, and involved the Assembly and Parliament in one common ruin. The Presbyterians in Scotland and England abhorred toleration as treason to truth, and labored to establish a uniformity as tyrannical and exclusive as the former Episcopal uniformity, without suspecting that in less than 20 years all their artillery would be turned against themselves, and force them to plead for that toleration which they had refused to others when in possession of power. The Independents, on the other hand, and all sectarians, from the very necessity of their position plead for liberty of conscience and toleration. And as they were very numerous in the army, they gained a growing influence, and made the Parliament feel uneasy.

England, at this most remarkable period, was full of sects, most of them died out with the excitement of the age. Rev. Thomas Edwards wrote a famous work entitled, "Gangrena, or a Catalogue and Discovery of many errors, heresies, blasphemies, and pernicious practices, of the sectaries of this time," where he enumerates sixteen sects, and one hundred

and eighty-six errors (adding in a second part twenty or thirty more), which represent the various phases of religious fanaticism, down to the boldest rationalism and pantheism. We will only mention a few which anticipate the worst forms of modern infidelity :

“ Right reason is the rule of faith ; and we are bound to believe no further than we can understand.”

“ God is the author of all sin.”

“ Man's soul is a part of the Divine essence.”

“ The soul dies with the body, and every thing has an end but God.”

“ Christ's human nature is defiled with original sin.”

“ The least truth is worth more than Christ himself.”

“ Believers are free from all obligations of the moral law.”

“ All singing of psalms or hymns is unlawful.”

“ There ought to be, among Christians, a community of goods.”

Some of these sentences may be wrested from the connection, or rest on misconception. But one extreme always begets another, and where God builds a temple, the devil is sure to build a chapel close by.

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, and dissolved the Long Parliament, in 1652, the remnant of the Westminster Assembly was left without authority, and broke up without formal dissolution.

ART. II.—THE MESSIAH'S SECOND ADVENT.*

By EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D. D., New York City.

[This article concludes the Series.]

THE present year is of marked significance in prophetic exposition. A large class of interpreters insist upon it, most strenuously, that we are now on the very eve of a grand crisis in the world's history. The lines of prophetic chronology, they maintain, are closely converging, and will speedily meet.

* *Horæ Apocalyptice*; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse Critical and Historical. By the Rev. E. B. Elliott, A. M., vols. I. to IV. Fourth Edition. London. 1851.

Apocalyptic Sketches. Lectures on the Book of Revelation. First Series. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. London, 1848.

The Great Tribulation; Or, Things coming on the Earth. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F. R. S. E. First Series. London, 1860.

Do. do. Second Series. London, 1860.

"The Great Consummation" of the divine purposes, in relation to the church and the world, towards which "the Great Preparation" of divine providences has so long been tending, is just at hand. It may be looked for daily. It cannot long be delayed.

The Rev. Dr. Cumming, speaking of the 1335 days of Dan. xii. 12, says, "The last portion will expire A. D. 1865, at which, or soon after, will be the advent of Christ, and the first resurrection, and beginning of the Millennium."* This was said in 1847. At a later date, he postpones the event a year or two. "What I shall endeavor to show now," he says, "is this—that whatever theories of the fulfillment of these dates are held, whether they fix the commencement at this period, or at that period, or at some other period, nearly all concur in one remarkable conclusion; namely, that 1867 is to be the great crisis, the testing crisis, in the events of history, in the fulfillment of prophecy, and in the experience of mankind. What I wish to show is, that the best, the wisest, and the most thoughtful of writers on the subject of prophecy, however much they may differ in certain details—and they do differ—nearly all coincide in this, that 1867 is to be a great crisis; and that, if all that some expect to occur at that period do not occur, we are at least on the eve of events, as Lord Carlisle has expressed it in his work upon Daniel, the most stupendous, if not ushering in the very close of this present Christian economy.."† He speaks of "1867, as a great dominant era, characterized by stupendous events, and involving mighty changes in the present constitution of things."‡ He maintains, "that the best and ablest Christian students are all agreed that 1867 is an era fraught with gigantic issues."§

The views of Dr. Cumming are in no sense original. He does but echo the statements of other and abler men. "I tell you candidly," he says, "that I shall beg and borrow, from the book of Elliott, all I can."|| The four volumes of the "*Horæ Apocalypticae*," by the Rev. E. B. Elliott, are the great storehouse from which both he and nearly all others of that class, for the last twenty years, have drawn their materials for the interpretation of Daniel and the Apocalypse. In the first edition of his work, published in 1844, Elliott advanced the idea, that all the lines of prophecy, respecting "the time of the end," terminate within a period of seventy-five years from A. D.

* Apocalyptic Sketches, First Series, p. 364, Phil. ed.

† The Great Tribulation, Second Series, pp. 9, 10, N. Y. Ed..

‡ Ib. p. 12.

§ Ib. p. 21.

|| Apoc. Sketches, First Series, p. 13.

1790 ; " so fixing the year 1865, or thereabouts, as the probable epoch of the consummation."* He holds, also, to " the probable termination of the world's 6000th year, dated from the creation, just at about the same interval of seventy-five years from the year 1790 of our aera ; in other words, the concurrence, at that chronological point, of the opening epoch of the world's seventh millenary, and therefore, (as would seem probable,) of that of the Sabbatism of rest promised to the saints of God."§ These views he re-affirms in his fourth edition, issued in 1851.†

Other writers of this school, by a slightly different process of calculation, have fixed upon the year that has just closed, as " the probable epoch of the consummation." The Rev. James Bioheno, a Baptist minister of Newbury, Eng., published in 1792-94, in parts, a work called " Signs of the Times," that " had a prodigious circulation and made many converts ;"§ in which he says : " This is the time of which Daniel says, ' Blessed is he that cometh to it,' and which is, (if the promises be good) about the year 1864."||

The Rev. George Stanley Faber, B. D., in his Dissertation on the Prophecies, " written A. D. 1804, endeavored to prove, that the converging lines of prophecy all pointed to the year 1866, as the grand crisis of the world's destiny. This work, after a career of great popularity, during which it served as the text-book for numerous similar publications, including the well known expositions of Daniel and the Apocalypse by the Rev. Thomas Scott, was superseded in 1828 by another from the same hand, entitled, " The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy," in three volumes. By a novel and exceedingly fanciful scheme, he fixed, in this latter publication, on the year 1864, as the point of time for the winding up of the drama of prophecy. This view of the case he maintained to the end of his days. In 1852, shortly before his decease, he says, " My real view is, that the 1260 years strictly commenced in 604." " I have since thought, that the 1260 years may broadly be said to have commenced A. D. 604-606. In this case, they would expire A. D. 1864-1866 ; strictly, however, in 1864."**

The Rev. Edward Bickersteth took substantially the same view, in his " Practical Remarks on the Prophecies," published in 1823, subsequently changed to " A Practical Guide to the Prophecies." " Mr. Clinton," he says, " one of the ablest chronologers of the present times, gives an additional period

* Horae Apoc., III. 1421, Ed. of 1844.

† IV. 227, 228 ; Ed. of 1851.

‡ Signs of the Times, p. 65.

† Ib. p. 1422.

§ Cong. Mag., V. 40

** Chb. of Eng. Quarterly, XXXII. 28

of 132 years to the interval in the time of the Judges, on the ground of St. Paul's statement (Acts xiii. 20). If this be correct, it would bring the year 1864 to the close of the 6000th year of the world, or the 6th Millennium: 1864 is the date when the 666 years close above, and assigned by Mr. Faber for the time of the end."*

Very similar are the conclusions of Wm. Cunninghame, Esq. J. Hatley Frere, Esq., Rev. E. Irving, Rev. Alexander Keith, D. D., Rev. J. W. Brooks, and a host of others. This class of writers differ from each other, in relation to "the time of the end," not more than five years; from 1863 to 1868. Dr. Cunningham maintains, that "almost all writers on prophecy agree that the prophetic dates, given us, terminate between the present time [1859], and the year 1867."† Of course he refers to writers of the Millenarian school. So long ago as A. D. 1617, the Rev. David Paraeus, D. D., had ventured to suggest, though he dared not affirm, that the period of 1260 years would terminate in 1866.‡

Among the latest writers, on this side of the Atlantic, belonging to this class, may be mentioned the Rev. R. C. Shimmall, whose "Bible Chronology," published in 1859, elaborately discusses the dates of prophecy. The conclusion to which he comes is thus expressed: "We have at length reached the end proposed in this volume: that of furnishing the evidence on the basis of the corrected Hebrew version of Holy Scripture that the current year, A. D. 1859, is the year A.M. 5991; and that hence the year A. D. 1868 completes the 6000th year of the world's history, from the creation and fall of man." He affirms, "that he has proved, on the authority of Holy Scripture, that God, from the beginning, has limited the period for the accomplishment of all his ordinary purposes in nature, providence, and grace, to precisely 6000 years from the creation and fall of man;" and consequently, that, "in nine years from the current year of our Lord 1859, the present Christian dispensation, as forming the larger portion of the period called 'the times of the Gentiles,' will have closed upon the church and the world forever." "In a word, the year A. D. 6001," [A. D. 1869] "will be the ushering in of the great millennial Sabbatism, spoken of in Rev. xx. 1, 6."§

Just what is to happen, at the great crisis thus ascertained, is not fully determined. Mr. Bickersteth, writing in 1833 says: "If these periods be correctly commenced, without fixing precise dates for each event, they point out that, within

* Practical Guide, pp. 216, 217.

† Great Tribulation. Second series, p. 21.

‡ Comm. in Apocalypse, xi. 2.

§ Bib. Chronology, p. 182.

The next thirty years, popery shall fall, the Jews shall be restored, the Turkish Empire shall perish, the time of great tribulation will take place, our Lord Jesus Christ will return to our earth, the saints shall be raised, and the time of their full blessedness and the kingdoms of this world, becoming Christ's kingdom, shall have arrived."*

Mr. Elliott is still more explicit: "It would seem, therefore," he says, "that, all suddenly and unexpectedly, and conspicuous over the world as the lightning that shineth from the east, even to the west, the second advent, and appearing of Christ will take place; that, at the accompanying voice of the archangel and trump of God, the departed saints of either dispensation will rise from their graves to meet him—alike patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, and confessors—all at once, and in the twinkling of an eye; and that then, instantly, the saints living at the time will be also caught up to meet him in the air; these latter being separated from out of the ungodly nations, as when a shepherd divides his sheep from the goats, one person snatched from his company or occupation, and another left; and all, both dead and living saints, changed at the moment from corruption to incorruption, from dishonor to glory, though with very different degrees of glory; and all alike welcomed (the faithful receiver of a prophet, as well as the prophet himself) to enter on the inheritance and kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world; and so in a new angelic nature, to take part in the judging and ruling of the world. Meanwhile, it would also appear that, with a tremendous earthquake accompanying, of violence unknown since the revolutions of primeval chaos, (an earthquake under which the Roman world at least is to reel to and fro like a drunken man), the solid crust of this earth shall be broken, and fountains burst forth from its inner deep, not as once of water, but of liquid fire; of fire now pent up within it as in a treasure-house, and intended as the final habitation of devils; that this, I say, shall then burst forth and engulf the vast territory of the Papal Babylon and the godless of its inhabitants; thence spreading even to Palestine, and everywhere, as in the case of Sodom, making the very elements to melt with fervent heat; and that there the flame shall consume the Antichrist at the head of his confederacy, while the sword also does its work of slaughter; the risen saints being, perhaps, (as would seem not improbable, from Enoch's, St. Paul's, and the Apocalyptic prophecies) the attendants of the Lord's glory in this destruction of Antichrist, and assessors in his judgment on a guilty world. And then

* Practical Guide, p. 217.

immediately, it would seem, also, that the renovation of this our earth is to take place; its soil being purified by the very action of the fire, in all that shall remain of it. for 'the nations' of the saved, *i.e.* the undestroyed Gentiles and restored Israel; and the Spirit, too, poured out from on high to renew, in a yet better sense, the moral face of nature; and that so the millennial commencement of Christ's eternal reign with his saints is to begin—the shekinah, or personal glory of Christ amidst his saints, being manifested chiefly in the Holy Land, and at Jerusalem; but the whole earth partaking of the blessedness; and thus the regeneration of all things, and the world's redemption from the curse, having their accomplishment, according to the promise, at the manifestation of the sons of God. Such seems to me to be, in brief, the appointed order of events introductory to the Millennium.*

As the Millennium of Elliott is to commence, at the farthest, within a year or two from this present date, and as this grand array of events, the most astounding in the history of this lower world, so utterly subversive, too, of all existing relationships, physical as well as political and social, is to precede the Millennium, it becomes us, in all seriousness, to bring these startling statements to the test of sober and legitimate investigation. If Mr. Elliott and his disciples and sympathizers have truly and accurately apprehended the purport of the predictions of the inspired word, if both their principles of interpretation, and their application of these principles, be correct, as they solemnly affirm, and resolutely maintain, we ought to know it; we ought to bestir ourselves; the whole world should be roused to a full appreciation of the tremendous crisis that is just upon us.

That the advocates of these opinions are in earnest, that they conscientiously believe these statements, is not to be questioned. Most industriously do they diffuse them from the pulpit and the press. Dr. Cumming, these fifteen or twenty years past, has been almost incessantly urging them on the attention of his hearers in Crown Court, London, and the readers of his numerous publications throughout the world. He stands not alone. Other pulpits and other presses in both hemispheres are giving wide-spread currency to these prognostications of the immediate future. So numerous, and of such high repute for piety and learning, are these Millenarian teachers and writers, as to make it quite certain that multitudes, in and out of the church, will give most earnest heed to their interpretations.

* Horns Apoc., IV. 188-195; 4th Ed.

A profound impression has already been made on some of the best minds in the church of Christ. Judging from what we saw and heard, some twenty years since, with far less grounds of concern, and with but a poor array of witnesses and advocates, in that particular case, we may confidently expect, that ere long an intense agitation will be excited in many portions of the church, especially in Great Britain and America. As the day of doom to the ungodly and of triumph to the believer approaches, when the converging lines of prophecy are all about to meet at the same point, every possible appliance will be used to arouse the slumbering multitudes to a proper sense of the grandeur of the awful occasion. The pulpit will, more than ever, lift up its voice like a trumpet, and the press will pour forth an almost constant stream of appropriate publications. Christian congregations will be stirred to their very depths, with the confident expectation of the immediate Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ in glory, and his grand retinue of holy angels, in pomp and power, to slay his enemies, and to set up the dominion of the saints in the New Jerusalem. Or, if they believe not in the personal reign of the Messiah on the earth, nor in his pre-millennial advent, they will, at least, be deeply exercised with an undefined anticipation of the wonderful series of events, that are to precede the long-expected Millennium of universal peace, prosperity and holy blessedness so soon to be ushered in.

Signs of change, events of portentous significance, ominous precursors of the final consummation, will not be wanting, and will be promptly improved to deepen the conviction, that the day of the world's regeneration is at hand. Every remarkable meteorological phenomenon, every—even the slightest—convulsion of the earth, every unwonted outbreak of depravity in high places or low, every revolt of the overtasked and discontented masses of the old world, and every uprising of ambitious demagogues and their adherents in the new world, will certainly be chronicled, as so many positive signs of the coming of the Son of Man. The great rebellion of the slaveocracy of the United States, and the terrific conflict at arms thus inaugurated, of such vast proportions, and so deeply affecting the destinies of America and the whole world, will be represented, with the utmost assurance, as an evident fulfillment of some one of the predictions of the Seer of Patmos, an outpouring of some one of the "golden vials full of the wrath of God," of Apocalyptic celebrity. Other political convulsions of gigantic proportions may electrify the nations. What is Europe, but a slumbering volcano, that

may, at any moment, pour forth its sulphurous streams of burning wrath over all the old world? All such commotion will surely be interpreted as manifest precursors of the great day. Nor will the unbelief and carelessness of the scoffing multitude less effectively be used to assure the confiding, to confirm the wavering, and convince the sceptical and the gainsaying. So has it been in other days; so will it be again.

Is there, then, any substantial ground on which to base these expectations and apprehensions—these hopes and fears? Have these expositors of prophecy, so positive and sure in their affirmations of the near approach of the final consummation, truly apprehended the import of the prophetic scriptures? Are they in possession of the only key that can unlock these sacred enclosures, and reveal the mysterious purposes of the Great Head of the Church? Are the principles of interpretation by which they are governed so well established, as to command the assent of the best scholarship of the age? Are they in accordance with the soundest dictates of reason and the teachings of inspiration? Or are the deductions and conclusions to which they have brought their own minds, and to which they so industriously seek to bring ours, the result of mere conjecture, the offspring merely of a heated fancy or a lively imagination? Right or wrong, the principles which lead to such results, demand the most thorough investigation. The interests involved are too momentous to allow us to take such statements on trust. They ought to be subjected to the most rigid analysis. If they commend themselves to the approbation of the soundest scholarship, as well as the highest style of piety, we ought not only to receive and inculcate them with all the energies of our being, but gird up our loins and trim our lamps for the glorious Epiphany of the Great King. If, on the other hand, they be found utterly devoid of such claims to our convictions, we ought to set our faces like a flint against them to expose their unfounded pretences, and to put the community on their guard against all such unfounded appeals to their hopes or fears.

Some familiarity with this class of writings has led us to the conclusion, that, however plausible they may appear to be in their interpretations and historical applications, they fail to satisfy the scientific inquirer. Their proofs are, in many cases, mere assumptions—conjectural theories—plausible, it may be, but, in the very nature of the case, incapable of absolute demonstration. They are mere guesses, just as likely to prove false as true; yea, far more so. Among these assumptions, the following may be specified:

I. It is taken for granted, that the present terrestrial dispensation is to be terminated at the expiration of six thousand years from the Creation ; and that this period lacks but a very few years of completion. The only evidence for such a theory, it has already been shown in these papers,* is a Rabbinical tradition, utterly unsupported by inspiration, and entirely destitute of all elements of probability ; a miserable conceit, worthy of not the least attention on the part of the Scripture expositor.

II. It is assumed without evidence, and without the possibility of proof, that the Apocalypse of John, from which mainly these theories and calculations are derived, is to be regarded as a "combined secular and ecclesiastical history of Christendom," foreseen and anticipated ; a foreshadowing of "the continuous fortunes of the church and of the world, (that is, of the Roman world and Christian church settled therein,) from the time of the Revelation being given, or time of St. John's banishment, to the end of all things ;"† an outline of "the most important and eventful" occurrences in Christendom during the whole of the Christian era. On the other hand, the author himself expressly tells us, that the design of "the revelation" was "to shew unto his servants things which must *shortly* come to pass." He is told to write "the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter ;" to be the historian and the prophet both ; to write of the future as well as the present. Nowhere does it appear, that he was to present a bird's eye view of either secular or ecclesiastical history—a history of the prominent events continuously from that day to the end of time. All this is mere assumption.

It is by no means clear, that the opening of the seven seals, the blowing of the seven trumpets, the outpouring of the contents of the seven golden vials, and the other imagery of the book, are to be interpreted of specific events at all. The grand theme of the writer, manifestly, is the triumph of Christianity over all other and rival powers whether secular or religious. "The attempt," says Davidson, "to identify the successive events of history with the successive descriptions of the prophecies, appears to us utterly hopeless. It amounts to nothing except ingenious guessing. Probably the book was not intended to portray proper *history*. Its symbols were not designed to show forth the specific fates and fortunes of Christianity as it came in contact with the fortunes

* Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev., II. 204–207.

† Horae Apocalyp., I. 94, 104, 105 ; 4th Ed.

of kings and emperors, and leading ecclesiastics in the western and eastern empires. The supposed harmony of history with prophecy, which the Apocalypse is alleged to show, is wholly futile." "It is a *poem*, and as such is invested with the garniture and drapery of poetry. The traits and images generally, instead of being *historically* significant, are borrowed from the Old Testament, and serve for ornament, symmetry, and impression. They convey certain truths more effectively and forcibly. Analogous examples are furnished by many poetical parts of the Old Testament, and by the parables of the New, where it is absurd to look for corresponding events, or circumstances, in what was intended to serve merely for embellishment."* "It did not consist with the writer's object to compose a civil history of the Roman empire, or of the world at large. The genius of Christ's Kingdom is different from that of the kingdoms of the world. It advances steadily and silently, independently of and frequently in opposition to them. Nor does it exhibit a history of the true church itself. The powers of darkness and the malice of superstition, with which it had to struggle in early times, are indicated, as well as the agencies opposed to it at all times; but there is no regular or proper history."†

Such an understanding of the design of the book is, to say the least, quite as plausible as the other, and far more consonant with the genius of Hebrew poetry, with which the author evinces the utmost familiarity. This is the view taken by Hengstenberg in Germany, and Stuart in America, and by a very large proportion of the scientific interpreters of both hemispheres. The most that can be said of the historic scheme of interpretation is, that *possibly* it may be the most in accordance with truth; nothing more. But who can build on a basis so insecure? Who can confide in calculations that depend, at the best, on mere conjecture?

III. It is taken for granted, moreover, that the Apocalypse was written not less than twenty-five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. That such may have been the date of the book is freely admitted, but it is far from being certain. The evidence by which it is sought to prove it is by no means satisfactory. The earliest authority adduced is an obscure statement made by Irenæus, in his treatise against Heretics, written not earlier, it is thought, than A. D. 189, nearly a century after the latest date assigned to John's banishment. Eusebius and Jerome, who follow at a much later period, i

* Introduction to the N. Test., iii. 628.

† Ib. III. 618.

all probability relied, either upon the authority of Irenæus himself, or on the vague tradition somewhat current in the days of the latter. Subsequent authorities are traceable to Eusebius and Jerome, and are of but little account.

Let it be borne in mind, that neither Irenæus, nor his copyists, attempted a critical investigation of the date of the book. It is simply a cursory remark in his chapter on Antichrist, without any attempt at proof, that seems to have given rise to the supposition, that the Apocalypse was written in the reign of Domitian, not far from A. D. 96. In this chapter, Irenæus affirms, that it is not important to know to whom the mystic number, 666, refers; on the ground that, had it been necessary, John would have made it known; for he had lived so near their day, as to be almost of the same generation. His words are these: "In respect to the name of the Antichrist, we will not, therefore, hazard a positive statement; for, if it were necessary to make definite mention of his name at the present time, it would have been done by him who also saw the Apocalypse; for it was seen, not long ago, but almost in our own generation, at the close of Domitian's reign."*

In the original, it will be perceived, the verb "was seen," is without a nominative. It must be supplied from the previous part of the sentence. The strict grammatical construction refers us to the word "Apocalypse;" and yet the writer may simply have meant to say, that the *Author* of the Apocalypse was seen not long ago; for this is all that his argument requires. The statement is at least equivocal. So, assuredly, it was regarded by Origen in the following century. He seems not to have known under which of the emperors John was banished to Patmos. Thus in his comment on Matt. xx. 22, 23, he says: "The king of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned the testifying John, on account of the word of truth, to the Isle of Patmos. This John himself teaches in respect to his testimony, not saying who condemned him; writing in the Apocalypse thus: 'I, John, your brother and companion in tribulation,' &c. He seems, also, to have seen the Apocalypse on the island."†

The truth of the matter seems to have been, that John suf-

* Δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑώρακοτος; οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑώραθη ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανου ἀρχῆς. Haeres, V. 30. That Irenæus was not the most reliable of authorities appears from what was stated in the first article of this Series. Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev., II. 211, Note.

† Opp., in Matt., xx.

ferred, with Peter and Paul, during the reign of Nero, when being a resident of Ephesus, he was exiled to Patmos. A similar fate most likely befel him in Domitian's time, nearly thirty years afterwards. Of this latter exile, and of the persecution that occasioned it, Irenæus would be likely to know far more than of the former; and, therefore, was led to refer the writing of the Apocalypse to the later period. The current tradition has, probably, no other basis than John's own statement, that when he wrote the book, or a short time previous, he "was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ."* This was variously interpreted by early as well as later expositors. Origen, as we have seen, does not determine the date. Epiphanius refers it to the reign of Claudius, having in his mind, doubtless, the exile of the Jews from Rome, under that monarch's reign.† The Syriac version of the Apocalypse, of an early date, affirms, in the title, that it was written in Patmos, whither John was sent by Nero Cæsar. Andreas, in the sixth century, intimates, that the prophecies of the book had by some been applied to the destruction of Jerusalem; of course implying, that the book may have been written before that event. Arethas, of the same century, explicitly says, that "when the Evangelist received these oracles, the destruction in which the Jews were involved, was not yet inflicted by the Romans."‡

In this conflict of external testimony, resort must be had to the testimony of John himself—to the internal evidence of this wonderful treatise. In general, it may be said, that the book carries, on its very face, the marks of extraordinary vigor on the part of the writer, utterly inconsistent with the supposition, that it was written by one who had lived already nearly a century on the earth, and was almost worn out by the tribulations of martyrdom, and the infirmities of years. That he was thus worn down, towards the close of life, the period when he is reputed, by the tradition already referred to, to have written this extraordinary literary production, is affirmed by Jerome, who says, that he was then "so very weak and infirm, that he was with great difficulty carried to the church, and could hardly speak a few words to the people."§ The Hebraisms, with which the style every where abounds, and from which the gospel and epistles are much more free, confirm the supposition of its early date. It is es-

* Apoc., i. 9.

† Comm. in Apoc., vii. 4.

‡ Acts, xviii. 2.

§ Comm. in Galat., Cap. vi.

essentially a reproduction, in imagery and plan, of the old Hebrew prophets. Every thing, as far as the close of the eleventh chapter, is Jewish, and seems to have been written expressly for Jews, to whom the whole scenery of the book must have been perfectly familiar. Not a word, from the beginning to the end of the visions, indicates, that the temple had yet fallen, or that the holy city had been destroyed ; while the implication of xi. 1, 2, 8, clearly is, that both were still standing. In the seventeenth chapter, the writer very clearly indicates the date of his vision. In the interpretation of the vision, given by the angel, we are told, that the book was written in the time of the sixth king or emperor of the Romans. "There are seven kings ; five are fallen."* This is explanation, not prediction ; and therefore must be taken literally, not symbolically. "I will tell thee the mystery,"† says the angel : I will explain what seems so mysterious ; the "seven heads are seven mountains ;" "the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings ;" "and the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."‡ This is not prophecy, but the interpretation of prophecy ; it is not symbol, but the explanation of symbol. It is a plain statement, that the city meant by the symbol is Rome, with her seven hills, under the reign of her sixth monarch ; Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, having fallen. How could the date of the book, or at least the Roman emperor under whose reign it was written, be more plainly expressed ?

With this, moreover, agrees the statement, so constantly recurring, that the subject-matter of these visions appertained to the near future. The things foretold, are such as "must shortly [*ἐν τάχει*] come to pass ;" of which it could in the plainest prose be said, "the time is at hand," [*ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς*]. The "coming" specified is a speedy coming : "behold, I come quickly" [*ταχύ*]. That these declarations are not to be limited to a few of the first scenes appears from the fact, that they are still more explicitly repeated in the very close of the book, so as to cover the whole series of visions : "These sayings are faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly [*ἐν τάχει*] be done." "Behold, I come quickly" [*ταχύ*]. "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book ; for the time is at hand" [*ἐγγύς*]. Contrast this with the direction given to Daniel (xii. 4). "Shut up

* Apoc., xvii. 10.

† Ib., 7.

‡ Apoc., xvii. 9, 12, 18.

the words and seal the book, even to the time of the end," and the declaration, (v. 9.) "the words are closed up and sealed to the time of the end." Much of Daniel's visions related to remote periods of the future; the most of John's to the near future. Hence, the Apocalypse closes with the oft-reiterated exclamation of the mighty Leader of the marshaling hosts "I come quickly,"—"Surely, I come quickly."* It is the tocsin of the Almighty, summoning his people to instant preparation for the grand campaign. Interpreted of the overthrow of the persecuting power of Judaism, symbolized in the destruction of the Holy City, all this is peculiarly appropriate. The necessity of such an interpretation almost compels us to adopt the supposition of the earlier date.

Very pertinent, in reply to those who would weaken the force of these declarations, and prolong the time a thousand years and more, are the words of the learned and godly Henry Stenberg: "It is nothing but a shift to say, as numbers come here, that the measure of time we are to think of is not the human, but the divine, with which a thousand years are as one day." "Whoever speaks to men must speak according to the human mode of viewing things, or give notice if he does otherwise. It is for the purpose of consoling us, that the prophet declares the shortness of the time. But for such purpose, that only was suitable which might appear short in the eyes of men. Only in mockery, or by deception, could the prophet have substituted that which was short in the reckoning of God." "In the fundamental passage, Ezek. xii to which the expression, Rev. i. 3, 'the time is near,' refers the declaration, 'the days are near' in v. 23, corresponds to 'in your days, ye rebellious house, will I do it,' in v. 25." To speak of time here in the divine and not the human view of its relations, he says, would be "acting like the worthless physician who feeds his patients with false hopes."†

Constrained, therefore, by these and other exegetical considerations, a very large proportion of the most learned and critical expositors have discarded utterly the Domitianian and adopted the Neronian date, and so have referred the vision recorded (chaps. iv. to xi.) to the times of unparalleled trouble that preceded, accompanied, and immediately followed the destruction of Jerusalem. Among these may be named such scholars as Grotius, Lightfoot, Hammond, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Warburton, Adam Clarke, Samuel Lee, Moser

* Apoc., i. 1, 3; iii. 11; xii. 6, 7, 10, 12, 20.

† Comment on the Apoc., i. 64, 65, Am. Ed.

Stuart, Von Der Hardt, Wetstein, Eichhorn, Tilloch, Hardwin, Herder, Heinrichs, Tinus, Abauzet, Bertholdt, Koeler, Hug. Storr, Lücke, De Wette, Neander, Ewald, Bleck, Olshausen, Züllig, Guericke, Desprez, Baur, and a host of other exegetical expositors. Prof. Stuart says truly, in reference to the later date, "Most of the recent commentators and critics have called this opinion in question, and placed the composition of the book at an earlier period, viz., before the destruction of Jerusalem."* This is still more generally true of the expositors who have published on the Apocalypse since 1845. when Prof. Stuart wrote. Davidson, it must be admitted, having, in his article on "the Book of Revelation," in Kitto's Cyclopædia, taken the ground of the earlier date, subsequently, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," A. D. 1851, joins himself to Hengstenberg as a convert to the opposite view. Guericke, on the other hand, having in his earlier publications advocated the Domitianic date, in his later, confesses himself a convert to the Neronic date. More and more this earlier date is coming into favor among truly scientific interpreters.

Such being the case, it is, to say the least, exceedingly questionable, whether Mr. Elliott and his Apocalyptic school have truly apprehended the scope and meaning of this sublime production. It is essential to their theory to establish, beyond all reasonable contradiction, the position that the book was written after the fall of the Jewish State, and has nothing whatever to do with it. But, so long as the opposite view is held by such an array of the first scholars of this and the last two centuries, the most to which the advocates of this position can hope to attain is, that it may possibly be the true one. None can say positively that it is. In our judgment, it is unquestionably any thing but true. The confidence, therefore, with which they map out the prophecy of John, and stretch it over the whole tract of time, from the Incarnation to the Day of Doom, finding in every seal and trumpet and vial, in every incident of the visions, the foreground and the background, in all the chief outlines, and in every particle of the filling up, in all the costume, scenery, and paraphernalia of the wonderful prophetic drama, some striking correspondence in some historical event or personage of the past eighteen centuries, or in some anticipated one yet to come, is most surprising. A perusal of such a book as Faber's "Calendar of Prophecy," or Elliott's "Horæ Apocalypticae," forcibly recalls

* Apoc., I. 203.

the remark of Züllig, in respect to a work of this description: "We may say, with honest self-congratulation, that in Germany such a book could hardly have been produced by any one who had enjoyed a classical education; by any one at all indeed, except some worthy contemplative shoemaker, who had screwed himself up into a prophet, by studying the musty anti-papistical revelations which he had bought at Rag-fair." Such works, among the scholars of the continent, have passed out of the domains of criticism.

IV. A still more unwarranted and fatal assumption remains to be noticed. It is taken for granted by the millennarian school of interpreters, that a broad distinction is to be made between prophetic time and natural time; that a day in prophetic style means an angelic day, a revolution of the earth round the sun—a terrestrial year; that a month covers a period of thirty years, and a year in vision is to be understood as equal to three hundred and sixty natural years.

The confidence with which this principle of interpretation is proposed is perfectly marvelous. It would seem almost to have passed beyond the province of criticism. In our current scripture commentaries, such as Henry, Doddridge, Clarke, Scott, and Barnes; and in such writers on prophecy as Napier, Brightman, Alsted, Mede, Taylor, Canne, Homes, Beverly, Cressener, More, Jurien, Whiston, Fleming, Vitringa, Whitby, the two Newtons, Bicheno, Towers, Faber, Cunningham, Frere, Bogue, Irving, Keith, Bickersteth, Brooks, Elliott, Cumming, and not a few of American fame, it is so commonly assumed, and so confidently made the basis of calculation and anticipation, as to have left the impression on almost all minds, that nothing can be said against it. To call in question a principle or law of interpretation so universally received, and so vital to the current theories of prophecy, is to awaken a host of prejudices, and to incur the imputation of innovating rashly and radically on long received and firmly established modes of expounding the word of inspiration.

When this theory was first propounded, no attempt, or almost none, was made to establish it by argument. "*Accepta haud dubia die pro anno, et 1260 diebus pro totidem annis*,"† says the Abbot Joachim, the originator of this singular and until then unknown rule of reckoning. So Wimbledon, in 1837 simply says, "Thus argueth a Doctor," "that a day must be taken for a year, both by authority of Holy Writ in the same

* Die Offenbarung Johannis erklärt., L 149.

† Liber Concordiæ, 2, c. 16; and 5, c. 118.

place and in other, and also by reason."* Walter Brute also, in 1391; simply says, in justification of this species of notation, "taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the prophets;" "as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise."† Melancthon barely suggests such an interpretation. On the principle of the two-fold application of prophecy, he maintained that the prophecies respecting the little horn were literally fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes; but that he was a type of Antichrist, and so the prophecies were to have a second fulfillment in the last days. "*Ac facilis est accommodatio, si dies in annos commutaveris.*"‡ He was too distrustful of the principle to claim it as a law of exposition. The Magdeburgh Centuriators, A. D. 1562, simply say of the days of the Apocalypse, "*quos quidem pro annis accipiunt;*"§ "some" so receive them; not all; not the most. Osiander, A. D. 1579, simply says, "*pro singulis diebus annus est accipiendus.*"|| So modestly was this canon brought out in the sixteenth century.

But, from being a mere suggestion, it soon passed into vogue as a law, an admitted rule, of prophetic interpretation. So that Brightman waxes bold in his defence of this exegetical dogma, and asks, A. D. 1609, "Is there any man so perverse that he will yet strive for this, that these two and forty months are to be crowded into the straits of their native signification?"** David Paræus, A. D. 1617, endeavors to confirm it by reference to the 40 days of the spies, the 390 days of Ezekiel, and the 70 weeks of Daniel.†† Joseph Mede, first in his "Clavis Apocalyptica," A. D. 1627, and next in his "Commentarius ad Amussim Clavis Apocalypticae," A. D. 1632, and in his subsequent writings, labored diligently to secure for this mode of calculation a fixed place in the acknowledged principles of prophetic exposition. To Mede, most probably, more than to any other man, is it owing, that this year-day theory has acquired so firm a hold upon Anglican expositors of prophecy, and not a few others; so that Dr. Salomon Van Til, in his "Introductio in Sacram Scripturam," A. D. 1720, does not hesitate to say, "Dies autem prophetice notare annos nemo dubitat."‡‡

So that now it has come to pass, that a denial of this theory subjects one to the imputation of friendliness to Popery, or indifference to the distinctive truths of Protestantism. "This,"

* Foxe's Acts 2 Monuments, i. 628.

† In Daniele. cap. xii.

‡ In Daniele, cap. xli.

†† In Apoc. xi. 2.

† Ib., 548, 549.

§ Cent. i. lit. 2. col. 438.

** Com. on the Rev. of S. John, ch. xi. 2.

‡‡ H. 312.

says Prof. Bush, "is taking ground at once against the whole current of Protestant commentary on the book in question and giving to the Romanists every advantage which they could desire."* Faber characterizes the opponents of "the year-day scheme" as adventurous speculatists, who would fain deprive the church of the light of consecutive prophecy for the space of well-nigh eighteen centuries, and thus introduce the reign of chaos and old night.† In like manner, Mr. Birks, one of the most earnest writers in its defence, makes his appeal to prejudice and long-received usage, rather than to truth, when he says "That entire rejection of all prophetic chronology, which follows, of course, on the denial of the year-day, is most of all to be deplored, from its deadly and paralyzing influence on the great hope of the church. No delusion can be greater than to expect, by excluding all reference to dates and times, to awaken Christians to a more lively expectation of their Lord's second coming."‡ It is seen and felt and acknowledged by them all, that this theory is vital to their whole system. Only so can they find the Pope either in Daniel or John; and only so can they bring about the great catastrophe of the world in 1867, or at any other definite period. Hence they cling to it with the utmost tenacity. And now that it is assailed on all sides, they find it necessary to use strenuous efforts to keep possession of this their strongest citadel.

It has already appeared, in the course of this discussion, that the theory is of comparatively modern origin. It comes to us not from Apostolic times; not from the early ages of either the Jewish or Christian church; not from the days of Jerome, Augustine, and the fathers of the first ten centuries; but from the monasteries of the darkest period of the Middle Ages, and mainly from a Calabrian monk of the 12th century.§ Not one of the advocates of this scheme has the boldness to appeal to the well-known test proposed by Vincentius Lirinensis, "*Quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique traditum est.*" No such universal tradition forces itself upon our attention. All antiquity is silent in this respect.

The novelty of the theory its warmest advocates are constrained to admit. Mr. Brooks concedes, that "the early Christian church did not understand the 'time, times and half' of Antichrist, of more than 1260 natural days." "It was not," he says, "till after the period of the Reformation and the application of the prophecies concerning Antichrist

* The Hierophant, p. 270.

† Eight Dissentations, A. D. 1845, II. 131.

‡ First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, 415.

§ Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev., II. 429.

to the Papacy, that the principle of interpreting time mystically began to assume a more consistent and systematic form."* Elliott, too, notwithstanding his special pleading in respect to the mystical interpretation of prophetic time, is compelled to acknowledge "that, for the first four centuries, the days of Antichrist's duration, given in Daniel and the Apocalyptic prophecies, were interpreted literally as days, not as years, by the fathers of the Christian church."† Whatever may be said in regard to the conceits of some of the later fathers subsequent to the days of Augustine, in relation to the meaning of a particular passage, it must be conceded, on all hands, that the year-day theory as such was the outgrowth of the antagonism to Popery; that it began to gather strength, and acquire authority, as a rule of interpretation, not earlier than the middle or latter part of the sixteenth century; that it never has been recognized by the Greek and Latin churches; that among Protestants it has always met with strong opposition on the part of the more scholarly classes; and that its prevalence outside of the evangelical portion of the church of England, the church of Scotland, and the other evangelical churches of Great Britain and America, is exceedingly limited.

Such being its history, it is not surprising that the "Christian Remembrancer," for October, 1853, should characterize it as "the monstrous year-day theory, which, without a shadow of reason, or a vestige of authority, would attempt to convert three years and a half into a long period." We are very properly reminded, that "this is not an individual explanation, but a canon of interpretation; and, therefore, there could be no pretence for adopting it, unless it had been communicated by the Apostles themselves. Those who introduced it, therefore, on sheer conjecture, in later times, had no more authority than Mahomet or Montanus, when they affirmed that they themselves were intended by the predicted Paraclete. For there is not a shadow of such a notion in early times."‡

Nothing short of a Scriptural sanction will meet the case. Is the rule sanctioned, warranted, enjoined by inspiration? If so, it must be received. If not, it has no authority whatever. It is, at the best, but guess-work; the mere conceit of shrewd conjecture. Its advocates perceive the necessity, that is thus laid upon them, to fortify their position by appeals to God's word; and they have attempted it. With the utmost confi-

* Elements of Prophetical Interpretation. 124, 252. † Horae Apoc., III. 253.

‡ Vol. XXVI. 405.

dence they refer us to Old Testament precedents, as they regard them, on which they are content to rest their case. Let us see whether their references are legitimate or not.

The first reference is to Num. xiv. 33 : "After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years." Mr. Birks argues from this as follows : "The twelve spies, chosen one from each tribe, represented in miniature the nation of Israel." "That search, lasting through forty days, represented also in miniature the forty years of their wandering in the wilderness. Each day in the search represented a year of wandering ; and the miniature period was a typical prophecy of the forty years' journeying which ensued."* Mr. Brooks also says of this passage, "it does appear to me that occasion is here taken obliquely to bring before the church the principle, that smaller revolutions of time may be viewed in certain instances as representing larger measures, into which they may be expanded."† Neither Mede, nor Elliott refers to this passage ; and with reason. Type is one thing, and symbol another. The type is in the thing, in the event, not in some one of the words expressive of the thing or event. The word *day* in this passage means *day*, and nothing else. It has no typical, no symbolical meaning. The prophecy is contained, not in the "forty days," which is simple history, but in the "forty years" clearly and plainly expressed, without the slightest mysticism whatever. It is a direct prediction of forty *years* exile, declared explicitly in so many words, of which the forty *days* are made the type and pledge. The case bears not the least analogy to the so-called symbolical designations of time in Daniel and John.

Of much the same character is the statement of the divine purpose in regard to Israel, made to Ezekial, iv. 4-6, where the prophet is required to lie first on his left side 390 days, as "a sign to the house of Israel," and then on his right side 40 days, as a sign to "the house of Judah ;" "for," saith God, "I have laid upon thee the *years* of their iniquity, according to the number of the days ;" "I have appointed thee each day for a year." Plainly, in this case, the words all have their natural signification ; day means day, and year means year ; neither of them is to be interpreted in a mystical sense. We are not left in doubt, whether days or years are here meant. Davidson says truly, in contrasting this case with one in the Apocalypse, "the one is a case of *representation*, in which a real

* First Elements of Sac. Proph., 338. † Elements of Proph. Interp., 242, 243.

thing represents a real thing ; whereas the other is a case of *interpretation*, in which a *word* [the word *day*] is at once taken to mean a year." "Again, it is expressly stated that God had appointed a day for a year ; whereas in Daniel and John no such intimation is given."* That this transaction was not designed to furnish a canon of interpretation, applicable to all designations of prophetic time, is evident from what had already taken place in the case of Isaiah, who, at the bidding of God (xx. 3, 4,) walked "naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia ;" and this to represent a three years captivity of these two nations, by the Assyrians ; not symbolical, but natural years. If a day is invariably, in symbolical prophecy, to be taken for a year, this captivity would have exceeded a thousand years. Thus far, certainly, the theory finds no ground for support.

The only other Scriptural reference is to the "seventy weeks" of Daniel, ix. 24-27. Mede takes no note of the two just named, and appeals to this alone.† It will be seen, at once, that this prediction differs wholly from those to which the year-day theory is applied, in that it is purely historical and not symbolical. It is only in the case of symbolical prophecies, that its advocates demand its application. The word "weeks" does not convey to our minds the full meaning of the Hebrew Word, שבועים. The root of the word is the numeral שבע, seven ; and the word is properly translated by the Greek εβδομάς, a hebdomad, or heptad, whether of days, or years, or any thing else ; most commonly applied to the septenary division of days that we call "weeks," but not exclusively. In the Septuagint the words are rendered εβδομήκοντα εβδομάδες, seventy sevens. The Jews, as has been suggested by Dr. Maitland, were not as much accustomed as we are, to count time by weeks. Generally they expressed time by days, months and years : "We should not naturally expect a Hebrew writer to express a period of 490 days by 'seventy weeks,' and should consider it as somewhat singular, if we found that he had done so."‡

The Israelites had their year-sabbath, as well as their day-sabbath ; and the one was quite as familiar to them as the other. "In the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land." "And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years ; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years."§

* Intro. to the N. Test., III. 519.

† First Enquiry, 2d Ed., p. 8.

‡ Works, 599.

§ Lev. xxv. 4, 8.

Accustomed to these forms of speech and this application of the word 'sabbath,' the Jew could not have been at a loss for the proper understanding of the words of Daniel. It was just as natural for him to interpret it of years as of days. More so, because, when Daniel has occasion, shortly after, to speak of weeks, he uses the qualifying words, "of days." Where our translation has it, "three full weeks"—"three whole weeks"*—the margin, conforming strictly to the Hebrew, and the Greek of the Septuagint, has it, "weeks of days;" evidently implying, that the prophet had previously been speaking of weeks of years. It was not, then, at all "on the principle of a day's standing for a year," as Prof. Bush affirms,† that the Israelites interpreted these sevens, of years, but solely on the ground of the long established usage of their nation.

This view of the case is confirmed by the well-established fact, that, familiar as both the Jewish and early Christian churches were with this interpretation of Daniel's seventy hebdomads, not an intimation is found in any of their writings, that Daniel's "days" were to be understood symbolically of years. They knew well the incidents related in Numbers xiv. 34, and Ezekiel iv. 6; and yet never seem to have so much as dreamed of exalting the year-day scheme into a canon of interpretation. All the designations of prophetic time in the Old Testament they understood literally, and not symbolically.

This Mr. Brooks is constrained to admit: "It is evident," he says, "that Josephus did not understand what we may term the year-day system; for he applies the vision of the little horn of the goat to Antiochus, as having taken place in the literal space of time;" (Antiq. B. X. ch. 11, sec. 7; B. XII. ch. 17, sec. 6). "There were few of the older commentators who did not suppose the little horn of the he-goat, in Dan. viii., to have been fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes. It has already been shown that Josephus mentions this opinion, which looks as if it were current among the Jews previous to the coming of our Lord."‡

Prof. Bush, in defence of this theory, says: "It is the solution naturally arising from the construction put, in all ages, upon the oracle of Daniel respecting the seventy weeks, which by Jews and Christians have been interpreted of weeks of years, on the principle of a day's standing for a year. This fact is obvious from the Rabbinical writers *en masse*, where

* Dan. x. 2. 3.

† The Hierophant, 243.

‡ Elements of Proph. Interp., 250, 261.

they touch upon this subject; and Eusebius tells us, (Dem. Evang., Lib. viii. p. 238, Ed. Steph.), that this interpretation in his day was generally, if not universally admitted—*πάντι που δηλον*, every where manifest.* If it is meant, that Eusebius affirms this of the year-day system of interpretation, it is either a misrepresentation or misapprehension of his words. What he does say is this, and nothing more: *ὅτι τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδων ὁ χρόνος ἐν ἔτεσιν ἀναλυόμενος, ἐννενήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις ἀριθμὸν συνάγει, παντι που δηλον*,, "that the period of seventy hebdomads, reckoned by years, amounts to the number of four hundred and ninety, is every where manifest." It is a simple matter of multiplication. Not a word does he utter about the year-day theory.

Most diligently have the advocates of this system searched among the records of antiquity for precedents, but with most indifferent success. Elliott is compelled—and none have been more pains-taking in the work than he—to say: "It is, I believe, the fact, that, for the first four centuries, the days of Antichrist's duration, given in Daniel and the Apocalyptic prophecies, were interpreted literally as days, not as years, by the Fathers of the Christian church."† The only passage taken from the records of that early period, bearing upon the question, that he can find, is a remark of the deacon Pontius, in his Life of Cyprian, prefixed to his works. Cyprian, A. D. 258, dreams, that he is immediately to be put to death. He begs for a respite of but one day, to settle his affairs. He survived just one year. Pontius thus interprets the vision: "This one day signified a year that he, after the vision, was to pass in the world." "Now a day of the Lord, although we do not read in the divine Scriptures that it is a year, we yet take to be the time due to the promise of things future."‡ This passage, so far from helping his case, clearly shows, that, at that date, no one thought of finding the year-day theory in the Scriptures.

The earliest interpreter, who ventures to introduce the theory in exposition of prophecy, so far as Elliott can find, is Tichonius, A. D., 390, a Donatist, of a school the most fanciful and extravagant in the interpretation of Scripture. The work, from which he quotes, is regarded by many of the best critics as spurious. The question of its authenticity is argued at some length by Elliott, with this conclusion: "On the whole," "I feel little doubt in my own mind, that the main

* The Hierophant, 243.

† Horæ Apoc., III. 253.

‡ Cypriani Op. Proleg., 3, Ed. of 1589.

substance of the extant treatise is from Tichonius; though with certain alterations introduced, and an abbreviation into homiletic form, by some presbyter of the Latin Catholic church after the first quarter of the fifth century, probably an African.* In a discussion on the interpretation of *words*, not the slightest reliance surely can be placed on a document subjected to such treatment. It is worthy of reference, however, as exhibiting the process by which this "monstrous theory" crept into the church.

In the interpretation of the three and a half days of the exposure of the dead bodies of the two witnesses, (Apoc. xi. 9,) the author, whoever he was, says, "that is, three years and six months." He does not pretend to quote Scripture for it, as a rule of interpretation, nor even to apply it in any other case. His reasons for it in this particular case are simply the exigencies of his theory. "How can the inhabitants of the earth rejoice over the death of the two, dying in the same city, and send gifts to each other, if they be three *days*?"† The time is too short to suit the interpreter's idea of fitness; so he takes the liberty of prolonging the time to as many years as there are days expressed. Into this difficulty he was driven, as many others have been since, by interpreting the word *τῆς γῆς* as meaning "the whole earth," when, as every reader of the original knows, it simply means, in numerous places in the New Testament, "the land" of Israel; which, in our judgment, is the meaning here. Interpretation must bend to exegesis; not exegesis to interpretation.

Primasius, A. D., 550, agrees with Tichonius in this particular application of the theory, appealing, in defence of it, to the case of the spies in the days of Moses. The same is true of Ambrose Ansbert, A. D., 760. Haymo's abridgment of Ansbert, A. D., 850, follows, of course, in the same track, with the addition of a reference to Ezekiel's case. Bruno Astensis, A. D., 1123, takes the same view of this particular passage, appealing to the word of God to Ezekiel. After the most diligent research, these five‡ are the only precedents that Elliott has discovered in all the literature of the Christian church for the twelve centuries preceeding the days of Joachim. And all these pertain to but one text of Scripture. Nor are the authors men of any particular note or authority.

Yet, on the strength of these citations, Mr. Elliott says,

* Horæ Apoc., IV. 324.

† Tichonii Homiliæ, inter Op. Augustini.

‡ He refers, it is true, to Prosper, A. D. 450, but the citation does not sustain the case. Berengard, whom he also names, he subsequently admits to have been of later date.

"that from Cyprian's time, near the middle of the third century, even to the times of Joachim, and the Waldenses in the twelfth century, there was kept up, by a succession of expositors in the church, a recognition of the precise year-day principle of interpretation ; and its application both made and reasoned for, to one at least of the chronological periods of days, (though not to that of the 1260 days,) involved in the prophecies respecting Antichrist."* The only wonder is, that a vastly greater number of precedents should not have been found. That so few should have suggested it, seems the more remarkable, when it is remembered how ready many of the writers of this period were to find symbol, allegory, and type, in almost every line and letter of the inspired word. From the days of Origen, in the early part of the third century, the idealistic tendency in the interpretation of Scripture was rapidly developed. The word of God was made to mean all that it could. According to Augustine, Scripture is to be interpreted historically, allegorically, analogically, and ætiologically, or philosophically.

In one of his Paschal sermons, "on the two Castings of the Net," Augustine explains the 153 fishes as signifying "the thousand thousands of the saints and the faithful." But why," he asks, "did the Lord vouchsafe to signify by these figures the many thousands who shall enter the kingdom of God?" In the answer to this question occurs the following passage: "Since, then, we need the Spirit to fulfill the Law, add seven to ten, and you have seventeen. Now, if you count from one to seventeen, you obtain one hundred and fifty-three. I need not count this up for you ; count it for yourselves, and reckon thus ; one and two and three and four make ten. In like manner add up the other numbers to seventeen, and you will have the holy number of the faithful and of the saints that shall be in heavenly places with the Lord."† If a mind, so acute and of such logical power as Augustine's, could descend to such puerilities, and find in the 153 great fishes, caught by the seven disciples in the Sea of Tiberias, such "mountains of sense," it surely will not seem strange, that, in the course of time, other numerations of Scripture should be subjected to a similar process, and be made to indicate what had never entered the mind either of the writer, or of the Spirit of Inspiration.

The truth of the matter is, that this class of interpreters

* *Horæ Apoc.*, III. 259.

† *Opera*, V. 1036, 1041, *Sermones* 251, 252. Ed. S. Maur.

were fairly driven to this expedient to meet the exigencies of their scheme. Insisting, as they did, that the period of three years and a half, indicated both by Daniel and John, had not yet been fulfilled, and that both of these prophets foretold the rise, progress and destiny of the Papacy as Antichrist, no other resource was left them but this mystical prolongation of the time. It tallied well with their scheme; and so they adopted it, and have since endeavored to prove it by Scripture—an endeavor in which they have utterly failed. Elliott undesignedly admits this view of the case: "So soon as ever it was possible to entertain it, and yet to have an expectation of the advent being near at hand, so soon the application was made of the year-day principle to the 1260 days of Daniel and the Apocalypse. At the close of the 12th century Joachim Abbas, as we have just seen, made a first and rude attempt at it."* The admission is fatal to the claim of scriptural authority.

The very same tendency was developed among the Jews of the same period. They had waited so long for the first advent of the Messiah, that all the dates of Daniel, literally interpreted, had run out. It became necessary, therefore, to their theory of a Messiah yet future, to prolong the period as much as possible. This fully accounts for the fact stated by Elliott, that "if we pass to the more learned Jewish Rabbis of the 12th, 13th, and following centuries, we shall find the same principle distinctly adopted and affirmed."† In all probability it is the Cabalistic school of gainsaying Jews, to whom we are indebted for this innovation upon the uniform usage of all Christian antiquity. Utterly destitute as it is of Scripture warrant, and of the sanction of venerable tradition also, it should be wholly discarded by all modern interpreters.

V. This school of interpreters, moreover, in the *application* of this theory, proceed wholly on mere assumptions. Having fixed on some event that occupies a conspicuous place in the world's history, they assume that either Daniel or John, or both, had this event in view, as the commencing or terminating epoch of some one of their periods of prophetic time. At once they set themselves to work, to ascertain whether, with the assistance of the year-day theory, they cannot adjust the prophetic chronology to their scheme. Mons. Jurieu, A. D. 1686, very frankly avows as much in his own case: "These," he says, "are the different reflections that conspired to pos-

* *Horæ Apoc.*, III. 260.

† *Ib.* 261.

sess me, that the coming of our Lord was near, to destroy the wicked one by the breath of his mouth. I had a strong inclination to be certain and assured of the truth of these thoughts, which could no otherwise be done, but by finding in the Apocalypse the accomplishment of the circumstances which were to precede and accompany the fall of the Babylonish Empire. With this design, I betook myself to read over the Apocalypse," "with the exposition of Joseph Mede, whom I formerly looked upon as a man inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies." "I met with, in that author, the thing which I so eagerly sought for." "God so opened my eyes in the way as to give me inexpressible consolation." "At length I received an answer; at least, I believe so, and think it very plain, that all that must precede the last fall of the Antichristian Empire is fully accomplished." "I will freely acknowledge that, when I first looked into the divine oracles, my opinion was in favor of what I searched for, being altogether inclined to believe that we were near the end of the kingdom and empire of Antichrist."* The grand event that regulated his inquiries was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had occurred only a few months before he wrote. "I expect," he says, "some great thing in the year 1689." "The end of the Papacy draws nigh." "I fixed it between the year 1710 and the year 1720."†

The principles on which these writers proceed are well described by Prof. Lee: "These then are, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, those only of ingenious conjecture, supported in detail by what may be termed the doctrine of *resemblances*. For example, the meaning of a prediction of Scripture is, in the first place, guessed at; in the second, the event so supposed to be had in view is made to graduate with it, to a certain extent, just in proportion to the amount of ingenuity exerted; the resemblance so obtained is, as it is then thought, too near to have been undesigned. And the conclusion is, that the needful has been satisfactorily ascertained." "The consequence has been—and must continue to be, so long as the same system is pursued—one ingenious writer has superseded another, because his conclusions have been more plausible and exciting than those of his predecessor." "Some have lived long enough to witness the failure of their own predictions as to such periods; others to see and lament over these failures; while all have deplored the

* Accomplishment of the Sc. Proph., pp. 3, 24, 25, 26, of Pref.

† Ib., App. p. 3.

encouragement thus given to infidelity." "New predictions—for such, indeed, are all such interpretations—have been made to supply the places of the former unhappy ones. The period of fulfillment has accordingly been urged onwards, and, unless I am greatly deceived, must continue to be so, even to the consummation of all things, unless something more certain and better grounded be in the meantime proposed and received."*

The periods, which have been most commonly thought as terminating the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days of John and Daniel understood as years, are the Protestant Reformation dating from A. D. 1517; the Great Rebellion, so-called, under Cromwell, in Great Britain; the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, nearly synchronizing with the Revolution in Great Britain, and the French Revolution. The Reformers of the sixteenth century made much of the first of these periods, and predicted, in consequence, the speedy downfall of popery, and the end of the world. Luther insisted upon it, that the world could not last long, and his brethren set themselves to prove it. The Anabaptists proclaimed the immediate coming of the Son of Man, and inaugurated the new dispensation under John Matthias, at Münster, A. D. 1533. During the time of the British Commonwealth, it was confidently predicted by a host of writers, that the end would come in 1666, and the Fifth Monarchy-men undertook to prepare the way for the Advent of the Messiah. All the way along, from that period to the end of the following century, adventurous speculators like Beverly, Jurien, Bengel, and Whiston were predicting as confidently as Elliott and Cumming now, the winding up of the world's affairs.

But no event of modern date has so stimulated inquiry and prophecy as the French Revolution. "It was the occurrence of the French Revolution," says a recent reviewer, "that enabled the students of prophecy to fix the termination of the papal period to the year 1793." "Even among Protestants there had been a comparative neglect of these subjects, and an almost exclusive attention to what was called the simple gospel among the pious few, and cold formality among the many who constitute the nominal church, till the time when the French Revolution, like the bursting of a volcano, startled all out of their former indifference and security, awakening them to solicitude and earnest attention. We well remember the sensation then produced; and then, as a natural consequence, pious and thoughtful men turned to the Apocalypse,"

* *Nature, Progress and End of Prophecy*, pp. vii.-x.

—to find the Reign of Terror somewhere depicted among the visions of John! “This mighty earthquake,” it is added, “was the first note of preparation for the coming of the Lord, and it naturally turned the attention of the church to those portions of Holy Scripture in which the last days were spoken of, and especially to the Apocalypse.”* A wonderful impulse was given to the study of prophecy, and scores upon scores of publications on the subject issued from the press—the most of which are not worth the paper on which they are printed.

At first, this wonderful phenomenon was thought to be the precursor of the immediate downfall of Popery, and of the speedy Advent of Christ. Disappointed in their predictions, the prognosticators fell back on Daniel’s 1290 and 1335 days, and so gave the Pope a reprieve, first of 30 and then of 75 years. The last will expire in 1867. This period past, as pass it will, the whole frame-work of the scheme will have to be re-adjusted. It will be found that the period of 1260 year-days dates from some later event than Justinian’s Decree, or the Grant of Phocas. New Elliots and other Cummings will then appear, as heralds of the good time just then at hand. So has it been; so will it be.

VI. It is taken for granted, by this class of writers, that the thousand years, spoken of in the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse pertain wholly to the future, and synchronize, at either their commencement or close, with the Second Advent of Christ. It has already been shown, in the former part of this discussion,† that, previous to the sixteenth century, these thousand years were thought to have commenced at one of four periods; the Incarnation, or the Ascension of Christ, the Destruction of Judaism, or the Abolition of Paganism; and terminating, therefore, at the latest, with the Irruption of the Turks, or the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century. This praeterite interpretation of the mystical Millennium continued to prevail, not only among the Reformers, but long after their day; and has latterly been revived, and advocated with still greater confidence, by the more exegetical school of expositors.

Luther dated the one thousand years from the time of the Apocalypse to the coming of the Turks. Henry Bullinger, from A. D. 34, or 60, or 73, to the eleventh century; and him, according to Paraeus, nearly all the Protestant divines of the age immediately following copy; “as David Chytraeus, Al-

* *Chh. of Eng. Quarterly*, XXIII. 448. XXX. 245.

† *Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev.*, II. 437–440.

phonsus Conrad of Mantua, Francis Lambert, Sebastian Meyer, Nicholas Collado, Benedict Aretius, Matthias Illyricus Augustin Marlorat, Peter Artopaeus, Francis Junius, and Daniel Tossanus."* Paraeus takes the same view of the case giving the preference to the later date. Aretius favors the Nativity of Christ as the proper date; so, also does William Fulke. Bishop Bale makes the period extend, from "the Ascension of Christ unto the Days of Sylvester II.," A. D. 1044. Ribera dates it from the Ascension. Arthur Dent does the same.

But the views of Foxe, already mentioned,† were still more extensively adopted. The accession of Constantine to the Imperial throne, his open espousal and patronage of Christianity, and his suppression of Paganism,—so entirely reversing the condition of ecclesiastical affairs, and effecting so stupendous a revolution in the state of the world,—has, not without great plausibility, been looked upon by writers, both ancient and modern, as the epoch of the Dragon's dethronement and imprisonment. The great red dragon of the Apocalypse was even at that day, regarded, and imperially recognized, as a symbol of the old Pagan Empire. In a letter to Eusebius and other bishops, relative to the repairing of the churches Constantine says, "Now that liberty has been restored to all and *that Dragon*, by the providence of the Most High God and by our ministry, cast out from the administration of public affairs, the divine power has most clearly appeared to all men."‡

In commemoration of this casting down of the old Paganism of the empire, on the construction of the new imperial palace at Constantinople, the emperor placed, over the main entrance an allegorical representation of the triumph of the cross over the old mythology,—the centre of the tablet being occupied with a picture of the emperor, his head surmounted by a radiant cross, while, beneath his feet, a great red Dragon transfixed by the spear in the conqueror's hand, is writhing and floundering in the troubled sea. In justification, as well as explanation, of the allegory, Eusebius, his biographer, appeals to Isa. 27. i., which, in the Greek version, then everywhere current, is thus rendered: "In that day, God shall bring his sword, holy, great, and mighty, upon the Dragon the flying serpent, upon the Dragon the sinuous serpent; he

* Proem. De Apoc., cap. IV., Opera, pars IV. 624.

† Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev., II. 438. ‡ Euseb. de Vita Const., lib. ii. c. 45.

shall destroy the Dragon."* Evidently the Dragon was then regarded as a symbol of Paganism; and "the great red Dragon" of the Apocalypse, as a symbol of Pagan Rome.

The frequency, with which the old prophets used "the Dragon" as a symbol of some one of the Pagan powers with which the people of God had to contend, must have been remarked by every careful reader of the Scriptures.† It was from these Old Testament Scriptures, familiar not to himself alone, but to his Christian brethren, that the writer of the Apocalypse drew the greater part of the imagery in this grandest of allegories. No more appropriate symbol, therefore, could have been used to represent the persecuting power of Paganism. That such is the import of the symbol, is fully admitted by Elliott,‡ as well as others. The interpretation of Apoc. xx. 1-3, set forth in the allegorical entablature of Constantine, and universally adopted by the liberated and exultant church of that age, commends itself as, in the highest degree, appropriate and true. Manifestly, the old serpent, whom the celestial messenger seizes, binds, and casts down into the bottomless pit, as here represented is absolutely identical with the great red Dragon of xii. 3; for, in describing his war with Michael, the rapt seer tells us, "the great Dragon was cast out" [i.e. from the Apocalyptic heaven] "that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth," xii. 9. And now, (xx. 3,) he is cast out of the Apocalyptic earth into the bottomless pit. If it is Paganism in the first, it is Paganism in the second, ejection. The identification is complete.

The futurist interpretation of the thousand years is wholly a modern notion—an innovation upon the current views of the church for more than fifteen centuries, if we except the Chiliasm of the first three centuries, which was based rather, as has been fully shown,§ on the Jewish conceit of a Sabbatical Millennium. The first, who seems to have brought it prominently into notice, was Prof. Johann Heinrich Alstedius, (the successor of Piscator in the chair of theology at Herborn, Nassau,) in his "Diatriba de Mille Annis Apocalypticis," published A. D., 1621. Some of the later expositors of the previous century had favored this interpretation, but Alsted elaborated the theory, and gave it vitality. Joseph Mede of Cambridge, in his "Clavis Aocalyptica," A. D., 1627,

* De Vita Constan., Lib. iii. 3. † Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 14. Isa. li. 9. Ezck. xxix. 3. xxxii. 2. In the last of these passages, the Greek has "dragon" instead of "whale."

‡ Horae Apoc., III 12, 13.

§ Am. Presb. and Theo. Rev., II 204-208.

brought it still more prominently before the British people and is generally regarded as the father of this particular school of prophetic inquirers. It is manifestly an innovation of quite a modern date—any thing but venerable. It is wholly dependent, moreover, on another innovation—no much more venerable—the year-day theory. Only by prolonging the 1260 days of the prophesying of the two witnesses to 1260 years, is it possible to make the thousand years of the Dragon's imprisonment yet future. If this theory is, as has been shown, wholly untenable, so also is the pretence that "the thousand years" refer to the future.

Other assumptions of this class of writers, much as we desire to consider them, must pass without notice, as the subject has grown upon our hands, and quite exceeded our first intentions. Enough has been said, however, to set at rest, in most minds, all apprehension in regard to the prognostications of Elliott and his disciple Cumming. Minds there are that will not thus be quieted. They have a passion for prying into the future, and will be prophets at all hazards. "The folly of interpreters," says Sir Isaac Newton, "has been, to foretell times and things by this prophecy as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt."* Untaught by repeated failures, they cast about for still more plausible adjustments of the celestial horoscope. What matters it, that the scores and hundreds of works of this description, written previous to our day, have all become superannuated? "Those who watch for the fall of the Beast," says the Christian Remembrancer, "require a perpetual succession of new works, as those who speculate in stocks require a daily newspaper."† Elliott supersedes all who have previously presented their speculations to the world—only in turn to be himself superseded, and that speedily. Beverly, in Baxter's day, was quite as confident as he; and, died with grief and mortification at his failure.‡ Soon the year 1867 will be numbered with the past, and Elliott will sink into oblivion.

"Strange," says a recent writer, with whose words we close, "that the many excellent men, who have adopted this mode of interpretation, are not made to pause by their reiterated failures, and led to suspect that there may be something unsound at the very basis of their structures. Such suspi-

* Observations on the Apocalypse, 253, Ed. of 1733. † XXVI. 384.
 ‡ Orme's Life and Times of Rev. Rich. Baxter, II. 260, 264.

cion, however, does not seem to cross their minds, or, if it arise, is immediately set aside again. Prejudices of education have often entwined the system with their entire inward life ; or their own ingenuity, even if questionable, is too dear to let them re-commence on another plan ; and, when we see men of sense and ability thus hampered and entangled, we bethink us of the striking apologue which a living poet has placed in the mouth of the medieval mystic, Paracelsus. He likens himself to men who had to carry statues to distant isles, well worthy of the intended decoration. Tired of their long voyage, they land too soon upon wrong shores, and commence making shrines for the images ; when the inhabitants of the true islands appear, and beg them to come on, for it is but a little way, and the groves are ready for the reception of these majestic forms—

“ Then we awoke with sudden start
From our deep dream ; we knew too late
How bare the rock, how desolate,
To which we'd flung our precious freight ;
Yet we called out—' Depart !
Our gifts, once given, must here abide ;
Our work is done ; we have no heart
To mar our work, though vain— we cried.' ”*

Art. III.—MISSIONARY INTERFERENCE AT THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.†

MR. MANLY HOPKINS is an Englishman who has never seen the Sandwich Islands, but is their political and commercial representative in London. He has written a book. Its full title we give at the bottom of the page. It is dedicated, by permission, to the Right Honorable John Earl Russell, K. G., Viscount Amberly, Her Majesty's Secretary

* Chn. Remembrancer, XXVIII. 133, 134.

† HAWAII: The Past, Present, and Future of its Island Kingdom. An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands (Polynesia). By Manly Hopkins, Hawaiian Consul-General, etc., with a Preface by the Bishop of Oxford. London. 1862.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors. By Rufus Anderson, D.D., Foreign Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Boston, 1864.

Proceedings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in relation to a Recent Interference with its work on the Sandwich Islands. —A pamphlet from the Missionary House.

for Foreign Affairs. The book has a purpose. The author does not hint at it in his preface, where he modestly says that the design of the volume, "is to give a popular connected account of an interesting and imperfectly known group of islands, which have had, during eight decades, an association with our country, unusually close and frequent for so small and distant a nation." Another and more eloquent pen, however, discloses, in a truly remarkable introduction, a special ulterior aim. The distinguished prelate, who signs himself S. Oxon, exultingly announces that Royalty in those islands "has long sought to cultivate an English alliance; but it has been reserved for the present [late] enlightened king to seek it in the way in which it can be most certainly secured—by planting among his people, with all the advantages which can be derived from his own adhesion to it, a branch of our Reformed Church. At his desire, and with the concurrence of our Queen, a bishop of our nation has been consecrated at Lambeth, to bear the precious seed to the distant island of his adoption. To him is to be committed the training of the future heir [what kind of a *future* heir?] to the throne. For the Bishop's coming, the public reception of the young prince into the Church has been postponed; whilst to mark our gracious Queen's interest in the movement, SHE, even in this day of her sorrow, has consented to be sponsor to the royal youth and sends out sponsorial gifts befitting England's Queen and pledges of the reality of her interest in the religious act in which, though absent, she is to partake."

There is a painful significance in the entire structure of the bishop of Oxford's "preface," as it is called. He alludes to "the great national changes, which, in our own age, have passed over the critical youth of this people." He speaks of "the rapid development of the true principles of commerce the struggle for independence, the passage from barbarity to a great degree of refinement, the ripening of such a character as that of the present king," and also of the sudden abandonment by the nation of their whole heathen mythology, and the entire destruction of their idols; but the only agency which he recognizes in the marvelous religious history of the people, is that of the "Queen-mother who strengthened the halting hands of a young and trembling king," and of the other intrepid woman who braved the wrath of Pele in her very fires. From no hint or expression from his Lordship's pen would the reader learn that an American or other Christian missionary had ever put his foot on one of those Islands and, unless an allusion to the fears, which the Hawaiians long

had of their old idolatry, such as are said to have clung to and haunted the earliest converts to Christianity, be considered an exception, he does not indicate, in any manner, that the religious change even amounted to anything more than "the sudden and entire deliverance of the people from the meshes of their old superstitions," the whole credit of which he ascribes to two native women as the "leading instruments!" With a reticence regarding American and English non-episcopal missions in the Pacific, that, in view of the scale of their operations and their results, is really sublime, he surveys a field, which, seemingly, is, before his eyes, one of unbroken heathenism, waiting for conquest by the Northern and Southern hierarchs "of our Reformed Church;" and, with a jubilant anticipation, he concludes: "From the New Zealand Church our Bishop Patteson—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—is making his way of blessing northward through the Melanesian group. Southward, on his way of benediction, may the Bishop of Honolulu speed, until the two advancing currents of the living waters of the living Gospel of our Lord knit in one long grasp the hands of the two Island Prelates [hands knit by two advancing "currents of water!"] and they kneel together on the shore of some jointly conquered island to exclaim, THIS HATH GOD DONE!"

Mr. Hopkins' book is one of the noticeable religious phenomena of the times. It is quite a readable volume; its illustrations are well executed; it acknowledges its indebtedness for much of the information which it contains, to reports of the American Board and to better books that preceded it. In part it does justice to the character and usefulness of the American missionaries, quoting, without dissent, some of the strong testimony favorable to them, and concerning the results of their labors, furnished by Mr. Richard H. Dana, and Mr. Jarves, (both gentlemen of high standing connected with the Episcopal Church in America), and other writers. Mr. H. also himself says some kind things of them; admits the opposition which they encountered from many careless and depraved foreigners, who were "incensed by any efforts to curtail the freedom with which they followed their cupidity and their libertinism;" and states facts, as indeed it was impossible for him not to do if he wrote at all, which are an imperishable memorial of their devotedness, and success. They and their friends, as well as the general public, can easily pardon his making fun of the "poke bonnets" and the "primness and unworldliness of attire befitting missionaries' wives," and the dress and manners of the missionaries themselves; though

they may not admire the taste exhibited in such criticisms. Far more severe, however, must be the judgment of all right thinking men on his insinuation (he is careful not to make it a direct charge) of their desire to enrich themselves by seeking a support at the Islands, under a pretence that they did not wish to be a "burthen on the funds of the Board," (p. 243) and especially his treatment of the Rev. Mr. Richards, "a man," he says, "originally distinguished by his insignificance," whose portrait he gives in a caricature engraving designed to represent him in the most odious light possible, but who was, as shown by statements of Mr. Hopkins himself, one of the greatest benefactors to the nation. There are other things also in the book which betray an intense dislike to the American missionaries, and an end to serve by disparaging and misrepresenting them; and it would be easy to bring together an amusing compilation of passages in which the missionaries are both commended and condemned for the same acts.

The reader has no difficulty in understanding the animus and "final cause" of the book when he comes to the closing chapters. It is all a plea for the new mission. It makes but fails to make out, a case. It admits a great missionary achievement, and also proclaims a greater missionary failure. "Independents and Romanists," it declares, "frankly avow the smallness of their success in producing a vital change. There remains for trial the efforts (*sic*) of the English Church. We wait to see what may be the effect on the Hawaiian mind of the beauty of her holiness, which has usually been made more conspicuous and more intense in missionary spheres. That religion which bears on its credentials that it is pure, must also show itself gentle. It is not the rod of the avenger, but the staff of the shepherd, which will reclaim the sheep which have wandered, and guard and lead the lambs of the flock. Barnabas may prevail where Boanerges is powerless."

To accomplish the object thus indicated, a bishop and three clergymen have been sent from England. A company of several ladies, bound by a vow of celibacy for a certain period, has joined them for labors as "Sisters of Mercy." Of course British residents, of whom there are a few score on the Islands, and British seamen visiting them, are spoken of as the particular subjects of the spiritual care of this mission. But the bishop has solicited three additional clergymen to be stationed immediately at other places on Oahu, Kauai, and Hawaii, and specifies a work to be done by them among the natives as well as for their own countrymen. He even applies for men to be

sent to the Marquesas and Micronesian Islands, although on the former there is a mission carried on entirely by the Hawaiian churches, and on the latter there is a mission of Americans, aided by native Hawaiian teachers and helpers, and prosecuted with great success for twelve years, under the direction of the American Board. These facts illustrate the plain avowals of Mr. Hopkins and the Bishop of Oxford in regard to the design of Bishop Staley's mission.

We are led to say somewhat on the subject of this self styled Reformed Catholic Mission to the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, not because of an apprehension concerning its power beyond that of any other mission among that people, and certainly from no unfriendliness to the Church of England, or any other feeling than one of gratification at the extension of her legitimate missionary work, but from considerations which will appear as we proceed. We regard the action of the getters up of this movement in its actual form as violators of that law of missionary comity, which the chief missionary societies and boards acknowledge as of binding obligation in moral right, and from an enlightened regard to their common interests; and which none was earlier to announce, or has ever observed with more strictness towards others, than the American Board. The pleas in behalf of this intrusion into the field, and for the avowed purpose of seizing all the fruits of the labors and expenditure of the missionaries of that Board, are untenable; and Christian charity and a regard to equity and the welfare of the kingdom of Christ demand a rebuke of such unfraternal, and, we do not hesitate to pronounce it, unchristian conduct. The protest of the American Board, uttered in a calm and manly Christian tone at Worcester, was called for in vindication of a vital missionary principle, and of interests far higher than those connected with the extension of any sect or particular church.

It is affirmed that the Bishop Staley mission was sent in response to an application from the king. The statement, as thus made, is deceptive. The origin of the mission was on this wise. The late king, from tendencies, and under influences that are well understood, did desire an Episcopal church in Honolulu, and to connect himself and his family with it. It was thought by the missionaries and others sympathizing with them, that a church of that denomination, with a minister of an evangelical and catholic spirit, for the royal household, and residents, chiefly foreigners, in the capital who would attend it, would be an advantage to the Christian interests of the Islands. Before any action on the sub-

ject at the Islands, so far as is known, Dr. Anderson, For-
 Secretary of the American Board, advised an American
 bishop to procure the sending of such a presbyter from
 country. Some consultations were had to that end, but
 failed. In December, 1859, Dr. Armstrong, formerly a
 missionary, but at the time filling the post of President of
 Board of Education, and Mr. Wyllie, an English gentleman
 who was, and still is, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote
 behalf of the king, to Rev. William Ellis in London
 reference to obtaining an Episcopal minister who should
 receive a salary of one thousand dollars from the Island
 an additional sum to be contributed in England. These
 letters, and other documents to which we shall refer in
 connection, are published in Dr. Anderson's recent volume
 entitled "The Hawaiian Islands." They express a wish
 pastor of merely a single congregation to be established
 capital. "You have lived here, and have associated
 American missionaries; you would, therefore, know at
 what kind of a man would be calculated to do good here,"
 Dr. Armstrong. And he continues: "I may add, also
 I address you at the request of several Episcopalians [for-
 eigners], who are among our best people. They want a man
 of evangelical sentiments, of respectable talents, and most
 of a pious Christian life. A High church man, or one of
 dissipated Christian habits, would not succeed." Mr. Wyllie also
 and speaks only, of "the establishment in this capital
 Episcopal church"—of "an [not the] Episcopal church in
 Honolulu." He refers Mr. Ellis to a letter addressed to "the
 Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General in London," which
 had not appeared in print, but which doubtless was in accordance
 with the communications sent to Mr Ellis.*

* Mr. Hopkins' statement seems worded with a studied adroitness. It
 follows: "The last act of the king that will fall within the scope of
 these pages, is the request which he has preferred to the Church and people of
 Hawaii to establish a branch of the Reformed Episcopal Church in Hawaii.
 On the 5th of December, 1859, Mr. Wyllie communicated to His Majesty's
 representative in London, the desire of the King and Queen to have a
 church erected in their capital; towards the support of which the king offers on his
 behalf and that of residents who desire the church's services, a certain
 sum. His Majesty offers to give a piece of land for the church, and to erect a
 building. The king directed his representative to confer on the subject with the
 bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the church societies. Sub-
 sequently the king wrote an autograph letter to Her Majesty, and by his Min-
 ister of Foreign Relations to the Primate and to Earl Russell."—*Hawaii, &c.* p.

Mr Hopkins would have us believe that the king desired the establish-
 ment in a wide sense, of the "Reformed Episcopal church in Hawaii;" yet he
 states that the request was only for an Episcopal Church and minister in Honolulu,
 not for a mission to the Islands—much less for a bishop with a staff of

Mr. Ellis having received this request for assistance in finding a suitable man, and obtaining the small pecuniary help needed, according to his own account of the matter, waited on Mr. Hopkins, and learned from the latter, that "he was already in co-operation with parties in England, endeavoring to send out not a simple clergyman, as desired by the king, but a bishop." Mr. Ellis' judgment was disregarded, and his assistance was bluffed off, by the zealous representative of his Hawaiian Majesty, who, as Mr. Ellis ascertained, "was associated with that section of the Church of England, from which the greatest number of perverts to Popery has proceeded, and between whom, and the Roman Catholics the difference is reported to be slight."

The Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Beresford Hope, and others of the same sort of churchmanship, were enlisted in support of Mr. Hopkins' scheme. The Bishop of London, who cordially approved the measure proposed in Dr. Armstrong's and Mr. Wyllie's letters objected, as it appears from an editorial article in "The Evening Standard" (a London newspaper) of Nov. 14, 1861, so decidedly to that of sending a bishop as to come near defeating it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, under date of Sept. 28, 1860, in reply to a letter from Dr. Anderson, denied that he gave encouragement to the plan, and promised that if an attempt should be made to connect it with the Society for Propagating the Gospel, he would lay Dr. Anderson's letter before the persons who chiefly administer its affairs. "I shall be truly sorry," he added, "if any circumstances shall occur calculated to create jealousy between parties who have the same great end in view—an object which would be counteracted by collision in the same degree as it may be promoted by co-operation."

It is evident from the facts that the idea of a bishop and an Episcopal mission for the Hawaiian Islands originated in England, or with other parties in Honolulu suggesting it to persons in England, and not with the king or any natives of the Islands. Bishop Staley and his presbyters were not selected by Archbishop Sumner or Bishop Tait, neither did either of these prelates at first favor the plan of sending them. As the latter decidedly objected to it in November, 1861. and yet, in the following month took part in consecra-

ters. If the king's letter to Queen Victoria, or either of Mr. Wyllie's letters here referred to, had expressed a desire for the latter, would not Mr. Hopkins have said so, or quoted from the documents in his book, unless they prove too plainly that the king "subsequently" merely yielded to a proposal pressed upon him?

ting Bishop Staley, and afterwards said that this was "done in accordance with the wishes of the king of the Sandwich Islands," it is probable that during that interval, which was nearly two years after the application for a simple clergyman, an expression of the wish of the king was received in reply to a correspondence that had been carried on from England. The desire which the king finally expressed, was not original with him. The real paternity of the mission is to be found in England. We bring no indictment against England's honored Queen, who, with the information possessed by her, doubtless saw nothing in her share of the transaction but an act of Christian charity. Earl Russell, also, looking upon the matter from the stand-point of worldly policy, did as we should expect a mere statesman to do; and we can easily comprehend that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London would feel bound, by obligations which they were not at liberty to disregard, notwithstanding their objections to the plan of the mission, to consecrate Mr. Staley. But there is nothing which justifies the previous doings of the self-appointed committee that had been at work for many months to accomplish such results, or that saves from just condemnation a mission designed to bring the Hawaiian nation into the Church of England, and thus to supplant on those Islands the influence of the missionaries of the American Board and the institutions which they had established. To seek this end through an influence on the mind of the king, was as little justifiable as it would have been to labor for it by another method. The king had a right to attach himself to any form of religious belief and worship that he might prefer, and to take measures to secure for himself, and foreign residents, and his own subjects, that kind of instruction which they desired. In this he had the cordial co-operation of the missionaries and the officers of the American Board. But a proselyting mission, designed to act on those who had not asked for it, is an altogether different affair. Even if the king had entertained, at the outset, the same feelings regarding such a mission which he afterwards manifested towards Bishop Staley and his co-adjutors, and had solicited it with whatever friendly or unfriendly purpose towards the American mission, Christian men having at heart the highest interests of the kingdom of Christ in Hawaii, and understanding all the relations of the subject, would have governed their action by other considerations than the mere request of the king.

We are well aware that churchmen of the stamp of those

responsible for this movement (evinced, as they do, by their conduct, that they regard non-Episcopalians, however useful, and showing by their usefulness that they are approved of God. as having no religious rights which they of the true church are bound to respect) are not likely to be influenced by any of our arguments or appeals. On the contrary, some of them will doubtless exult in the confession, which they think we make by our complaints springing from fear, to the superior attractiveness and power of the church system. We deem it none the less important, on this account, to assert right principles, and appeal to churchmen who regard the true disciples of Christ, under all forms of church organization, as members of his body, and injury to them as injury to the one body of which he is the head, to judge a question like the one now before us. Brethren in Christ, who really love one another, and rejoice in each other's successes, may do each other wrong. There are some intimations of danger of this sort in Western Asia, and possibly in other missionary fields. The larger missionary societies of "the Church," in England and America have recognized the principle for which we contend, and, in general, observe it. The principle of which we speak is that of a territorial division of missionary fields, to avoid the evils of competition, and possibly conflicting systems of policy on the same ground. An exception is necessarily made of great cities, which are the common entrance to distinct mission fields in the interior of a country, and of such other points as may be indispensable connecting posts; but in these it is incumbent on the different missionary agencies to regard each other's acquired rights, and avoid collisions and causes of embarrassment to one another to the utmost possible extent.

The justification of this intrusive mission is made, in Mr. Hopkins' book, and by other writers, to rest on palpably inconsistent grounds. One is that the American mission has proved unable to christianize the Islands, and there is a necessity for the higher efficiency, on the Hawaiian mind, of "the beauty of holiness in the English church." Mr. Hopkins quotes an authority which insists on the American mission being a failure because of the shamefulness of the prostitution which it has not prevented at Honolulu; and himself, admitting that "the crusade of the missionaries against the licentiousness of the people rapidly effected a great apparent change," illustrates the superior beauty of holiness in the church of England on one of its members, by the following amiable language: "They clothed and converted the natives,

and they produced—not, alas! a regenerated people—but a nation of hypocrites. These seemed not only to do what the missionaries required, but they imitated the manner, tones, and the very appearance of the missionaries themselves. In fact, they are admirable mimics. The missionaries' gesture and intonation, their soft, feline style of approach, their very seat in the saddle, the sun-burnt black suit, all were exactly counterfeited—nothing escaped them! It is only doing the missionaries justice to say that they might well have been deceived by such a looking resemblance of themselves."—pp. 350-1. "A nation of hypocrites!" Such is the argument which goes forth with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Oxford, for a new agency, regardless of the previous one's right of possession, as acknowledged by recognized missionary common law, to "regenerate the people."

It is hard to command patience to reply to an allegation like this. What are the facts known to all the world? "They *clothed* and converted the natives." Think of what refined, delicate ladies, from the choicest circles of New England society, endured, when, for the sake of Christ and the souls of men, they took up their abode, at first in low grass huts, in a filthy village of heathen savages, men and women all around them, and coming in as visitors, frequently in a state of complete nudity. Mr. Hopkins says: "Till taught otherwise by the missionaries, the natives had no conception that aphrodisaic indulgencies were even wrong or hurtful; they had not a word to express chastity in their language." "They had not a name for gratitude." They had no conscience that made them ashamed of the most brutal indulgences, even in public, of falsehood, or theft, or fraud, or murder. Their religion was one of bloody rites, the most degrading and cruel superstitions, of numberless human sacrifices. "From forty years of occasional intercourse with the ships of civilized and commercial nations, they had acquired nothing but new vices, new diseases, new implements of mutual destruction, and the art of distilling a fiery drink for the purpose of intoxication." The casting off of the old system of *taboo* and idolatry, on the eve of the arrival of the missionaries, in 1820, had no other motive than to free the chiefs and chief women from certain restraints, and open the way for a grosser sensualism.

What sublimer spectacle on earth can angels, in this age of the world, look down upon than that of a little company of Christian teachers sitting down for a life-work of heavenly benediction in the midst of such a community! They patiently endured and toiled until they learned the language,

reduced it to writing, translated the Bible, prepared school-books, wrote Christian hymns and tracts, established schools, and preached Christ, "the power of God and the wisdom of God." After years had passed away they began to see spiritual fruit. Mr. Hopkins ridicules the running of crowds of half-clothed natives, with slates in their hands, to the places of instruction; but who, with the heart of a man, could see aught in such a scene but what would fill him with delight? At the end of forty years we find a nation with Christianity its only acknowledged religion. Instead of a despotism, which held every man's life and possessions at the pleasure of violent chiefs and superstitious priests, we see a government of laws justly administered by regularly constituted courts, under a constitutional king, and an elective parliament, in which the debates are conducted with dignity, and frequent exhibitions of intellectual ability. We find a college and high-schools for both sexes rivaling similar institutions in our own country, and a system of instruction so broad that even Mr. Hopkins says that education has "embraced a larger proportion of the population than it has even done in Great Britain, in Prussia, or in New England." Mr. Dana declares the safety for life and property to be such now among those lately inveterate thieves, that "a man may travel alone with money through the wildest spots unarmed;" and Dr. Anderson testifies of his experience in journeying: "We slept at night with open doors, had no apprehension, and lost nothing." Christian marriage has taken the place of polygamy and polyandry; licentiousness, though it largely prevails outside of the church, and is one of the easily-besetting sins within it, now shuns the day, and is subjected to the discipline of the church; and mothers no more bury their infant children alive, nor do children thus dispose of their aged and infirm parents. As to their religious character, Mr. Dana observes: "I found no hut without its Bible and hymn-book in the native tongue; and the practice of family prayer, and grace before meat, though it be over no more than a calabash of porridge and a few dried fish, and whether at home or on journeys, is as common as in New England a century ago."

The volume which Dr. Anderson has published as the fruit of his visit to the Hawaiian Islands, is one of the most valuable contributions to missionary literature for the exhibition which it gives of fundamental missionary principles, and the difficult practical problems that arise in the prosecution of the missionary work among a heathen and barbarous people from its beginning to its finishing. This last problem—the fin-

ishing of a mission that has accomplished its design as such, is an altogether new one. That it has come up first in connection with these most degraded islands of the Pacific, is one of the most instructive, as well as marvellous facts in the history of the gospel. We can well imagine the delight with which the venerable Secretary, who has watched and guided this work from almost its very commencement, surveyed its results as presented to him in his late four months' sojourn amid the scenes of its trials and triumphs. The narrative of his tour through the Islands, though written with admirable simplicity, has all the interest of a romance. He presents the facts of his observations and of history with a candor and discrimination and fulness which make them strike the mind of the thoughtful reader with greater force, because of the impossibility of attributing exaggeration to the description, or to the conclusions drawn from them. Some excitement of feeling, if he had betrayed it, would be pardoned in his accounts of the congregations (from 500 to 1200 and 2500 persons) which every where met him—"those upturned faces, those beaming countenances, those trembling lips, and speaking eyes, when at the close of the meeting they came around to shake hands and say Aloha—love to you," after he had addressed them on the themes of spiritual religion, and, sometimes spoken of the civil war in America, concerning which they were well-informed from the native newspapers which they read, and by which their sympathies were strongly enlisted with those of loyal Christians in the Northern States. "The natives," he remarks "have built more than a hundred meeting-houses, or churches, with but little foreign aid. I understood Mr. Lyons to say that towards a few of the dozen churches built under his supervision, the government made a small contribution, with the understanding that it should have the right of using them for schools, but for nothing else. In the building of the older, larger, more expensive churches, the government, as such, had no agency. The aggregate cost of the churches exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Some of the largest are built of coral, or blocks of lava, and several of these have galleries; more are framed wooden houses, painted white; one, on Kauai, is of a light-colored sandstone: a few have *adobe* walls, that is, of mud hardened in the sun, and a few are of grass. They have slips or pews. Most have bells; and "the sound of the church-going bell" among the hills and valleys of those Islands, seemed to me as suggestive, as delightful, as among the hills and valleys of my native land."*

* The Hawaiian Islands, p. 299.

Nearly one-third of the entire population—a larger proportion than in any of the United States, are communicant members of the Protestant churches. It is the judgment of the missionaries and Dr. Anderson, that, making the proper allowances, the evidences of a true and saving piety are as general and satisfactory as in the churches of evangelical denominations in this country. If many of the church members fall into sin, they often return with increased humility and steadfastness, so that the lapsed and recovered ones become at length pillars in the church. The benevolence of the churches is gratifying; the smallest aggregate of contributions in eight years being reported as \$18,035, while the largest mounted to \$26,069. A missionary society has been sustained for several years, and has sent native ministers and teachers to the Micronesian and Marquesas Islands; in the latter group, succeeding well among a cannibal race, where both American and English missionaries had previously tried and failed. And yet, all this is nothing but a conversion to hypocrisy! What rebuke can be too indignant on the official representative of the government now acknowledged as an independent, civilized, and Christian one, by all Christendom, for uttering such a calumny, and on the distinguished prelate, who, we charitably hope, in amazing ignorance, endorsed it?

It is admitted that those whose idea of Christianity is, that it is a refined civilization, will find much not conformed to it in the present social condition of these recently converted savages; but Christianity is distinct from the material and social advancement which it produces. The Saviour of the world ate with his fingers, dipping the "sop in the dish" without aid from spoon or fork, and slept on the ground, on a bed that could be carried away beneath one's arm. Comparing the Hawaiians with what they were, and this is the only right standard of comparison, the change appears a miracle. None are more sensible of the deception and vices of Hawaiian character than the missionaries. The fact, charged as a reproach, that they have suspended one in six of the church members from the communion, attests their fidelity. Long must be the struggle with old habits, as in the days of early Christianity, before a symmetrical Christian development will be attained. But if the sores on the body of Christianity in Hawaii are to condemn its spiritual parentage, what do St. Giles in London, and the agricultural and manufacturing atheism of England, prove concerning the Anglicanism which has had full possession of them for centuries? Will the easily besetting sin of the Hawaiians be more readily

overcome by breaking down the legal restraints against which Mr. Hopkins declaims, or denying that Sunday is the Sabbath as Bishop Staley in one of his printed sermons does, and substituting sacerdotal vestments, and histrionic worship, and a system of regenerating forms and ordinances, for the spiritual forces that reside in the written word of God and the preaching of the Gospel? The nation may die out from the effects of former vices, diseases which no moral force can now arrest, and other causes,—though the percentage of decrease, has fallen from sixty-five, which was its rate at the beginning of the mission, to five, which is the latest report, and Mr. Hopkins expresses the opinion that “the population has touched the lowest point;” but, if it does, will this prove that Hawaiian piety has been a myth, or that an intoned liturgy, a silk apron, shovel, hat, lawn-sleeves, and mitre, would have saved it more surely than the simple Christianity which has been given it?

Much is said, in certain quarters, of the prevalence of Romanism, Mormonism, and irreligion outside of the missionary churches as furnishing an open and ready field for the new mission. The Romish boast of having one-third of the people is doubtless a great exaggeration; but it is admitted that the Papal mission has gathered in a pretty large body of excommunicated and disaffected church members, and of the baser sort of population never more than nominally Protestant, and easily wrought upon by the religious aspects and hope of temporal gains presented by that system. The Mormons are probably about half their reputed number, which is over four thousand souls, gathered on one retired spot. Both these are, of course, open enemies to the Protestant mission, and to be met as such. The Romish influence is feared only as it gains political power. Mormonism is no object of fear at all. The new Reformed Catholic mission has no more power over them than has the American mission. If it succeeds, it will be by the same process which is pursued in our own country, when one denomination comes in to gather the fruits of a revival which has occurred under the labors of another body of Christians.

A plea for the new mission, discordant with the one above considered, which is also urged, is, that it is no more wrong to go into a christianized community, like the one in the Hawaiian Islands, with a better form of Christianity, inviting an acceptance of it by the people, than it is to labor for the same object in older christianized lands. But infancy cannot bear what hardens and strengthens manhood. The strifes of sec-

larian propagandism, bad enough any where, must be attended with the greatest evils in such a community. The American mission is just carrying its churches through the perilous crisis of change from dependence on mission funds and government to ecclesiastical independence and self-support. Interference from without must be productive of mischief in proportion to the influence which it exerts. It would be equally so if the parties were reversed. Such is the present position of the cause of Christianity in the Islands that the great need to its enlargement is the energy of development from within. Giving them additional missionaries from abroad, instead of helping, actually hinders this result. The child that is always carried will never learn to walk. To teach the young eagle to fly, the mother withdraws the support of her wing at the right time, and in a manner consistent with its safety. Not offers of more help, but all healthful stimulus to do without foreign assistance—not the introduction of divisions, and the diverting of attention from what is highest to the lesser matters of importance in the spiritual temple, but incitements to union in effort, and to a zeal born only of the constraining love of Christ, are the true charity which is called for by the circumstances in which an evidently wise and benevolent policy meets the counteracting influence against which we protest.

We can recall no missionary field more fully taken possession of by any agency than this has been by the American Board, which has expended a million of dollars in its cultivation; and never had the law of missionary comity a stronger claim to be respected than it has in this case. Yet in an instance, when a similar, but far less objectionable interference, with the work of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar, where the number of missionaries and converts compared with the population is much smaller than in the Sandwich Islands, was recently threatened, the Earl of Shaftesbury gave expression to his sense of justice and right in the following forcible terms:

"I am certain," he said, "that there are persons whose names are on that list who, if they were acquainted with the state of things in Madagascar, with what has been done, what is doing, and what is in preparation, would no more think of disturbing the operations of this noble body than they would think of upsetting the church of England, and spreading disorder in all the parishes of this country." And he continued, in another connection: "I am afraid that it will introduce a new principle, that may be subversive of all harmony, and

act most injuriously upon missionary operations in general. There has been hitherto recognized, among all missionaries in the Protestant denomination, a kind of courtesy, that they should not interfere one with another, unless it could be proved that a field was shamefully ill-worked, or that there were heretical doctrines taught, or that mischief was being done instead of good. As to interfering one with another, thrusting yourself into another man's vineyard, not attending to your own, but ever spying out what your neighbor is doing—that is contrary to the received principle of missionary operations. It is contrary to acknowledged courtesies, and if it be allowed to gain head it will lead to a civil war among missionaries ten times more distressing in its consequences than even the civil war in America. I do hope that all parties will very seriously consider before they allow themselves to go one step farther. I should most deeply lament to see that the church of England, which has been so true and so energetic, which has exhibited so deep and solemn an appreciation of the work of its brother Protestants and brother Christians in foreign lands, should now be coming forward in a spirit of selfishness and mean aggrandizement, for the purpose of tearing from the hands of others the work that they have so nobly and so signally performed."

A rival mission, competing for the fruits of labor previously bestowed on a heathen soil, is rightfully objected to in terms as vigorous as those employed by Lord Shaftesbury, though it comes professedly as a friend and ally, and really intends to be such. Bishop Staley disclaims, as the projectors of the proposed new mission in Madagascar did, all unfraternal intentions. "We must make it clear," he says, "that we do not go forth to ignore and override what has been done by others;" and he even goes so far as to declare that "nothing would shake all religious belief in the Islands more effectually than for us to assume an attitude of hostility to those forms of Christianity with which they [the people] are now familiar." It is not clear just what the bishop and his presbyters will consider as amounting to a hostility that would work so tremendous an evil. They disclaim the name of Protestant; and, by the resemblance of ceremonies and doctrine, they perplex the natives with doubt as to how far the Reformed Catholics differ from the Roman Catholics. They allow no church organization on the Islands as valid except their own, and that which proclaims allegiance to the Pope. They carry on a system of operations for gaining the natives from the other churches into their church. They decline to

sternize with the American missionaries, even so much as meet them in a prayer-meeting. One of the presbyters publishes in a Honolulu newspaper that, by an expected act of baptism, "England's bishop, sent with power to bless," would "robe the young chief with Christ's own righteousness"—of course in a manner impossible to Mr. Clark, and rediated by him who, in the providence of God, was actually called to administer the rite; and the teaching of Bishop Staley's sermons, judging from the two specimens which we have of them, is "another gospel" from that which the converted natives have been taught by their spiritual fathers. It is difficult to see how he could more effectually "ignore and override what has been done by others," *except the Romanists*, than he does.

The affiliations and spirit of his mission, and its aims, stand forth, in high relief, in the picture presented by the programme of the procession on the occasion of the funeral of the late king. First, in order were to have come "the ministers of religion of the several religious denominations," meaning the American missionaries, and possibly the Mormons! Next were designated "the clergy of the Roman Catholic church," followed by "his Lordship Louis, the Right Reverend Bishop of Arathea, and Vicar Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands." Following these came "the choir of the Hawaiian Cathedral," "Officiating clergy," and "his Lordship the Right Reverend Bishop of Honolulu." The Americans, who have performed the great work of evangelizing the Islands during a period of forty years, must have the slight put upon them of being called simply "ministers," while Roman Catholics and Reformed, in loving fellowship, are styled "the clergy," and his just arrived Lordship of Honolulu takes the first of honor, with the whole church of Rome interposed between him and the Protestants!

From the accounts which we have received from the Islands we learn, however, that the direct influence of this mission on the people is likely to be very small. Its Catholic dogmas and exclusive claims are not attractive. Its relations with the civil authorities give it its chief importance, and lay the foundation of its hopes. There is a possibility that bitter waters may burst forth from this source, and flow over the whole kingdom. Bishop Staley has accepted a seat in the King's Privy Council; for the first time, a missionary, remaining such, occupies a high position in the government. A proposition to give him a salary from the national treasury, under the denomination of the King's Chaplain, has been re-

ported in the "Budget," and urged on the legislature. The administration of the educational system has become a doubtful question in the politics of the Islands. Political measures are agitated, which produce a feeling of much disquiet throughout the nation. The young king, by an act of arbitrary power which would probably have cost him his crown in Great Britain, had it occurred there, has overthrown the constitution granted by Kamehameha III., and imposed a new one, which takes away the right of suffrage from a large portion of his subjects who have heretofore enjoyed it, and, if we do not mistake, abolishes the ballot. The patience with which they submit to this royal dictation speaks well for the people; but the king and his counsellors make a sad mistake if they suppose that he can go forward in the path in which some seek to lead him, without the gravest consequences in the end.

A most unfavorable impression has already been made on the public opinion of the Christian nations, in whose support alone can this "speck of nationality" in the Pacific find safety. With the approaching termination of our civil war, the trade of California with China is, by its increase, immensely to affect the condition of the Islands which are to be its resting-place on the route. The true friends of the king and the Hawaiian nation desire to see the secure independence of its government, and the highest prosperity of its people under a wisely administered government of constitutional freedom. A liberal and just policy—not one of arbitrariness, the maintenance of legal safe-guards against the ruin of a desolating flood of intemperance and licentiousness, and the promotion of education, all sound morality, and a spiritual Christianity, are the real dignity of the throne and protection of the nation. We rejoice to receive the information as we write, that despite the active advocacy of the repeal of the section of a bill which makes it a penal offence to sell or give liquor to Hawaiians, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the proposition to repeal was rejected in the Legislature, by a vote of twenty-six to eleven; and that it was understood that the king would have vetoed the act if it had received a majority of the votes. All honor to the sovereign and to the deputies for this! We trust that this is an indication that the intelligence and right-feeling of the king will lead him to see who are his and his people's best friends, and emancipate him from the influence of advisers whose political and personal aims are shown to be in the highest degree dangerous to his own and the people's welfare.

ART. IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

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THE organization of the primitive church was borrowed from the synagogue, not from the temple. It had rulers, but not priests; a place of prayer, but no altar or church edifice. Jesus Christ instituted the supper, memorable to the end of all time, in a guest chamber. Paul preached in any chance place; by the river side; in an upper chamber; in the school of Tyrannus. The primitive Christians, ready for persecutions and death, met in the house of Priscilla and Aquila, or of Philemon, or of Nymphas, or of any other brother, or sister, who had a room which, though ordinarily devoted to secular uses, could, nevertheless, be occasionally spared for the worship of God. A church edifice was unknown until the third century; and such buildings were not common, until the time of Constantine, in the fourth. The age of the apostles and martyrs had then passed away. Of course, all ideas of the peculiar sanctity of such structures, and the mysterious appropriation of their several parts to distinct uses, are separated, by a great gulf, from apostolic times, and primitive ideas and usages. Along with church buildings, came up, also, ideas of an altar, and a sacrifice, the temple service, and orders of priesthood. The Old Testament was then allowed to impose many of its burthens on the New; and no analogy that could be drawn from the deference exacted, in the Mosaic law, towards the Jewish priest and levite, was thought too remote to be applied, in all its extent and rigor, to the servants of the restored temple under Christ. This tendency is conspicuous, in all ecclesiastical literature, from the latter part of the second century. Whenever the subject of the hierarchy is touched, the citations and proofs flow, in an almost uninterrupted current, from the Jewish Scriptures.

The organization of the apostolic church was extremely simple; so simple, that it had, so far as we know, no formal institution; but was the spontaneous result of the habits and notions of men educated in the synagogue; where, as we have stated, no priest officiated, no altar was erected, and no sacrifice was offered; but, in which the Scriptures were read and expounded, exhortations were delivered, and prayer was offered. It was under the government, it is true, of elders; but

so liberal in its usages, that it had not even a stated reader of the holy books, and that Jesus Christ, or St. Paul, though neither priest nor levite, might be allowed, and even invited, to present their views, in the midst of a congregation bigotedly Jewish. The only ceremony by which one was initiated into the primitive Christian community, was baptism; and the administration of this rite was so far from being deemed an exclusively priestly function, that it remained an open question in the church, until the early part of the third century, whether even baptism by a heretic was not valid. Although this question was then determined by some councils in the negative, it was settled affirmatively by the Roman bishop Stephen; and it has remained a fixed tenet, in the Catholic church, to this day, that baptism may be lawfully administered by laymen or heretic; that, in the language of St. Augustine, by whomsoever administered, it is always of Christ.*

We have, at the present time, two extreme organizations of church government; the episcopal and the congregational; the most enlightened scholars of either of which would hardly claim that they conform to the primitive type exhibited in the New Testament. The familiar arguments for such claims have been long since exploded. But the ablest minds of the episcopal school refer back the origin of episcopacy to a period so near to the times of the apostles, that they claim the fair presumption to be, though without direct evidence, that a change from the Scriptural form reached back to the period of Saint John, and had, at least, his sanction; whilst they strongly rely upon a direct derivation and official succession from the churches founded by the apostles. The congregationalists, at the other extreme, who are entirely without any ancient precedents to sustain their views, rely for the currency of arguments essentially weak, upon the sympathy of the church masses with democratic sentiments and usages.

The primitive form of church government was neither monarchical, like the episcopal, nor purely democratic, like the congregational. It was essentially aristocratic, but greatly modified by an admixture of democratic elements. "In the Jewish synagogue," says Neander in his Church History, "and in all the sects that sprung out of Judaism; there existed a form of government which was not monarchical, but aristocratic, consisting of a council of elders, *πρεσβυτεροι*, who

* Si quis dixerit, baptismum qui etiam datur ab hæreticis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, cum intentione faciendi quod facit ecclesia, non esse verum baptismum, anathema sit. Can. et Dec. Con. Tridentinæ. Can. IV. de Baptismo.

had the guidance of all affairs belonging to the common interests. To this form, Christianity, which unfolded itself out of Judaism, would most naturally attach itself. . . . The guidance of the communities was, accordingly, every where entrusted to a council of elders.”*

This form of government is substantially reproduced in the Presbyterian church of the present day, which occupies an intermediate position between the Episcopaleans, on the one hand, and the Congregationalists on the other. The primitive churches, however, seem to have been essentially independent; each supreme within its own district; and the council of elders in each church, or what is now known as the church “sessions,” constituted what was then called “the presbytery.”† Nothing can be more apparent from the Scriptures, than that such a council, made up of a plurality of presbyters, or elders, was attached, as a governing body, to each separate congregation, in each locality. No facts are better established in ecclesiastical history, than that such a governing body remained to each church, in the period immediately succeeding that of the apostles; and that the same *form* continued down beyond the middle of the third century, although, at the latter period, the functions of the presbytery were occasionally usurped, as they were, ultimately, entirely absorbed by a single bishop, or a single presbyter.

These presbyters, or elders, were *governors*, in every sense of the word; being not only constituted the public guardians of the purity of the faith, and having charge, in their collective capacity, of the public concerns of the church; but being invested, also, with an official oversight, and authoritative direction, of the private lives of its members. No religious duty is more frequently and specifically enjoined upon Christians, than to submit to the rule of these governors, and to render to them implicit obedience. Hence, a form of church government which is a pure democracy, and which, consequently, admits of no such body of officials, and recognizes no such duty, has no just claim to be regarded as the primitive form. “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves,” says the Epistle to the Hebrews; “for they watch for your souls as they that must give account.” (Heb. xiii, 17.) “Submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that

* Vol. I. p. 184.

† Thus, Alford, on Tim. iv. 14. “Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of *the presbytery*,” interprets “the presbytery” to be “the body of elders who belonged to the congregation in which he was ordained.”

helpeth with us and laboreth." (1 Cor. xvi. 16.) "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you." (1 Thess. v. 12.) This language not only establishes a government in the church, as distinguished from a voluntary association upon the independent footing of entire democratic equality; but it clearly shows, also, that this government was to be exercised by a plurality of officials, and not by one; by a presbytery, and not by a presbyter, or priest. This language further imports, that these were local governors, living amongst and in personal communication and association with the governed.

There were but two classes of officials in the primitive church; the bishop, presbyter, or elder, and the deacon. With the latter we do not propose to deal; as he was rather an almoner than a governor of the church; and as the discussion of the relative position and prerogatives of the former, will fully elucidate all that furnishes just matter of controversy in regard to church government.

All candid scholars, of every sect, are now universally agreed, that unless in the book of Revelation, the New Testament, contains no trace of but two descriptions or grades of officers in the church; and that the terms "bishop," "presbyter," and "elder," by which the leaders or governors are designated, are used interchangeably, as precise equivalents and synonyms, to signify the same officer.

That these are convertible terms, as used in the Scriptures, is apparent from the Epistle to Titus, wherein he is directed, to "ordain *elders* in every city; if any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly; *for a bishop* must be blameless, as the steward of God." (Tit. i. 5.) And still more indisputably apparent is it, from Acts xx. 25 and 28, where it is expressly stated, that St. Paul sent to Ephesus, and called "*the elders* of the church," and addressed them, among other things, as follows: "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *Bishops*, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." "The English version," says the learned and candid Alford, of the Episcopal church, in commenting on this passage, "has hardly dealt fairly in this case, with the sacred text, in rendering *ἐπισκόπους* ver. 28, 'overseers;' whereas, it ought there, as well as in other places, to have been 'bishops;' that the fact of elders and bishops having been originally and apostolically synonymous, might be apparent to the ordinary English reader, which now it is not." The Epistle to the Philippians

is addressed "to the Saints in Jesus Christ which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." St. Paul, here "calls the presbyters bishops," says Theodoret, (a Greek Commentator, and himself a bishop, who wrote in the fifth century), "for they had both names at that time."

Thus, we perceive, that the bishops of apostolic times were what are now commonly called presbyters, or elders. Several of such bishops were ordained "in every church," and "in every city," though but freshly planted in heathen places, and comprising, in all probability, but very limited numbers. (Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5; Phil. i. 1.) They are, in almost every passage, spoken of in the plural, though attached to the single church of a single locality, and as making up, in their collective capacity, a governing body, or presbytery, for each such church, or congregation. (1. Tim. iv. 14). It is conceded, accordingly, by all well informed and candid men, that, at least, until we come to the Apocalypse, no trace of the official now known as a "bishop" appears in apostolic times, or anywhere in the Scriptures of the New Testament. Thus, the episcopal author of the article on the word, "Bishop," in Smith's Biblical Dictionary, writes as follows: "That the two titles of bishop and presbyter, or elder, were originally equivalent, is clear from the following facts: 1., ἐπίσκοποι (bishops), and πρεσβύτεροι, (presbyters), are nowhere named together, as being orders distinct from each other; 2. ἐπίσκοποι (bishops), and διακονοί, (deacons), are named as apparently an exhaustive division of the officers of churches addressed by St. Paul, as an apostle: (Phil. i. 1.; Tim. iii. 1, 8, 3); 3. the same persons are described by both names; (Acts xx. 17, 18; Tit. i. 5, 8); 4. πρεσβύτεροι discharge functions which are essentially episcopal, i.e. involving pastoral superintendence. (1. Tim. v. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2)." (Smith's Bib. Dic. p. 217). So, St. Jerome, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century, and was, certainly, the ablest scholar of all the early fathers, demonstrates the same proposition, very fully and conclusively, in his Epistle to Evangelus; (Epist. 146 ed. Migne); and, again, in his commentary upon the passage already cited from the Epistle to Titus, wherein, referring to 1 Phil. i. 2, he says: "Philippi is a single city in Macedonia, and, surely, in a single city, there could not have been many such as are now called 'bishops.' But, because, at that time, they called the same persons bishops and presbyters, therefore, the apostle has spoken of bishops and presbyters indiscriminately."*

* Phillippi una est urbs Macedoniae, et certe in una civitate plures, ut nuncu-

Since, then, we find the modern bishop nowhere else in the Scriptures, is he introduced to us, in the seven epistles of the Apocalypse, under the title of "the Angel" of the churches?

It is an elementary rule of interpretation, that the usual signification of words should not be departed from, unless the context demands it; and if departed from, such a signification should be assigned as that context demands. If the context itself is ambiguous, then, such a meaning should be adopted as finds support from the like use of the word in other instances.

Now, there is not a single other instance that can be found, in any age approaching that of the apostles, in which the word 'angel' is once used to signify an official in the Christian church. This would not have been so, if such a use had been justified by Scriptural precedent and example. The idea is obvious, to any one that reads the epistles of Ignatius, for example, that, with the disposition manifested by that writer to magnify the bishop, the impulse to employ that term would have been irresistible, if he had ever been cognizant of its use in the sense here imputed to it. It is absolutely incredible, that so complimentary a designation of a bishop, if ever sanctioned by apostolic usage, should not have been greedily appropriated by the bishops themselves, and made a part of the fixed terminology of the church, as every other such honorable designation was. Origen, who wrote within not much more than a century of St. John, whilst commenting at large on the word "angel," and laboring to illustrate the idea, that angels have been "evangelists," never once hints at the cognate and converse idea, which would have been so natural, as to be almost irrepressible, in that connexion, if it had any real basis, that by any of the apostles a Christian bishop had been freely designated as an angel.* And, more especially, in treating of this very passage, he characterizes the angel of the church as its invisible bishop, but makes not the remotest allusion to the visible *bishop* as its angel.†

pantur, episcopi esse non poterant. Sed quia eosdem episcopos illo tempore quos et presbyteros appellabant: propterea indifferenter de episcopis quasi de presbyteris est locutus.

* Introduction to the Commentary on the Gospel of St. John.

† Si audaciter expedit loqui Scripturarum sensum sequenti per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis, ille visui carnis hic sensui patens. Et quomodo homo si commissam sibi dispensationem bene egerit laudatur a Domino; si male culpæ et vitio subjacet; sic et angelus. Scriptum est enim in Apocalypsi Joannis: sed habes ibi nomina pauca quæ polluerunt illud, vel illud. Et rursus: Habes ibi qui doctrinam Nicolaitarum doceant (Apoc ii.) ac deinde habes illa vel illa peccata facientes, et accusantur angeli quibus creditæ sunt ecclesie. Si autem angelis sollicitudo, etc. (Hom. XIII.

On the other hand, we have the most direct evidence, that the word "angel" was in current use, to signify one's representative. Thus, Christ says, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, that, in heaven, *their angels* do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven," (Matt. xviii, 10.) So, after Peter was released by the angel from prison, and knocked at the gate where the apostles were assembled, Rhoda told them, "how Peter stood before the gate. And they said unto her, thou art mad. But she constantly affirmed that it was even so. Then said they, it is *his angel*," (Acts xi. 15.) And, from the earliest times, each church, as well as each individual, was deemed to have a representative angel, as may be seen from numerous passages in the writings of Origen, (23 Homily on Luke,) Clement of Alexandria, (294, 32, 298, 22 ed. Klotz,) Theodoret, (Comm. on Daniel, x, 13, Deut. xxxii, 8,) and others. Indeed, the idea was familiar to the Jewish mind, that every nation had its representative angel. Thus, in the Septuagint, which was principally used by the Jews of apostolic times, the passage in Deuteronomy xxxii, 8, is translated, He "set the bounds of the nations, according to the number of the angels of God;" and, in Daniel, a book to which the Apocalypse, in its symbolic phraseology, bears many points of resemblance, the angel Michael is set forth as the prince of Daniel, or of the Hebrews, and Grecia and Persia are represented by their respective princes or angels, (Daniel x, 13, 20, and 21.) If thus, even a heathen nation had its representative angel, how much more a Christian church? In the book of Revelation itself, we have, in like manner, "the angel of the waters," (ch. xvi, 4.) By what law of interpretation, then, can a word be perverted from a usual and received signification, which it can be shown to have had, as well in the circle of the writer who used it, as with the people to whom it was addressed, and which suits well the context where it occurs, to a sense that the word has never, in any other single instance that we know of, been made to bear, and which, not the context itself, but a preconceived episcopal theory was the first to suggest? Although the words are the words of the Spirit, yet the Spirit condescends, necessarily, in a revelation, to the use of the vocabulary of the writer; and, like the other Scriptures

on Luke). E quibus unum exemplum ponam ut sciamus angelos quoque humanis vocibus erudiri. Scriptum est in Apocalypsi Joannis : Angelo Ephesiorum Ecclesiæ scribe : Habeo aliquid contra te (Apoc. ii.) et rursum : Angelo ecclesiæ Pergami scribe, Habeo quippiam contra te. Certe homo est qui scribit angelis, et aliquid præcipit. Hom. XXIII. on Luke.

in this respect, these passages must be construed by the ordinary laws of human speech.

Nothing is gained to the argument on the other side, by shewing that such a term as 'angel' was used to designate a subordinate official, (not a ruler,) of the Jewish synagogue. Natural as it was, in the first origin of Christianity, to borrow the organization and the verbal style of the synagogue, from which the church sprang, such a thing would have been most unnatural and unaccountable, after more than half a century of hostility, persecution, and deadly conflict. At this latter period, the apostles carefully shunned every approximation to Judaism, as an approach to heresy, and things from that quarter, indifferent in themselves, were often regarded as full of a possibly dangerous significance. If a name and an office were then found in the synagogue, it would have been esteemed a reason why they should not then enter, if they had not before entered the church.

Obvious moral considerations show, that it was not an official of the church that was addressed under the denomination of its angel. In every one of the seven epistles, there is an absolute moral identity between each church and its angel. Their cases are absolutely one. Nothing but a spiritual and ideal representative could have been thus so identified with the church itself, as perfectly to personate it, on its judicial trial, before a Judge infallible in his discriminations. It is wholly incredible, that, in every one of the seven instances, there should have been such a perfect community of praiseworthiness, or blameworthiness, between bishop and church, that not a single bishop of the seven should have stood out, apart from his church, for personal and individual praise, or personal and individual rebuke; but that the Omniscient Spirit must have embraced both church and bishop, throughout, in indiscriminate praise, or condemned both with one common reprobation.

It seems quite preposterous, to undertake to sustain the weight of the episcopal system upon a basis so frail as the doubtful use of a figure of speech; especially, when a meaning favorable to that use cannot be assigned to the figure, without breaking through all the ordinary and established laws of interpretation.

All the more ancient interpreters, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, and Jerome, adopt the view as obvious and of course, that the angel addressed is but the personification and spiritual representative of the church; or, at least, not a human personage, or church official; and such is the view of the best modern interpreters, De Wette, Alford, and others.

There were, then, no three kinds of officials, much less three orders of the ministry, in the apostolic church. Nor was the government of the individual churches devolved upon any *one* official, but upon a plurality of persons attached to each separate congregation, and known as the elders, who, together, constituted the presbytery. Any scheme of administering the church that diverges from this, must, in so far, be of human institution, and not of divine appointment.

How justly does the Episcopal author of the article "Priest," just published in Smith's Biblical Dictionary, say :

"The idea which pervades the teaching of the Epistles, is that of an universal priesthood. All true believers are made kings and priests (Rev. i. 6, 1 Pet. ii. 9), offer spiritual sacrifices (Rom. xii. 1), may draw near, may enter into the holiest (Heb. x. 19-22), as having received a true priestly consecration. They, too, have been washed and sprinkled as the sons of Aaron were (Heb. x. 22). IT WAS THE THOUGHT OF A SUCCEEDING AGE, *that the old classification of the high priest, priest, and levite, was reproduced in the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Christian church.* The idea which was thus expressed, rested, it is true, on the broad analogy of a threefold gradation, and the terms, 'priest,' 'altar,' and 'sacrifice' might be used without involving more than a legitimate symbolism ; but they brought with them the inevitable danger of reproducing and perpetuating in the history of the Christian church, many of the feelings which belonged to Judaism, *and ought to have been left behind with it.*" The author of this article is Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, and examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

Clearly, episcopacy does not exist in the Scriptures ; and the entire controversy between presbyterianism and episcopacy is narrowed down to the questions, how early the form of government defined in the Scriptures was supplanted, and what authority existed for the alteration.

On the part of the latter system, it is insisted, that such a change occurred, though not recorded in the Scriptures, in the times of the Apostles, or, at least, during the life of Saint John, and received his apostolic sanction.*

It is a strong, and, as it would seem, unanswerable argument, against this assumption, that *the earliest literature of the church, subsequent to the Apostolic age, ignores any such change.*

The first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is

* Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensens in Joannem stabit. Tertullian adv. Marcion.—Lib. IV. ch. 5.

acknowledged all to be authentic. It was written near the beginning of the second century, and on the occasion of an intestine division that arose between some members of the Corinthian church and the officials of that church ; and it is perfectly manifest, from every part of that epistle, (and this, no scholar of the Episcopal Church ever assumed to deny,) that, at the time it was written, the Corinthian church which was instituted by, and so long under the guidance of the Apostle Paul himself, had never known such a single official as a bishop, in any of the modern senses of that term ; but was governed exclusively by a college of elders, presbyters, or bishops, precisely such as we read of in the Scriptures. Clement says : "The Apostles, preaching the word through countries and cities, appointed the first fruits, bishops, and deacons over those about to become believers." (Ch. xlii).

"Our Apostles knew, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contention would arise on account of the Episcopal authority ; and, for that reason, being endowed with a perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid (bishops, or presbyters,) and then gave direction, that, when they should die, other approved men should receive their office. We think, that they are not justly removed from their office who were thus constituted by the Apostles, or afterwards, by other approved men, the whole church assenting, and who have served the Church of Christ in humility, in peace, and with liberality, and have, during a long period, won a good report from all. We think it will be our no slight sin, if we remove from the episcopate, those who have discharged their duties in a holy manner, and without blame. Blessed are those presbyters, who, having heretofore finished their lives, have obtained a fruitful and complete discharge ; for they have no fear of being removed from the place assigned them. But we see that ye remove some living uprightly, from the office which they were filling unblameably and with honor." (ch. xliv.) "We are compelled to hear what is shameful, very shameful, and unworthy of a Christian mode of life, when we hear that the very firm and ancient church of the Corinthians, on account of one or two men, is engaged in seditious agitations against its presbyters" (ch. xlvii). "Who is there among you that is generous, that is merciful, that is full of charity. Let him say, 'if I am the cause of sedition, schism, and discord, I go wherever you please to direct, and whatever the mass of the church commands that I do ; only let the fold of Christ live in peace with its appointed *presbyters*.'" (ch. liv.) "Ye, therefore, who have laid the foundations of sedition, be subject in obedience

to the *presbyters*, and receive correction unto repentance on the bended knees of your hearts." (ch lvii.) Thus, in this epistle, which is addressed, in an age subsequent to the Apostles, "from the church of God at Rome to the church of God at Corinth," the word "presbyter" is treated, as it is in the New Testament, as the precise equivalent and synonym of the word "elder" or "bishop." A plurality of such officials is everywhere spoken of as attached to a single church of Christians. A division between some of the members of this church and its rulers, being the sole occasion of the letter, brings the constitution and relations of the community directly into view ; yet the epistle throughout exhibits a church of a purely presbyterian organization, without the slightest trace of episcopacy.

This was after the death of the apostles St. Paul and St. Peter ; for that is a fact mentioned in the course of the epistle itself. A single consideration suffices to show, that it must likewise have been written after the death of St. John ; and that consideration is, that it was written at the request and solicitation of the Corinthian Church* for the purpose of tranquilizing by the authority it was presumed it would have, the seditious movement which had arisen against its presbyters. Now, does any one believe, if St. John, the apostle, had been yet alive, and in a neighboring church, so near to Corinth as Ephesus, that *his* interposition would not rather have been solicited to this end ; that authority which was apostolical, and must have been final and conclusive, would not have been invoked ; but that, instead thereof, the Church of Corinth would have written, of preference, to the merely coequal, and more remote Church of Rome ? Nor, is it credible, that, if an appeal had been made to St. John, all trace or memorial of such a correspondence would have been effaced, whilst this has been preserved. We insist, therefore, that the Apostles had at this time all passed away ;† and that, consequently,

* [Διὰ τὰς] αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ [περ]ιπτώσεις, ἀδελφοί, βράδιον [νομ]ίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιθ[έν]αι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων [πα]ρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μιὰρᾶς καὶ ἀνοδίου στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῇ καὶ αὐθάδῃ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε, etc. ch. i.

† This is a very important point in the argument, and susceptible of further presumptive proof from other sources. Thus, Irenæus, in treating of this epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, writes in a strain that clearly assumes and pre-supposes, that the Apostles were all dead at the time ; for, he states, that many at the time that Clement became bishop of Rome, still survived *who had been taught by the Apostles* ; a fact wholly without significance, if any of the Apostles themselves still survived. Irenæus adds, that after Clement became

this epistle furnishes the proof, that the primitive organization survived their period, and that no other system ever received their sanction.

We come next upon the collection of Epistles of Ignatius ; on which the advocates of episcopacy place the strongest reliance, for proof of the extreme antiquity of their order. Yet we have an epistle from Polycarp, the contemporary of Ignatius, and to whom one of the epistles of the latter purports to be addressed ; but that epistle of Polycarp betrays not the slightest trace of an episcopal organization, either in the church of the writer of it, or in the church to which it is addressed. It is written in the name of " Polycarp and the presbyters of the church of God who are with him, to the church of God sojourning at Philippi"; and contains exhortations and instructions to the deacons and elders, but not the least allusion to a bishop.

Ignatius, as it is reported in ancient ecclesiastical histories, was bishop of the church of Antioch, in Syria, and was condemned to be thrown to wild beasts, as a martyr for the faith, by the Roman Emperor Trajan, on his passage through that city ; as some say, in the year 112 ; but more critical authorities give the year 117. The condemned bishop, on his way to Rome, is related to have written epistles addressed to the Ephesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Philadelphians, the Smyrnians, the Magnesians and to Polycarp.

But, it cannot be satisfactory to build a church system upon

bishop, he wrote this epistle announcing the tradition which he had then recently received from the Apostles.

"Tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et vidit ipsos apostolos et contulit cum eis, et quum adhuc insonantem praedicationem apostolorum et traditionem ante oculos haberet, non solus; adhuc enim multi supererant tunc ab apostolis docti. Sub hoc igitur Clemente, dissensione non modica inter eos, qui Corinthi essent, fratres facta, scripsit quae est Romae ecclesia potentissimas literas Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans et reparans fidem eorum, et annuntians quam in recenti ab apostolis acceperat traditionem."

Irenaeus, Lib. III. c. 3 § 3.

Eusebius, in his Chronicon, and Jerome de Vir. Ill. place the death of St. John in the year 100, and that of Clement, at A. D. 103.

If this appeal to Clement was made whilst St. John yet lived, it is susceptible of but one explanation, and must be taken as conferring an implied apostolic sanction upon the supremacy of Rome. Thus, Cardinal Perrone says, the Corinthians, "S. Clementem Romanum Pontificem confugisse, ut *probabilius* videtur, ex *communiori* criticorum sententia, cum adhuc in vivis esset S. Joannes apostolus qui tunc regebat omnes Asiae ecclesias a se fundatas. Atqui inde eruitur Romanorum Pontificum supremam auctoritatem in ecclesiam universam agnitam jam fuisse viventibus apostolis atque ab his Romanis Pontificibus jam tunc in praxim deductam." Praelec Theol. Prop. IV de Ec. Cath. Ob. 3, note 5.

an authority so unstable as that of Ignatius. At first, fifteen epistles were published as his, and passed unquestioned for nearly a century. Three of these vanished, at the slightest touch of criticism, as they were not extant in the tongue in which Ignatius wrote, and were, in other respects, palpable forgeries; one of them being addressed to the Virgin Mary, and accompanied by an answer from her! Five others have gradually yielded to the same ordeal; and only seven are now received as genuine. Of these seven, two very different editions exist, one of which is much longer than the other, and almost universally allowed to be largely interpolated; to say nothing of a third, and smaller, Syriac edition, recently published by Cureton, consisting of only three epistles, and which, the publisher contends, and Chevalier Bunsen and others with him, are the only genuine remains of Ignatius.* An author who has been the subject of such extensive forgeries, corruptions, and interpolations, must be open to the gravest doubts, in regard to whatever yet remains that claims to be his; and, by some of the most considerate authorities, all of these epistles have been totally rejected as spurious.† When we examine their contents, they of themselves, tend to create scepticism; for it is hard to believe, that a martyr, in the early part of the second century, and on his way to Rome to be thrown to wild beasts, could have found no better material to address to Christians exposed to the horrors of a like persecution, than to magnify the episcopal office, and extol the bishop as next to God himself, and in the place of God. His epistle to the Romans offers, in this respect, a marked contrast to all the others of the collection, and bears, in other respects, the best intrinsic evidence of authenticity, as being strictly in character and keeping with the man, the circumstances, the situation, and the times. Waiving all question of the genuineness and authenticity of the seven received epistles of Ignatius, and conceding to them, for the sake of the argument, the fullest authority, it is only by confounding, under an identity of names, things wholly unlike, that what this author writes of bishops can be converted into an argument for the episcopacy of the present age.

The bishop, in the Ignatian Epistles, is but the pastor of a Presbyterian church. He is but the leading and presiding official of a single congregation in a single locality. A Christian could not partake of the communion of the Lord's supper

* See the edition of Hagenback's *History of Doctrines*, by Professor Henry B. Smith, Vol. I. p. 66.

† Neander's *Church History*, Vol. I. p. 661.

without him ; (and in that age they partook of it daily ;) indeed, without him, no church could act, in its ordinary worship and services, nor do anything that appertained to a church. In his absence, no assembly whatever could be organized or regarded as a church. Hence, the bishop of Ignatius was a bishop who had charge of only one single community of Christians, to whose vitality, as an ecclesiastical body, his constant presence was indispensable ; with whom he was in daily personal relations ; and over whose every assemblage, as over whose daily lives, he personally presided ; a mere local pastor, in every sense of the word, and *not* a bishop, in any of the common and modern senses of that term.

Thus, he says, in the epistle to the Symrnæans (ch. 8), " Let no one do anything that relates to the church separately from the bishop. Let that eucharist be regarded as valid which is either offered by the bishop, or by him whom the bishop has allowed to offer it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people also be ; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic church. It is not lawful, without the bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the holy communion ; but whatsoever he shall have approved of, that is also pleasing to God."

Furthermore, in the epistles of Ignatius, a college of presbyters, or elders, appear inseparably united with the bishop, in the government of each separate church, and in every separate locality, whose authority and jurisdiction are co-extensive with that of the bishop ; invariably associated, also, with a body of deacons ; *all*, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, being local and co-ordinate authorities, limited and localized to a single body of Christians, living and worshipping together in one place. These were the indispensable officials of each congregation of Christians, the inseparable equipment of every church community, in its most elementary form ; and each of such local communities absorbed, alike, the powers of all these officers, so that the powers of neither of them reached beyond to any other community. One has, therefore, only to alter the nomenclature of these epistles, without any change in the functions of the church officers, or in the form of the church government, to reproduce, in individual churches, the primary Presbyterian organization of the present day.*

* Hence, Bishop Pearson, a distinguished authority of the English church, says : " Si quid ego in hac re intelligo, quicunque Presbyteriali Dignitati Auctoritatique maxime student, non habent suae existimationis firmitus aut solidius fundamentum quam epistolas Sancti Ignatii nostri." Vind. Ignat. Par. 2., ch. 16, p. 428.

What Ignatius styles the college of presbyters, is now styled the church session ; and what he styles a bishop, is, in the language of this day, a pastor. The bishop does not stand out alone, and independently of the presbyters, or elders, as their ecclesiastical governor ; but as fitted into one frame of authority with them. "Your famous presbytery," says he, "worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp." (Ephes. ch. 4.) Hence, they appear almost invariably in connection. "Obeying your bishop *and the presbytery* with an entire affection," he writes to the same church. (ch. 20.) "That, being subject to the bishop *and the presbytery*, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified" (ch. 2.) Again, to the Magnesians : "In whom I rejoice, for as much as he is subject unto the bishop, as to the grace of God, *and to the presbytery*, as to the law of Jesus Christ." (ch. 2.) "As the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by himself, nor yet by his Apostles ; so neither do ye anything without the bishop *and the presbyters* (Epist. ad. Mag. c. 7.) "He that is within the altar is pure ; but he that is without, that is, does anything without the bishop *and presbytery and deacon*, is by no means pure in his conscience." (Trall. ch. 7.) "There is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in the unity of his blood ; one altar, as, also, there is one bishop, *with the presbytery and the deacons*, my fellow-servants." (Phil. ch. 4.) "I exclaimed with a loud voice" attend to the bishop, *and to the presbytery, and to the deacons*. (Phil. ch. 7.) "I love, as I love my life, those who obey the bishop, *presbyters, and deacons*." (Epist. to Polycarp ch. 6.)

Ignatius is, thus, really an authority for presbyterian, not for episcopal government ; or, if for the latter, it is for an episcopacy that differs from the former but in name—for presbyterian, not for diocesan episcopacy. The officials are all the same ; without a difference, even of name, except in the case of one of them. The exhortations we have cited could not be addressed, with any fitness, to a community organized as the Episcopal Church now is. They assume and pre-suppose the existence of personal and familiar relations between Christians and their bishops, and would be incongruous, addressed to a church the masses of which hardly see their bishop once in the course of a year. And where now, in that church, is that local presbytery composed of a plurality of elders, or presbyters, in such inseparable personal union with that bishop as the strings are with the frame of a harp ? Add to each Episcopal congregation these missing characteristics ; degrade their bishop to an intimate personal communion with his

people ; establish a local presbytery to each church ; and give to the bishop no more extended local jurisdiction than to them ; establish, also, a body of deacons as an attribute to each congregation ; and the peculiar traits of episcopacy will have vanished ; you will have, indeed, the church of Ignatius ; but the bishop will have become a pastor, and the church itself will be no longer episcopal, but presbyterian.

Nowhere, in these epistles, does the bishop appear as the successor of the Apostles ; and hence they furnish the strongest negative evidence, that the idea of an apostolic succession had never as yet been broached. So ardent an ally of the bishops as Ignatius, and himself a bishop, would otherwise have been prompt to seize and render conspicuous the first links in the chain of such a succession ; as the title, if good, could, at that early day, have been easily traced ; but every where in his pages, it is the college of elders, and not the bishop, that furnishes the appropriate representation of the Apostles ; whilst no one appears to claim their inheritance, or succession. If they had successors, these must, according to this author, be sought for in *the presbytery*, and not among the bishops. "Be ye subject," he says to the Trallians, "to the presbytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ, our hope." (ch. 2.) "Let all reverence the deacons, as the command of Jesus Christ, and the bishop as Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father, and *the presbyters* as the sanhedrim of God, and the college of *the Apostles*. Without these, there is no church." (ch. 3.) "I exhort you, that you study to do all things in the concord of God, the bishop presiding in the place of God, *the presbyters* in the place of the council of *the Apostles*, and the deacons most dear to me, being entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ." (Magnesians ch. 6.) "Let all obey the bishop, as Jesus Christ obeys the Father, and *the presbytery as the Apostles*, and reverence the deacons as the command of God." (Smyrn. ch. 8.)

[Concluded in our next number.]

ART. V.—QUEEN CANDACE: Acts viii. 27.*

By DR. J. C. M. LAURENT.

In the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 27, we are told, that Philip baptized a man, of whom it is said, that he was "a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch, a man of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians [an Ethiopian queen] who had the charge of all her treasure." Wieseler (*Chronologie des apost. Zeitalters*, p. 144) assigns this event to A. D. 40. Other theologians make the date of Paul's conversion, by which this is to be determined, somewhat earlier; so that the baptism of the eunuch would range between A. D. 32 and 41. Whether with Bengel we put it in the year 32, or with Schmidt in 41, or with Wieseler in 40, it at any rate occurred during the rule of the Roman Emperor Tiberius or Caligula. The question now comes up, whether the statements of Strabo and Dio Cassius about an Ethiopian Queen Candace, relate to the Candace named in the Acts of the Apostles.

According to Strabo (xvii., p. 820. Divis. 1. § 54, p. 617 in edition of Tzucke), and Dio Cassius (liv. 5. p. 734, 524), the Ethiopians under their Queen Candace, in the year B. C. 22, assailed the Romans in Egypt, plundered Syene [Assuan], Elephantine and Philæ, but were subdued by the Roman deputy, C. Petronius. After taking possession of several Ethiopian towns, Petronius punished their presumption by laying waste Napata, the chief city of Ethiopia; and then peace was made. Strabo describes Candace as a masculine woman. She had lost one eye—probably in battle. She had a son grown up. If we assume that this son was sixteen years old the year B. C. 22, and that his mother was only fifteen years when married, then she would have been thirty-one years old the year B. C. 22, and ninety-three years old in A. D. 40. And if Bengel is correct in assigning the conversion of Paul to A. D. 32, then Queen Candace would have been eight years younger, that is eighty-five years old at the time referred to in the Acts of the Apostles.

It is then not impossible that these classical writers spoke of the Candace named in the New Testament, and that we thus have some definite historical accounts of her. But yet I readily

grant that this is not very probable, especially if we assume that she was married when somewhat over fifteen years old, that her son was more than sixteen in the year B. C. 22, and that her treasurer was baptized A. D. 40—all which is very possible, and would make Queen Candace over 100 years old at the time of this baptism.

The chief city of Candace, Napata, Ritter tries to find on the spot of the ruins of Ebsambol; others think it the place now called Merave, (See Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, II. 816 Note).

A queen of Ethiopia of the name of Candace, was ruling as early as the times of Alexander. Suidas and Tzetzes refer to her. Suidas says (II. 58., edition of Bernhardt); *Κανδάκη ἡ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασίλισσα, καὶ Ζήτει ἐν τῇ Αλεξάνδρου ἱστορίᾳ* (i.e. search also in the History of Alexander). Suidas here refers, in part, to the Candace of the Acts, and in part to a queen of the same name, of whom Tzetzes gives more particular account.

Jo. Tzetzes *Variarum Historiarum Chiliad* III. 85 (first cited by Reimarus on Dio) says, p. 56 of the Basle edition :

ἔῶ τὴν Μερότητιδα Κανδάκην διαγράφειν,
ἣν καταχεῖν Αλέξανδρον ὁ Καλλισθένης γράφει,
δοῦσαν δὲ δῶρα περισσὰ τοῦτον ἐξαποπέμψαι,
ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας τοῦς αὐτῆς φίλους ποιεῖ ἀλλήλοις,
τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπορρίψαντας ἣν κατ' ἀλλήλων εἶχον.

These are the so-called political verses, to be read according to accent and rhythm, and not according to quantity, which accounts, e. g. for the short *a* in the penultimate of *διαγράφειν* having the tone. I translate the above passage thus :

“ I also will let Candace describe the Meroëtis,
Whom Alexander detained, as Callisthenes reports,
He released her, it is said, after she had made him prodigal gifts,
Because he again made her children to be friends,
Bringing to an end the enmity they had hitherto cherished.”

This seems to me to imply, that Alexander wished to go to Meroë. Before he arrived there Candace met him, and described to him Meroëtis, the land of Meroë. She was not queen of Meroë, but only knew the country, as her kingdom bordered thereon.

Pliny in his *Hist. Natural.* (Book VI. ch. xxix, sec. 35, p. 546, ed. Sillig) also mentions the Augustan *Bellum Æthiopicum*, and adds, p. 467 (185 and 186); *Neronis exploratores 185. renuntiavere his modis: Inde (a Fergedo) Napata LXXX. 186 mil. ; oppidum id parvum inter prædicta solum. Ædificia*

oppidi pauca ; regnare feminam Candacen, quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit. In reading this passage we must avoid connecting the words standing under No. 185 : *Ab eo ad insulam Meroen—quæ portum faceret*—with the words No. 186 : *Ædificia oppidi pauca ;* the latter words plainly refer to the small *Napata*, and Candace is called queen of *Napata*, and not of *Meroë*.

Reimarus further cites Chrysostom's note to Acts viii. 27 ; *Καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐκράτουν τὸ παλαιόν.* This *τὸ παλαιόν* requires emendations* ; for Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. ii. 1) also cited by Reimarus, says : *κατὰ τὸ πατριον ἔθος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τοῦ ἔθνους εἰσέτι νῦν βασιλευμένου ;* that is, in the times of Eusebius, the fourth century after Christ, queens were still ruling at *Napata*.

I say that queens ruled at *Napata*, not at *Meroë*. It seems to be generally taken for granted, that Candace ruled over *Meroë* : so says De Wette, *ad locum*, in the Acts, and Winer in his *Realwörterbuch* under *Kandace*. But Strabo says expressly (Bk. xvii. Div. 2. § 3) that *Meroë* was governed by kings, and not hereditary but elective monarchs. The kingdom of Candace was independent of *Meroë*, and lay to the north of it.† This, then, is an error which seems to have been occasioned by a misunderstanding of the passages from Pliny and Tzetzes. Another error in taking the word *Κανδάκη* as the name of a class, and not as a proper name. Wieseler (Chronol. des apost. Zeitalters, p. 159) compares the name of Pharaoh, and Hiller, according to Winer, explains it from the Ethiopian, *dominatus est servus* ; as the Ethiopian king is said to be still called *servorum princeps* by the oriental traders. But the authority of Pliny is against this supposition ; his words : “ *Candacen, quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit,*” can mean nothing more than that the successors of Candace always bore the same *name* ; as we find in the case of the Ptolemies in ancient times, and the Henrys of the principality of Reuss in modern days. The word *Pharaoh*, which means *king*, is not to be compared with the proper name, *Candace*, nor can it be explained from the Ethiopic ; and this, too, all the less because what is now called Ethiopic, has no applicability to the queen *Candace*.

* Unless *τὸ παλαιόν* is to be taken in the sense—since ancient times. as is the case sometimes with *antiquitus*.

† The people of the queen were Ethiopian. Scripture calls her, as is to be noted, an *Ethiopian queen*, not as Suidas inconsiderately says, a *queen of the Ethiopians*. For Luke could well term her *βασιλίσσα Ἀιθιοπῶν*, but not *ἡ τῶν Ἀιθιοπῶν Βασιλίσσα*, for she did not reign over all of Ethiopia, but only over *Ethiopia*.

Professor Aug. Dillmann, whose *forte*, as is well known, is the Ethiopic language, has had the kindness, in reply to my question, to tell me that the *Geez* language, called in literature Ethiopic, is of the Semitic family, and belongs to the races which emigrated from Southern Arabia into Abyssinia. This Abyssinian people and country, it is well known, lies much further south than Napata and Meroë.

The name Candace is sought for in vain in the registers of the kings of Abyssinia. Professor Dillmann referred me to the *Zeischrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Bd. vii. 338. sq.), which contains a treatise on the History of the Abyssinian Kingdom by A. Dillmann. The lines of kings there registered contain no name resembling Candace; and this must be the case, for the above cited passage from the classics refers to a wholly different people.

Ludolf in his History of Abyssinia (Bk. II. ch. 3. § 9), says that no queen could reign in Abyssinia; and so he will not allow that Candace was an Abyssinian queen, though many Abyssinians, misunderstanding the statement in the Acts, erroneously say that she was such. For this reference to Jobi Ludolfi *Historica Æthiopica*, and other notices in the same work (lib. II. 4. 8., and III. 2. 5.) I am also indebted to Prof. Dillmann. In saying that Candace did not belong to Ethiopia, Ludolf is undoubtedly right; but not in making her a ruler over the island Meroë, for which statement he appeals to Pliny, who, however, as we have seen, speaks of Napata: and this common but incorrect view comes from Ludolf. Though we cannot, in this, concur with him, we are yet all the more thankful to him for the following remarks (Bk. II. c. 2. 5. 6. 7); *Nam Candacen illam non fuisse reginam Habessinorum paulo ante diximus. Neque nomen ejus proprium Lacasa, quod in catalogis vulgatis legitur, apud Tellezium reperitur. [The Ethiopic] Hendage autem, vel Hindake, aliud vocabulum non est, quam Græcum Καδάχη, Candace, ex quo alii abiecta aspiratione Indich, alii, quasi sphalma correcturi, Judith fecere. To this is added in a note: Fuere qui per insignem ositantiam ipsum eunuchum Judich dictum fuisse putarent. Compare with this Winer's remark: "To the treasurer of Candace (whom the Ethiopian tradition calls Judith: see Bzovii Annales ad 1524) Ireanæus III. 12., and Eusebius Hist. Eccl. II. 1. ascribe the first propagation of Christianity in Ethiopia; but, according to Sophron, he preached on the island of Ceylon, and there suffered martyrdom." The name *Indich* or *Judich*, then, cannot stand the test of criticism; and the missionary work of the treasurer began in Napata, perhaps in Nubia, but not in Abyssinia.*

Our final question is about the quantity of the penult in the word *Κανδάκη*; and it is a question of practical interest, since a ship Candace is traversing the ocean. And on this question we must, first of all, hold fast the position that the original name is lost. It is certainly not Ethiopic; it occurs in the Abyssinian, but this, as Prof. Dillmann testifies, only proves that the Abyssinians knew the name which they took from the New Testament. They write it sometime Chendâkê, sometimes Chendeke, and again Chendeke: "just as foreign words are generally diversely spoken and written." "It cannot," says Dillmann, "be at all explained from the Ethiopic, or from the Semitic tongues." The same learned writer assures us, that the language of Meroë is lost. We may then well assume that the same is the case with the language of Nepata and the kingdom of Candace, which bordered on Meroë.

We are, then, in reference to the name *Κανδάκη*, restricted to the laws of quantity in the Greek language. These laws decidedly favor the view that the penult syllable is short.

Franz Passow, in his *Doctrine of Quantity in the Greek Language*, says: "1. *ακίς*, contracted *ακι*, as the ending of the numeral adverbs, always has the *α* short, e.g. *τετράκις*, *πολλάκις*. The accent itself implies this, for else we must write *πολλάκις*. 2. The adjective ending *ακος*, *ακη*, *ακον*, has short *α*: thus in *μαλακή*, *βιβλιακή*, *θηριακή*." This alone, it seems to me, were enough to show that the word is to be spoken with the accent on the first syllable. Yet we can also refer to the substantives *φυλακή*, *ἀκινακης*. The question would of course be decided by a line from the poets; but such an one I have not been able to find. For the verses from Tzetzes, cited above, are not to be read by the quantity but by the accent; and though *Κανδάκην* has there the tone in the penult, this is as little proof that *α* is long, as in the directly following *διαγράφειν*, where, too, the *α* of the penult, though short, has the tone. Accordingly one who reads the Greek by the accent, will say *Κανδάκη*, as he does *Πενελόπη*, *Σωκράτης*, *Ἀριστοτέλης*, that is, with a short, though accented penultimate. But in German [and English] whoever says Candace, must also say Penelôpe, Socrâtes, Aristotêles.

The sum of our view, then, is this; that the queen Candace (mentioned in Acts viii. 27), 1. was so called as a proper name, as in the case of the Ptolemies, and not as a title, like Pharaoh; 2. That the name Candace, from the Latin forms, has the penult *α* short; 3. That the word *Κανδάκη* can not

be explained from the Ethiopic, i.e. the Abyssinian ; 4. That a queen of this name was reigning in the time of Alexander, and another of the same name was living B. C. 22 ; 5. That the Candace named in Acts viii. 27., was ruling. A. D. 40 ; that her kingdom was not Meroë, but to the north of it ; that Napata, and not Meroë, was her chief city ; and that it is more exact to call her an Ethiopian queen, than queen of Ethiopia ; 6. That the name of the eunuch, her treasurer, was not Indich or Judich, but is lost.

ART. VI.—THE HYMNS OF THE CHURCH.

By HENRY HARBAUGH, D. D., Prof. of Didactic Theology, at Mercersburg, Pa.

THE Hymn, as a part of Christian Cultus, is properly a liturgical form. The Hymn Book, and—when prepared forms of prayer are used—the Liturgy are properly, not two, but one book. In any case, the hymns and prayers of the Church are coördinate in nature and character. As the prayer that flows from the heart and lips of the minister becomes the means and channel through which the worshipping congregation presents its own devout offerings to God, so the Hymn is in like manner prepared and used as the means of at once inspiring, embodying and helping to present their devotions before the throne of grace.

Thus the Hymn occupies an important place in the public service of God. Its use has been recognized as an acceptable part of divine worship, both in the Old Testament and the New ; and it has endeared itself to the Christian mind, by the edification and comfort it has furnished, in all ages of the Church. All that pertains to the Hymns of the Church well deserves the attention and study of every pastor who desires rightly to conduct the public worship of the sanctuary.

Hymn-forms, like creed-forms, have a historical development. The peculiar formulas of Creeds, in which the Church presents its faith, as is well known from Church History, have assumed their true form and fixed use through a process. Every prominent word, and every phrase, has been borne as a standard through a more or less severe and protracted battle. It has been only after such a process, that creed-formulas have attained authoritative form. The same is true of the form and language of prayer. Whether extemporaneous or liturgical, there are words and phrases which are devotional,

and others which are not. Devout formulas have grown up gradually in the pious life of the Church, and have come to their present sacred honor and use in a historical or traditional way. It will always be found that his prayers best suit and inspire the devotions of others, who has most extensively mastered and most deeply appropriated what has come down through the ages as the sacred and spiritually savored style and form of truly devotional thought and feeling. In like manner, and under the power of the same law, have hymn-forms, their history and development.

Sacred songs, in some form, for purposes of divine worship, are coeval with the history of religion. Forms of this kind, as first-fruits of the inspirations of piety, existed in the earliest ages of Judaism ; and the Jewish church gradually created for itself rich treasures of sacred song, which lie scattered as gems throughout the Old Testament, and are specially collected in the Book of Psalms.

In our Saviour's time, the Old Testament Psalms were used in public worship, whilst with the inauguration of Christianity, others were produced, more directly out of the spirit of the new economy. The supposition is very natural, that those precious hymns preserved in the gospel, the Hymn of the Virgin Mary, (St. Luke, i. 46-55.) the Hymn of Zacharias, (St. Luke, i. 68-79.) and the Hymn of Simeon, (St. Luke, ii. 29-32) may have been sung in our Saviour's immediate spiritual family. That they were preserved by them, seems evident from the fact that they were subsequently embodied in the Gospel.

Other hymnal compositions, besides the Old Testament Psalms and those preserved by St. Luke, were evidently preserved and used in the Apostolic Church. Fragments of these, at least, are supposed to be embodied in such passages as I Tim. iii, 18. II Tim. ii, 11, James i, 17, and especially Eph. v, 14, which passage—

Awake, thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead,
And Christ shall give thee light.

—is introduced by the words, "Wherefore he saith ;" and yet the passage is no quotation from any part of the Scriptures. Similar parts of primitive hymns are supposed to be found in Rev. i, 4-8 ; v, 9-14 ; xi, 15-19 ; xv, 3. sq ; xxi, 1-8 ; xii, 10-17. 20. Besides, St. Paul directly refers to psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs as existing among the saints at Ephesus and Colosse, and exhorts them to use these for their mutual edification, (Eph. v, 19, Col. iii, 16.)

The Greek Church was first and most prominent in the production of regular hymns, as distinguished from inspired scriptural compositions. These were first in the form of doxologies and brief ascriptions of praise to Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity. The nucleus of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, or Angelic Hymn, the most ancient and complete of hymns, and which attained its present final form in the fourth century, is also found at an earlier period. From the Greek Church we have also the *Te Deum*, which dates from the fifth century, afterwards by St. Ambrose translated into Latin, and somewhat enlarged.

The history of Latin hymnody begins in the fourth century. Quite a number of the Latin fathers of the mediæval church, whose names are theologically familiar, composed hymns:—as St. Ambrose †396; St. Hilary, of Poitiers, †368, who translated the *Gloria in Excelsis* into Latin, and to whom some ascribe the completion of it in its present form; Prudentius †600; Notker †912; Bernard of Clairvaux, †1153; Thomas of Celano, about †1250, to whom the *Dies Iræ* is ascribed; Bonaventura †1274; Thomas Aquinas †1274, and Benedictus †1306, with others less prominent. Many of their hymns came down to the later church, and have formed the basis of some of the very best hymns of the Reformation period, and since. Of the thirty-seven hymns written by Luther, there are only six purely new; the rest were all based on psalms, Bible passages, or mediæval hymns.

The Reformation, as a vigorous outburst of the Christian life, gave a powerful impulse to hymn-writing. While the fifteen centuries before the Reformation produced not over one thousand hymns, the three hundred years since the Reformation have, in the German language alone, produced, according to Dr. Alt, about eighty thousand. Dr. Phelps sets down the number of English hymns at thirty thousand. Other languages also contain large numbers.

Rationalism, in Germany, and Naturalism, in England, did much, not only to corrupt the true hymnological taste, by producing a large number of merely didactic and moral hymns, but also by eviscerating many of the old anointed hymns of their truly Christian contents, and changing them so that they might chime in with their own specious infidelity. The pietistic movement, in Germany, and kindred movements in England, whilst they have produced some hymns of high inspiration, tended to turn the hymnological taste too much into a subjective and sentimental channel, having weakened the nerves of faith by unduly cultivating the mere devotional

nature, thus furnishing the people rather what they *wished* than what they *needed*. We venture the opinion that this is the radical defect which characterizes the hymns which the church, in our own country, has, during the last several decades, been producing in connexion with a certain peculiar style of popular music.

The vast amount of hymnological matter which the history of the church has accumulated, and the foreign element which has infused itself into a large portion of this class of compositions, has made the creation of a hymnological science necessary; so that by such tests as the true idea of Christianity and the true spirit of Christian worship furnish, the chaff may be separated from the wheat. It is the office of this science to sit in judgment on the products of the sacred poets; to examine the hymnological material scientifically, and to give it historical, critical and systematic presentation. The science, as a part of practical theology, is comparatively new, but has, in the last two decades, been earnestly and successfully furthered, especially by German divines, and it now stands in its place; in all German systems of practical theology, in the same way as homiletics, catechetics, liturgics, and poimenics or pastoral theology. Scientific hymnological inquiries received special impulse from Schleiermacher, who gave a deeper and wider foundation to the science of practical theology, which has caused the fact to be more deeply felt, that hymnody constitutes an essential part of the public worship of the sanctuary. Besides large collections of hymns, there have appeared histories of hymnody, biographies of the authors of hymns, as well as various attempts to form and perfect the science of hymnology.* In this last department none have rendered better service to the church than Lange and Palmer.

The subject of hymnology has during eight years attracted new and increased attention also in this country. Works which, though not designed to be scientific treatises on hymnology, are yet more or less related to the general subject, as that of Dr. Belcher's on the Authors of Hymns, "Hymns and Choirs" jointly by Prof's. Phelps and Park of Andover, and the Rev. Mr. Furber of Newton, have appeared as at once signs and preparatory labors in this interesting department. As an evidence of the general want that is felt to exist in the present hymnological status may also be

* See notices of these various works in Herzog's Real Encyclopedia Vol. VI. pp. 350 354.

mentioned the fact that almost all the prominent denominations in the land have lately published, or are present engaged in producing new hymn books. Not merely new collections, nor yet larger collections, are to be desired; rather collections smaller if need be, but made with a deeper knowledge of what constitutes the true nature of a hymn suitable for use in public worship.

This general want is itself beyond doubt the growth of a newly awakened interest, in the question as to what constitutes the true nature of worship. It begins to be more clearly seen, and more deeply felt, that Christian worship does not consist in mere sentiment, self-awakened and vaguely exercised by subjective endeavors, but rather in a steady, solemn self-surrender, and the offering of our whole being to the Triune God; that true Christian worship is not "will-worship," but a worship called forth by a gracious power exerted upon our faith by the true objects of Christian worship and love—God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, the Holy Ghost the Comforter; by the glorious facts of redemption—the birth, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and reigning of Jesus Christ; by the person and work of the Holy Ghost; and by the church, with its holy sacraments and motherly nurture. As the genial heavens above, and the gladdening earth around, call forth the springing of herbs, the bloom of flowers, and the songs of birds, so does this glorious, spiritual firmament of divine facts, acts, sacraments, ordinances, and gracious supernatural powers, over and around us in the church, evoke from faith the true form and spirit of worship. The earth is bright, warm, and wakeful when it is shone upon; in like manner is the Christian heart lively with the spirit of worship, when the divine and heavenly, as revealed in Christ, and still present in the Church, are in its cultus made present also to the consciousness of faith. To be apprehended by these, and to apprehend them in turn, and yield to their power, is to have the true position of a worshipper.

A re-discussion of the nature of Christian worship has led the mind of the church to a new interest in all that pertains to it, in all its elements and relations. Such discussion begins, of course, with the inward and central—as the person and work of Christ and the Spirit, the nature of the church, the sacraments and ordinances; but by logical necessity it must extend also to matters more outward, such as Christian architecture, church music, symbols of faith, liturgies, and hymn-books. Hence, all these subjects are at the present time receiving unusual attention, and especially that of hymnology.

Of the one thousand hymns produced by the church prior to the Reformation, it is reckoned, by critics, that not over one hundred and fifty can bear the test of the true hymn, and, in fact, only about that number have attained to classical honor. It is the expressed opinion of German hymnodists, that of the eighty thousand extant in their language, not over two hundred are classical, and have come into any kind of general approved use. Though there are in the English language thirty thousand hymns, a truly critical sifting of them would no doubt show that Prof. Edwards was correct when he gave it as his judgment that "two or three hundred of the most excellent songs of Zion, would include all our psalms and hymns which are of sterling value for the sanctuary." We fear that even this estimate is too high; for it must be remembered that not every poetical composition which has become a favorite with this or that Christian, can be regarded as a true hymn. Some particular circumstance, some event or experience may endear a particular hymn to one when it has no such attraction for another. Besides, individual taste can not be allowed to pronounce final judgment on a hymn; individual tastes may be very much at fault in regard to its true merits as a hymn, and it is the province of hymnological science to correct such taste—to bring the church to furnish to its members, not such hymns as may please their own natural private capricious fancies, but such as they ought to sing, and such as when properly led and instructed they will love.

What is a true hymn?

1. The hymn differs from some other sacred compositions. St. Paul mentions three kinds as suitable for devotional use—psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, or odes (*ὕμναις πνευματικαῖς*). Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.

The psalm is a composition produced in the earlier stage of religious and scientific development, and in it, therefore, the free flow of religious feeling, in the determination of its form, prevails over the artistical. Psalms are historico-poetical; they celebrate divine acts, and rehearse sacred events connected with the gracious dealings of God with his people. They are historically objective in their character, allied to the epic. When they express the subjective pious sense of the author, it is mostly as this is awakened and enlivened and called forth into utterance by a grateful review of objective historical divine acts and events.

The hymn grows out of the subjective pious general consciousness to which its author as the organ of this consciousness, gives objective form and representation. If the psalm

celebrates what God has done, is doing, and still promises to do for his church and people, the hymn expresses what the church feels and experiences in consequence of such merciful love. The hymn, however, while it grows forth from the subjective pious consciousness, does not embody merely the subjectivity of the individual author, but what it expresses is the consciousness of the church in its universal character. This gives the hymn at last a truly objective character, which constitutes the fundamental difference between it and the spiritual song.

The spiritual song or ode, expresses the subjective feeling of the individual, and represents the individual consciousness of the author at the time, and in the particular mood and frame which controlled him in its composition; it is, therefore, adapted to other individuals in the same mood and frame. Spiritual songs are the hymnings of the heart in its own personal exercises, agreeably to its own peculiar tastes and experiences, and in its own hours of meditative devotion. They express privately and for the individual Christian's edification what cannot be presumed to be general in a public service of the church. If suitable at all beyond such individual use, it is only in small, familiar, confidential circles, where mutuality of feeling may be certainly taken for granted.

Though characteristically distinguished, as we have shown, these three kinds of sacred composition, are not in such way distinct and separated from each other as to have nothing in common. They contain allied features, and the elements of one may enter more or less into and modify the others. Speaking of these three kinds of sacred lyrical compositions as having been in use in the apostolic church, according to Eph. v. 18, 19, Dr. Lange furnishes the following criticism on their unity and difference. "The psalms were the religious songs which had come down to them; hymns and odes, as to their form, were also at hand, but the Christian spirit was made to constitute their substance. The psalm may be regarded as a primitive form which comprehends in one, as well the substance of the hymn as of the ode. The psalm is a hymn, a festive song, a word of revelation, an oracle utterance, so far as it proclaims the divine teaching, the right, the truth, the praise of God, in the festive frame of one inspired; but it is an ode, a song, a rhythmical effusion of the heart, so far as the inspired one, in making his utterance, rocks on the waves of sound, balancing himself with winged skill. That the hymn expresses more the objective doctrine, the ode more the subjective of elevated feeling, in a poetical form, is clearly seen as well from the

mology of both words, as from the forms of poetry indicated them ; and we must not suffer ourselves to be misled as to distinction, by the cool spirit of some odes of Horace and Propertius. The measured movement characterizes the more active nature of the hymn ; the winged form indicates the character of the ode—a beautiful melodious warble, which presses itself in the life of metre. The psalm, as capable of including the ode and the hymn in its contents and its form, expresses the essence of both ; at one time, however, it approaches more the measured nature of the hymn, at another the variability of the ode. In the sphere of Hebrew poetry, the psalm did not come to unfold fully and purely both elements which lay in it, because, with the Hebrews, the religious interest prevailed over the artistic ; Christianity, on the other hand, entering the sphere of Grecian culture which had developed the form of the ode and the hymn, poured its creative spirit into both forms. Gradually, however, it brought the separated forms together again in a higher unity when it constructed the church-hymn. Thus the church-hymn is the psalm completed in the spirit of the New Testament, in which the hymn and the ode have again become one. The affinity of the church-hymn and the psalm is seen in the reigning of a religious principle ; the difference between it and the psalm is seen in the fact that the religious principle has become one with the perfected æsthetical form. The hymn known by the measured, solemn form of the verse, the ode by the variety and liveliness, the rhythmical and musical nature of its verse. Moreover, this unity had to be reached, because in Christianity the powers from above, do not, as Chrysostom asserts, form merely hymns, but also reveal themselves in psalm-songs, for as much as they become flesh like the eternal Word itself, and because the human powers, which indeed rise on the wings of the ode, are illumined and tempered through the peace of the divine spirit. For a time these forms could stand in force side by side. Thus, in the speaking with tongues in the church at Jerusalem, the essence of the hymn was predominant ; they spake of the wonderful works of God ; they spake in a way intelligible to the people of various dialects. (Acts ii.) In Corinth, on the other hand, the form of the ode prevailed ; the enthusiastic Christians spoke confusedly in soaring, dark effusions of feeling ; they required interpreters ; they were obscure to many of their own companions, to say nothing of strangers (Cor. xiv. 23) ; and, this inspirited life in its degeneracy, seems to have approached the dithyrambus. Just as a didactic poem, whose

shortest form is the Gnome, may be regarded as the boundary of the hymn, so the dithyrambus is the boundary of the ode. In the hymn the subjective life is caught up into the serene ether of festive contemplation ; the divine predominates ; but then also in the didactic poem the human is entirely excluded, and by this means also the lyric life of the poem. In the ode, on the other hand, the divine life is drawn into the blessed, joyful emotional exercise of the feelings ; the human predominates. In the dithyrambus, finally, man seeks violently to draw the divine into his own wild, sensuous inspiration ; but the divine, agreeably to the holiness and power of its own nature, firmly refuses to be so drawn into a sphere foreign to itself. The pure church-hymn has excluded all that is dithyrambic through the light of the Spirit of God, and all that is gnomical through the lively affection of the human spirit ; yea, it has abolished the antitheses of ode and hymn itself in the harmony of its divine-human nature and character, even though it belongs to the revelation of its richness, that in some single productions the character of the ode, in others, that of the hymn, should be more predominant !”

2. As regards its substance, the true hymn must be based on, and centre in the great FACTS of redemption—those namely, which constitute the basis of the Apostles’ Creed—the love of God the Father, and His work in creation and redemption ; the grace of Jesus Christ, as it appears in His birth, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and reign in heaven ; the communion of the Holy Ghost through his various offices in the church ; and the communion of saints, the festive joys and hopes of the new life in Christ Jesus, as it is now and shall continue forever in the ineffable joys of heaven.

That the substance of the true hymn must be based on *facts*, not ideas merely, is illustrated by reference to an analogous case. What constitutes a national song ? Not a description of patriotism. Not an ode on any great principle or policy of government. It must centre in some sacred *thing* : as “The Star-Spangled Banner ;” “Rally Round the Flag ;” “The Red, White and Blue.” It must celebrate some *fact*, *event*, or *name*. Volumes of poetry of either character, fully equal to it, yea, exceeding it in merit as poetry, will never be married to music, or touch the chords of the national heart. How few, among all the lyrics of the present war for the Union, has the national heart accepted as the true exponents of its feelings, purposes, and hopes. Those which have touched the heart of the nation, and been accepted as the organs of its patriotic life, will all be found to be characterized by the marks of the true national song as indicated.

The same general criteria must be applied to the true hymn. It must be based on great and glorious facts and events, and set forth the perennial life which flows from them as the true life of all human hopes. Hence it must not so much describe such events and deeds—which is rather the province of the psalm—as reproduce them, and render them present in their life and spirit. It must incarnate them. It must make them live in the heart, as they once lived in the hearts of others, and are designed to live in all hearts whom they concern.

We know that the very earliest sacred writers characterized the first hymns of the church as being sung in honor of the Holy Trinity; and from them, as well as from pagan authors, we learn that they were accustomed to “sing hymns to Christ as to God.” In a word, the central substance of all the most ancient hymns, inspired and uninspired, is Jesus Christ as the fundamental fact, and absolute principle and source of Christianity, and the Christian life. Of this character are the “Magnificat,” the “Benedictus,” the “Nunc Dimittis,” the “Trisagion,” the “Gloria in Excelsis,” the “Te Deum,” the “Dies Irae.” As all the prophets before He appeared, gave witness of Him, so all the sacred hymnodists after him in the early church celebrated him. It needs but a careful examination of them, to assure any one that all the truly classic mediæval, and more modern German and English hymns, have the same peculiarity. The life of Jesus Christ is itself the song of songs, the hymn of hymns, the harmony of harmonies; and a church-song as designed to celebrate His life in a gracious and festive spirit, is great, and true, and glorious, only so far as His life is its spirit and light.

3. The true hymn must have unity—the unity, not of a mechanical structure, but of an organism—a unity in which the uniting power is one that acts from within—a unity in which the several parts are not produced as by the sequence of logical deduction, but grow forth according to the logic or laws of life. One thought or life must pervade all its parts. An aggregation of thoughts, however just, devout, and beautifully expressed, is not sufficient to constitute a true hymn. It must have a living oneness and wholeness—the inspiring, invigorating, illuminating life must be central and generic, which all the subordinate parts only serve to unfold, and, at the same time, still more fully to enliven.

Our present purpose does not contemplate a critical exam-

1. Die Kirchliche Hymnologie, von Dr. J. P. Lange, Zurich, 1843, pp. 29-31.

ination of particular hymns ; but let any one, in the light of what has just been said, examine any of the earliest Christian hymns, as, for instance, the Magnificat, the Gloria in Excelsis, or the Te Deum, or even the most classic of modern hymns. What wonderful organisms ! What intuitive logic of life will be found to underlie and pervade them ! To the thoughtful mind they are themselves sufficient to furnish overwhelming evidence that Christianity, which is able to raise the human mind to the capacity of producing such transcendent creations, is fully and fairly supernatural and superhuman. The attempt of the merely natural mind to perfect such creations, would be precisely as preposterous and futile as it would be for an arborist to attempt the production of a tree ! The unity of these grand Hymns of the Ages lies in no sense in that "which is in part," but in that sphere whence man himself, "trailing clouds of glory," originally came, in which forever rests the deepest basis of his true life, and into which, even before he leaves the present sphere of his being, the Christian spirit, in seasons of inspired ecstasy, in solemn hours, is caught up by the festive spirit and force of the Christian life.

The Christian poet does not produce a hymn by calm, meditative process. He does not construct it by adding thought to thought in perfectly self-conscious calmness, as a joiner or mason builds a house, by placing timber upon timber and stone on stone. He does not apprehend thought, but the Spirit that apprehends him lifts him up by His own inspiration, and wrests it from him by a kind of spiritual *coup de main*. Hence it has the unity, not of meditated logic, but of the apprehending force which called it forth. It has the unity given it by the one inspiring power. From such a hymn no part can ever be left out or seriously changed. The omission of a single stanza would be like the separation of an eye or an ear from the human body. Hymns compiled of stanzas, however smooth they may seem to an unpractised taste, will ever have the same fault as that Egyptian statuary, in the production of which the furnishing of each separate limb or member was a separate and special trade !

4. The true hymn must have high inspiration—what the Germans call *schwung*. It must have the uplifting, away-bearing power. As it can only be composed under the pressure of a pious enthusiasm, when the spirit of the sacred poet is apprehended by an inspiration beyond his ordinary state and frame, so the same inspiring spirit must inhere in it, live and breathe in it, producing again in those who use it the

same mood, state, and life, which characterized the spirit of its author. A true hymn has this power latent in itself, and communicates it whenever legitimately used. It may be difficult to say precisely in what this mysterious virtue consists. We know, however, that some hymns have it, while others, that seem to have equal merit as poetical compositions, are destitute of it. It would almost seem as if words had the power of embodying the very life of Christianity, with the additional capacity of communicating it perennially. Thus true hymns are always inspiring.

5. The true hymn is catholic. It is equally adapted to all ages, to all lands, to all languages, to all classes of Christians, to all acts of worship, to all periods of life—childhood, youth, middle-life, old age—and to all branches of the Christian church. Thus the Gloria in Excelsis, the Te Deum, the Dies Irae, suit alike in the Protestant, the Roman, and the Greek church. The Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Nunc Dimittis, though imbued with much of the truest and best Jewish life, are altogether Christian hymns. Classic hymns are sung by Calvinists and Arminians with equal delight. They speak the language of piety more than of creed. Though, as in truly liturgical forms of prayer, doctrine lies in their *nexus*, it lies there in the form of life—for consciousness more than for the mind's apprehension—and it appeals to faith rather than to knowledge. A hymn that can only appropriately be sung in one particular denomination of Christians, is not a true hymn. "In the hymn," Herder has correctly said, "must sound the language of an universal confession of *one* heart and *one* faith." Hence the true hymn finds its place in all hymn-books. The general consciousness of the church, by a sovereign law of its own catholic life, determines the true hymn, rejecting all that speak not in its universal language, and admitting all that do, as the plastic life of the plant refuses what is not suited to its nature, and appropriates only congenial elements. Hymns which have this catholic life take their places naturally and silently in the bosom of Christian love, and go on in their pious mission from land to land, and from age to age, gathering a still richer savor around themselves by time, and are loved the more because loved by so many and loved so long.

6. Thus, also, the true hymn never grows old, but has the freshness and vigor of perpetual youth. It is always new, because it has always the power to awaken new life, as well as to bear and sustain it. In its latent and life-giving power, we liken it to a noble vessel, the very sight of which, as it

lies calmly in port, gives us the sense of power and of the capacity of movement, but which only properly enlivens as it bears us out into the open sea, when the sails are lifted and filled, and the now almost living structure carries us onward as if it were all and we nothing, becoming, at the same time, more and more a thing of power and life, as well as of beauty and joy.

No truer test can be applied to a hymn. Does it get old? Does it weary? Does it ever seem common to us? Then it is not a true hymn. The truly classic always bears acquaintance; and it does this alike to all classes of minds and hearts. A classic painting, for instance, the child, the ignorant, and the amateur all admire. Those feel its power and beauty who cannot tell why. As a work of art it grows on us instead of becoming tiresome and common. It is just so in architecture. How brief is the pleasure that results from the contemplation of filigree work. How soon the taste tires of carved wreaths, vines, and flowers. As these are transient in their nature, so are they transient in taste. But who tires of the arch, the dome, the pillar, the column, the scroll, the alcove, the panel? These are classic forms. They do not grow old through the ages; and they please the boy even as they do the man, the ignorant as well as the most cultivated scientific taste. One may see more in them than another, but all alike see in them beauty, and feel their power. The same holds true of hymns. Witness the short-lived character of the hosts of subjective spasm-hymns that come vamping and dancing along on the popular wave of a languid sentimentality. They are as nose-gays, that intoxicate for a moment a feeble and sickly taste. They are generally married to music as ephemeral as they are themselves. The church has at present a subtle and therefore formidable enemy in this superficial hymnodical and musical taste. Our Sunday schools are sorely afflicted by it, and it is entailing upon the young a deep and lasting injury. It is the same evil taste, which, in the days of Gregory, well-nigh profaned the entire Christian worships. Popular convivial tunes were introduced, and sang to parodied words with a galloping measure. In self-defence the Gregorian chant was introduced, and by its classic power the popular taste was gradually changed; and these rude hordes of "twaddling rhymes, set to frisking tunes" were lashed out of the temple of God. In the period of the Reformation the same tendency manifested itself.*

* The use of this class of hymns is regarded by some as justified by the authority of Scripture. (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 6.) This last passage, taken as it stands in our translation, would seem to designate mutual teaching and admo-

The evil was remedied by the triumph of the solid, solemn German chorals. The old trouble has in our time again appeared on the stage, and is jubilating through the land, treating the unstable taste to new variations in hymn and tune at every change of the moon. If no new remedies for this false taste can be discovered, perhaps those which were effective in other ages would still prove themselves adequate.

A correct hymnological taste, based on a true conception of Christian worship, must exclude from public use in worship all compositions that belong *prevaillingly* to the following classes:

1. Mere doctrinal statement of truth, however correct. This belongs to catechism and confession.

2. Poetry directly didactic. This belongs to the pulpit, and to the catechetical and Bible class.*

3. Hymns in praise of virtues, graces, acts of worship, the Sabbath, Sunday schools, the Bible. Singing is worship, and we can no more worship these than we can worship saints or relics.

4. Mere descriptions of religious experiences, feelings, and emotions. These are to be awakened by worshipping God, not by singing to them, or of them.

5. Sentimental poems. These have their appropriate place in other circumstances and circles of social life.

6. Descriptions of particular sins, or classes of sinners. This belongs to the sermon.

7. Compositions addressed to sinners with the view of alarming, instructing, or exhorting them. This also belongs to the sermon. Singing to sinners! Why not rather to saints?

nition as the proper purpose of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. But a different punctuation of the Greek gives the passage another sense. Conybeare and Howson, in the "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," adopting the punctuation of Tischendorf, render the passage thus: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; teach and admonish one another in all wisdom. Let your singing be of psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, sung in thanksgiving, with your heart unto God." In their comments on the corresponding passage, (Eph. v. 19,) where a similar punctuation is followed, the most satisfactory reasons for this rendering, based on the context and scope, are given. On Col. iii. 16. I r. Clark says: "Through bad *pointing* this verse is not very intelligible; the several members should be distinguished thus: "Let the doctrine of Christ dwell richly among you; teaching and admonishing each other in all wisdom; singing, with grace in your hearts, unto the Lord, in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. This arrangement the original will not only bear, but it absolutely requires it." Thus, neither of these passages does in fact bear any witness against the test of the true hymn which we have presented. But without even resorting to this rendering of the passages in hand, it may be remarked, that Christians may mutually teach and admonish one another by the use of a hymn that is neither directly didactic nor hortatory, even as they may do the same by devoutly offering together the Lord's Prayer, which is wholly devotional, and which becomes edifying in the way of teaching and hortation only indirectly.

* See Dr. Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus*, pp. 443 444.

8. Compositions expressive of morbid feelings, of doubt, despondency, discouragement, and "sorrow of the world." This is not a penitential exercise, neither does it awaken that sense. It is nothing but a sinful feeling of unbelief.

9. Compositions telling what we have done, are doing, or intend to do. This, if it does not actually fall into the sphere of vain boasting and bravado, belongs to the sphere of confession or profession, and is appropriate in another place.

10. Compositions for self-examination. Turning the thoughts on one's self is not worship, but only a preparation for it. The helps to self-examination are properly furnished by the sermon, or are found in manuals of devotion for Christians, the use of which belongs to the retirement of the closet.

11. Compositions so directly and formally referring to, and descriptive of, special occasions as to turn the mind more to the occasion and the circumstances, than to the true object of worship. This is a defect which characterizes by far the largest number of hymns intended for anniversaries, national holidays, meetings of reform societies, and occasional celebrations of various kinds.

It is because a degenerate taste has failed to apply the true tests to the hymn, that our hymn books are overburdened with compositions that are never sung. Let any one take only the tests which we have given, and honestly classify under them the contents of our hymn books, and he will be surprised to find how small a number is left. Indeed this is virtually done, though in an unconscious way, by those whose duty it is to select hymns to be sung in assemblies for public worship. To test the truth of this remark, let any pastor who has at all cultivated a hymnological taste, mark all the hymns which he uses any one year, and he will find at the end of the year that not one hundred, perhaps not fifty are marked as having been used. He will discover that the same hymn has been sung many times: and that an unconscious criticism, an instinct of good pious taste, has silently ignored the large mass contained in the book as not adapted to the purposes of public worship. Yet this vast amount of mere poetry—it is often not even that—is carried along in our hymn books, the closing one being numbered somewhere between one and two thousand! We doubt much whether two hundred hymns, worthy of that name, and truly adapted to the uses of public worship, can be found in the English language, or in any, or in all languages on earth. Sure we are that the pious taste of Christians generally does not in fact recognize even that number, by feeling itself truly at home in the devotional use of them. Where is

the Christian, the congregation, or even the denomination, that has two hundred of what are generally called *favorite* hymns? There are few universal favorites, because there are few that truly satisfy the universal Christian consciousness. The rest that make up the hundreds in our hymn books are poems, of more or less merit, put into their places under the erroneous idea that there must be hymns "adapted to *subjects*," instead of being adapted to the *worship* of God. Hence, the table of contents of our hymn books would generally answer just as well as a table of contents for a system of theology; and were it not that a hundred or more true hymns, the favorites of the ages, are scattered through the book, it would answer in fact as a scientifically arranged theological system in verse.

In our hymn books for children and youths, as used in Sunday schools, the tests of the true hymn are still more frequently disregarded, under the erroneous idea that by such means a more *practical* influence may be exerted. The didactic, hortatory, biographical, and eulogistic features prevail in these collections. All manner of lessons are taught, all manner of motives are presented to the child; forgetting altogether that in the spirit of a child, as also in the devotional spirit of the adult Christian, the heart and not the intellect prevails. The ruling idea in these collections seems to be to secure what is called *adaptation*—not, however, adaptation of the hymn to the true idea of the worship of God, but adaptation of the hymn to the child. The hymn is to effect something for the child—to instruct it, warn it; in short, in its influence and use it is to terminate on the child rather than to be the help and channel of its devotions offered unto God.

The same mistaken zeal for practical adaptation, is also responsible for the fact that so large a number of hymns for children are *childish* instead of *childlike*. True piety is childlike. Hymns that express faith, hope, love—directing the whole heart and mind toward the great atonement and mediation of Christ—when clothed in simple, chaste, and tasteful language, are much better adapted to the childlike than any puerile attempts to address the mind of the child by the use of words and phrases, in which the sublime is so easily made ridiculous, and the solemn comes uncomfortably near the ludicrous.

Hymns for children are never adapted to their true needs, when they are such as they must outgrow. The true hymn for a child must be in spirit and contents as suitable for the future adult as to the present child. By this it is not denied that nursery rhymes have their mission; but as they have their

use so they have also their appropriate place. The childish the child will outgrow, but the childlike it ought never to leave behind. The associations of childhood with the true hymn, give a savor and a power to it in after-life which it can have in no other way. Why give the children hymns to be interwoven with their memories and sacred associations, which in later life they must regard in the same light, as they then do their toys—the mere fossils of a period forever left behind? The hymns which they learn to love in childhood ought to be the same as those which shall best express their devotions amid the buoyancy of youth, the earnestness of middle life, and the decline of old age,

There is such a thing as the heart of a child apprehending, and being apprehended, by a hymn which its mind may not fully comprehend; like as a seed finds the soil adapted to all its infant needs, even though it has not yet tested, and can not now appropriate all the powers that lie in that same soil for use. We are fully convinced that those are the best hymns for children which have the highest unction of devotion, and the least of puerile adaptation to the mere intellect of the child; and it is by no means necessary that hymns, to be suitable to their wants, should be on a level with their understandings. Were this a necessity, could we regard the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, as adapted to children, and could it be regarded proper to induce them to commit them to memory in early life? Yea, is not the Bible, the very best book for children, full of mysteries and truths that lie fairly beyond their early capacities? Does not also common observation teach us a lesson on this point? Let it be noticed whether children from eight to twelve years old are not most fond of those classic hymns which move in a high inspiration—which are not only far removed in their contents, spirit, and language from the simplicity of nursery rhymes, but which are even lofty in their style, and full of sublime adoration, awakened by the deepest mysteries of faith. Spiritually, even as naturally, children love the sublime, and stand gazing entranced into a flood of glory, without ever asking themselves whether they understand it. The unction carries them with it; and the impression made lies in the heart, like the seed in the soil, to be revealed in due time.

Let the question be earnestly considered, whether great and lasting injury is not done to children by excluding from their hymn books the lofty hymns of the church, and giving them instead, the tame, simple, didactic rhymes—lessons in verse—which are so generally found to constitute the main body of

Sunday-school hymn books. We would yet add, why not, also, with the better hymns, give them also the better tunes? Why is the chant excluded so generally from books for children, in favor of a shallow, ephemeral, and rollicking kind of music? We speak from experience, and actual trial in what we are about to say. Children love chants wherever they are taught to sing them, and they learn them most readily. They afford room for the free, wild warblings of childhood; and yet they maintain the dignity and solemnity which belong to divine worship. Whoever has had much to do with the instruction of children knows how fondly they catch up the galloping glee tunes adapted—sometimes literally *adapted*—from the convivial and sentimental song-airs, with frolicking choruses attached. There is in children a fondness for tunes of free and lively movement; they want the chant, and when this is not furnished them, they will catch up those frivolous airs referred to, and thus gradually lose all taste for the graver and more solid and solemn metrical tunes. When the chant is offered, they love it; and when learned, they need never unlearn it; since the chant, as it is admirably suited to the free, joyous simplicity of childhood's taste, so also is it adequate to give expression to the loftiest and sublimest worship to which the ripest tastes of adult age can attain.

LET. VII.—SCHELLING ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIFFERENT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

[SCHELLING'S general outline of the characteristics of the main branches of the Christian Church is well known. He compared the Church of Rome to Peter; the Church of the Reformation to Paul; while the Church of the Future was to be animated by the spirit of John. In *Der Gedanke*, (The Thought,) 1864, a philosophical periodical representing the Hegelian school, there is a report of an interesting discussion, occasioned by an account which Professor Leopold Von Henning gave of an interview he had with Schelling on this subject. Some striking points of view, for forming a philosophical estimate of the different periods and characteristics of church history are brought forward in this discussion, which was held at a session of the Philosophical Society at Berlin; several members, representing different tendencies, taking

part in the debate. Professor Von Henning has taught philosophy for a long time at Berlin. He was born in Gotha, Oct. 4, 1791. In 1824 he published a work on the Principles of Ethics in their Historical Development. He edited the Berlin Annals for Scientific Criticism from 1827 to 1844. He also edited Hegel's Lectures in the first part of his Encyclopedia, comprising logic. He belongs to the right wing of the Hegelian school. Professor Michelet is the president of the above-named Philosophical Society. He was born in Berlin, Dec. 4, 1801, and is the most zealous representative of the extreme *left side* of the Hegelians, carrying pantheism to its extremes. He is also one of the most prolific writers of the school; the author of the History of Philosophy in Germany, from Kant to Hegel, two vols. 1838; Schelling and Hegel, 1839-1842; Psychology, 1840; of several works on Aristotle's Ethics; of a General History from 1775 to 1859, etc. Another of the speakers in this discussion, Max Schasler, is a private teacher at Berlin, and editor of the *Dioscuren*, a journal devoted to æsthetic subjects. Eds.]

VON HENNING. Some months since, in giving a short account to this Society of the new collected edition of Schelling's works, I alluded to the fact that he had often been reproached for the abrupt way in which he set aside all objections to his doctrines, and remarked that, so far as my personal intercourse was concerned, this reproach was without foundation. To illustrate this, I mentioned a conversation which I had with Schelling about his speculations on the different characteristics of the leading branches of the church; and now, in compliance with the desire then expressed, I am happy to give a fuller account of the substance of that conversation.

Let me remind you that Schelling, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of Revelation, represents Christianity as the union and the truth of Judaism and heathenism (and this, rightly understood, with good reason); and then, within Christianity, he makes a broad distinction only between the Catholic and the Evangelical confessions; the former, with Peter at the head, he considers as representing the Jewish principle; and the latter, with Paul at the head, as representing the heathen principle in the Christian church. [The word *heathen* is here used, not in reference to the religions of the Gentile nations, but in a general, historical sense.] I would also call to mind, that our philosopher speaks of another, a third Christian church, which he names the Church of the Future, and at whose head he puts the apostle John.

In my conversation with Schelling on this subject, I replied to him, that we ought to distinguish, within the pale of Christianity, not only two but three communions; viz., the Greek Catholic, or the oriental, the Roman Catholic, or the occidental; and the Evangelical. And then, I added, that in my view, these three communions might be brought into relation with the three Persons of the Godhead; and in *this* way—the Greek Catholic church as the church of the Father, the Roman Catholic as the church of the Son, and the Evangelical as the church of the Spirit.* It is of course to be understood since Christianity includes all three, that this does not imply that the divine Trinity, the fundamental dogma of Christianity, is not confessed in each one of these churches; but only that the differences in the communions (confessions) may be reduced to the statement, that in each one of these three churches, one of the Three Persons of the Trinity is in the foreground, so to say, emphasized in comparison with the other two persons. In confirmation of my view, I also referred to the differences in the government of the church, in the three communions; in the Greek church the spiritual and temporal powers are wholly blended; in the Roman Catholic theory, church and state are entirely sundered, and the Pope, independent of state control, is held to be the head of the church.

The mention of this difference, in the government of the churches, led me also to notice the fact, that each one of these three Christian communions had found the materials for its formation respectively in one of the three great groups of European nationalities; the Greek church among the Slavic population; the Roman Catholic among the Romans; the Evangelical in the German nationality. I remarked, thereby, that it was well known, that the Patriarch of Constantinople had set up the same claims with the Pope in Rome, but that his pretensions had from the first proved vain; and that, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the authority which the Roman Emperors of the East had exercised over the Oriental church, was transferred in a still stricter form to the head of the Slavic nations, the Czar of Russia, who was recognized, like the Turkish Padishah, as both a spiritual and temporal ruler. In respect to doctrine, too, I stated that, although the adherents of the Greek church were considered by the Roman Catholics rather as schismatics than as heretics; yet there

* Expressed in an abstract logical way, the church of the unity; the church of the difference; and the church that unites unity and difference. Note of the editor of *Der Gedanke*.

is still at any rate one fundamental dogmatic difference between the two; for the Greek church holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, while the Roman Catholic, with the Evangelical, believes that the procession of the Spirit is from both the Father and the Son. At the close of my remarks, since Schelling had referred, along with the oriental and occidental church, to a Church of the Future, I could not refrain from saying, that it seemed to me that the Evangelical church was the only one that could be so regarded; and in *this* sense, that it was the only one to which progress could be ascribed, whether in respect to doctrine or to its yet incomplete church constitution; while the Greek and the Roman churches have gone through the process of their development, and can only look forward, to being resolved into the Evangelical church, with its undeniable superiority in doctrine and constitution, when it has attained sufficient maturity.

Schelling, who listened to my exposition with only occasional interruptions to express his approbation, remarked at the close, that he could not but agree with me, even on those points in which I had deviated from his views about the differences of the communions; but yet, in looking for the foundations of Christianity, he must hold that it proceeded from both Judaism and heathenism; and that he hoped that I had nothing to object to the superiority which he assigned to the apostle John, above Paul and Peter; to which of course I agreed.

MAETZNER. Recognizing these three great Christian communions as the historical forms of the church, it seems to me that we must seek, in a somewhat different way, to construct the idea represented by each. The Greek imperialism would not acknowledge the Pope; the state wished to be independent. So the Greek church broke the unity of Christendom. The unity of Catholicism was the occasion of producing a more noble form, that of Protestantism, which corrected what went before. But Christianity is not the union of Judaism and heathenism, but the unfolding of the Oriental element, that is, of Judaism. It is historically untrue, that Christianity took up heathenism into itself. Protestantism took its rise only after the second flood of heathenism had rushed in; Italy, after the capture of Constantinople went back to heathenism. When these elements came to Germany, Holland, and France, when Plato was again studied, a freer view of church relations came into vogue. Not Luther alone, but also the culture of the cities, introduced a criticism which shook the Roman church. The heathen culture enlivened the spirit of the Germans. Protestantism came from a development of the mind, in all

directions, from Greek and Roman literature. Not to John, but to Anti-John, to non-Christian influences, is to be ascribed the freedom of Protestantism, while the Catholics were saying that philosophy is the handmaid of faith.

VON HENNING. If I have rightly understood the reply of my honored friend, it amounts in general to this, that in such investigations we must guard against one-sided, *a priori*, constructions. Such a warning, however, I hardly need ; for I must have learned but little from my great teacher, Hegel, if I did not know that the philosophical knowledge of objects bears but little fruit, if the facts are not previously examined and sifted by the empirical methods. Here, too, must be kept in mind the saying of Spinoza: *Ordo et connexio rerum idem est atque ordo et connexio idearum*. I am reminded in this connection, that our great poet, Göthe, with whom in the last years of his life I had frequent intercourse, personally and by letters, in respect to his doctrine about colors, in a conversation I held with him in the botanical garden of Jena, after I had remarked how perfectly his fundamental doctrine on this matter agreed with our philosophical theory about light, said to me, tapping me on the shoulder ; “ My friend, if we are right, let us see to it that we always keep right in view of the phenomena.”

But to come to the special objection which our friend has made to Schelling's derivation of Christianity, from both the antecedent Judaism and heathenism ; this corresponds so decisively with the law of all historical development, that from this, alone, there is a presumption in favor of Schelling's view. This presumption is confirmed by the consideration that the essential unity of the divine and human nature is generally considered as the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion. On the other hand, the divine and the human, held fast in their separation, the one in Judaism, the other in heathenism, made the basis on which Christianity was built ; and so the Christian doctrine was a scandal to the Jew, and foolishness to the Greek. As to the alleged imperfections of my account of the difference between the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, I will only remark, that whatever view may be adopted, as to the origin of their divergence, yet the points which I have made as to their difference in doctrine and government remain untouched.

JOERISSEN. In Christianity, from the beginning, Judaism was represented by Peter, and the heathen world by Paul. The last, the more tolerant element, prevailed over Judaism, after a hard and bitter struggle, and impressed upon the old Catholic church the stamp of universality and freedom. It is

remarkable, however, that the Catholic church was afterwards developed from the conquered Jewish side ; that is, it became more and more stiff, narrow-minded, and opposed to freedom. Reacting from this tendency of the Roman church, the Greek church was shaped more and more upon a syuodal basis, which, however, did not keep it from afterwards sinking down into a mere instrument of imperial power. Luther grounded a third form of Christianity—the Protestant, upon salvation by faith—a reactionary product of the Pauline doctrine, in other respects so favorable to freedom ; and this Protestantism fought the battle of freedom against despotism, first with the Catholic church, and then with the political power. Add to this the very different philosophical views of Christianity now prevailing, and Christianity, in its present attitude, presents itself before us as a conglomerate of internal and external contradictions.

SCHASLER. Schelling's comparison of the confessions seems to me to be a mere play with schemes ; and it seems that he very quickly adopted Herr von Henning's trichotomy.

MICHELET. That is just the peculiarity of Schelling's philosophising, to have constant respect to the series of stand-points developed before his eyes, to go over from one to the other easily appropriating the thoughts of others. Thus, it seems that he had no objection, after he had just made John the patron of the church of the future, to agree with von Henning, who raised him to the position of the founder of Protestantism, although Schelling, at first, assigned this place to Paul. It does not appear, from the report, how far Schelling accommodated himself to von Henning's representations of the relation of Christianity to Judaism and heathenism. At any rate, he would have done well to have adopted this view, for while in his general scheme, he put Catholicism on a parallel with Judaism, and Protestantism with heathenism, it is manifestly more correct, with von Henning, viewing Christianity as the union of the divine and human nature, to class the Greek church with Judaism (the divine side), and the Catholic church with heathenism ; for in the latter, the side of the human and the finite (the Son) is most glorified. And Schelling, too, in his Method of Academic Study, says of Christ, outright, that he is the culmination of the heathen divinities [But this was sufficiently and fully retracted by Schelling, in his late works]. Protestantism would then be best viewed as the union of both sides, the divine and human.

FRIEDLAENDER. By the development of history, by the increased knowledge of nature, and especially by a correct view

the origin and growth of religious representations and conceptions, we are so far advanced, that the differences not only of the Christian confession, but of the different religions, are overcome and are no longer barriers between us.

[Such theoretic constructions of the progress and stages of Christian church history, have a certain subordinate value, even when they cannot be considered as complete and final. Schelling's general comparison of the three eras to Peter, Paul, and John, felicitously suggests some general distinguishing characteristics of these eras, but cannot be pressed any further. His apparently co-equal derivation of Christianity from Judaism and heathenism, is certainly unauthorized, so far as Christianity is viewed as a specific revelation; for it received from heathendom, not its spirit, but only the outward forms and means of its growth. Von Henning's comparison of the three main churches with the persons of the Trinity is ingenious, but not strictly confirmed to doctrinal fact; for the person of the Son stands out much more distinctly in the Reformed than in the Roman faith. And so, these speculations may serve to show, that there is a depth of meaning in Christian history which no theory has yet been able fully to grasp and solve. The history contains a plan, an order, an end; but the formula for explaining it has not yet been shaped by philosophy. Fact is not only stranger than fiction, but it is also greater than speculation. *Eds.*]

ART. VIII.—DUNS SCOTUS, AS A THEOLOGIAN AND PHILOSOPHER.*

By DR. J. E. ERDMANN, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle.

WE have come to regard Albert, Thomas and Duns as the refoil of the systematic scholastics, and always to associate them as belonging to a single group. If this is done, it cannot be otherwise than that the third should fall into a subordinate rank. The youngest of the three, born in the year in which Thomas died, it is well known that he made frequent attacks upon the teachings of the latter. If we find, now, that in the chief points in which he differs from Thomas

* Translated by Rev. C. C. Starbuck. This article is taken from the *Studien und Kritiken*. Its writer is well known as one of the ablest teachers of Philosophy in Germany, and as the author of a *History of Modern Philosophy*, and of several treatises on logic and philosophy.—*Eds.*

(e. g. in the doctrine of Freedom), he approaches Albert; and if Thomas is regarded usually, and certainly not unjustly, as having advanced further than Albert, Duns Scotus must be regarded, almost inevitably, as having retrograded. That this view has been taken of him, is, perhaps, one of the reasons why Albert and Thomas have been studied so much more carefully than Duns. We shall have to wait a long while for such a work upon Duns as that of Sighart upon Albert, or of Werner upon Thomas. In Germany, at least: in France, years ago, Marin was already busied with a monograph upon Duns; but the writer of the present article is ignorant whether it has ever been completed. Duns has had not only to suffer this negative sentence of condemnation, but he is often, also, positively disparaged in comparison with the two others; as, for instance, by being always designated as the *abstruse*, as if he had received the surname *subtilis*, like *lucus a non lucendo*. Were he studied more, and studied more carefully, the acuteness with which we see him prove that under some circumstances, the principle *e mere negativis nil sequitur* is false, and the like, would alone suffice to win him recognition as one, who, in respect of his clear head, is, at least, of equal standing with his two rivals.

It contributes somewhat to the neglect of this study, that his works are so rare. As is known, there is only one complete collection of them, the Lyons edition of 1639, which was edited by the Irish fathers of the Isidorian college, and is commonly named after the learned annalist of the Franciscan order, Lucas Wadding. While in every library of medium rank, in Germany, we expect to find the works of Albert and Thomas, we may search in vain, in many a great one, for those of Duns Scotus; so that even Ritter (vol. 8, p. 357) acknowledges that he has only been able to examine the complete collection during a hasty visit to some libraries. (Most of the copies are said to have gone to England.) Besides, these twelve volumes, to repeat the expression of the publishers, contain only "*quæ ad rem speculativam s. dissertationes spectant.*" The *positivæ sacræ scripturæ commentarii* were to be given in another collection, which did not appear. Inasmuch as every reader may not have had in his hands the printed works of Duns, allow us here to give a complete index of the Lyons edition.

The first volume contains the *Logicalia*; namely, the *grammaticalia speculativa* (p. 39–76), *quæstiones in quinque universalibus Porphyrii* (p. 77–123), *in librum prædicamentorum* (p. 124–185, whose genuineness has been, without reason, called in

question.) two different redactions of *in libros peri hermeneias* (p. 186–223), *in libros elenchorum* (p. 224–272), *in libros analyticorum* (p. 273–430). There is an appendix, consisting of the very detailed *expositio* of the Archbishop of Tuam, on the questions in which Duns comments on Porphyry. The second volume contains the *Quæstiones in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis*, whose spuriousness Wadding convincingly demonstrates. Undoubtedly genuine, on the other hand, are the unfinished *Quæstiones supra libros Aristotelis de anima* (p. 477–582), which the Franciscan Hugo Capellus has undertaken to continue in the sense of Duns. The third volume contains *Tractatus de rerum principio* (1–208), *de primo rerum omnium principio* (209–259), the *Theoremata* (260–340), *collationes s. disputationes subtilissimæ* (341–420), *quatuor collationes noviter additæ* (421–430), *Tractatus de cognitione Dei* (431–440), *Tractatus de formalitatibus* (441), both unfinished; the *Quæstiones miscellaneæ* and *Meteorologicorum* Libb iv. The fourth volume contains the *Expositio in Metaphysicam* (1–504), to which is prefixed an introduction, zealously contending for the genuineness of this production. What is surprising, is that after the *expositio* has commented on the twelfth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, a short addendum remarks that there are no commentaries on the 13th and 14th books, "*nec ipsos aliquando vidi*," that in the remainder, the author has throughout followed *Joannes Duns* "*cujus verba frequenter reperies*."—This is followed by the *Conclusiones metaphysicæ* (p. 465), and *Quæstiones supra libros metaphysicorum* (p. 505). The following six volumes (v–x) contain the commentary composed in Oxford upon the sentences, the *Opus Oxoniense* or *Ordinarium*, so that to each book a volume corresponds; to the fourth book, however, three volumes. This great extension of the commentary has resulted from the addition to it of the accompanying explanations of Lychetus, Parcius, Cavellus, Higuæus, and others. The eleventh volume contains *Reportatorium Parisiense*, Libb iv; that is the Paris commentary on Peter Lombard, or the so-called *Opus Parisiense*, and the twelfth volume the twenty-one *Quæstiones quodlibetales*, which he, on the occasion of his promotion to be *Doctor Parisiensis*, answered according to custom, and afterwards wrote down, and as usual, has enriched with additions.

The fact that later, the Scotists used to develop their teachings in continual opposition to those of the Thomists, resulted from the signal given by Duns himself, in his perpetually polemic attitude towards Albert and Thomas. For that very reason, it appears most natural that his teachings should be

developed with continual reference to the two stars of the Dominican order. The first consideration is, what form with him and with his predecessors the relation to Aristotle assumed. To us he appears, though doubtless with the help of their previous labors, to disclose a more thorough understanding of the genuine Aristotelian doctrine than they. This is not only attested by the fact that in him, besides the citations from Aristotle which occur in the Thomists and in Thomas himself, as the continually reappearing *dicta probantia*, there are found a multitude of passages which never appear in them, but he gives often more impartial and correct exegesis. It will suffice here to refer to *Rep. Paris. iv. dist. 23, qu. 2*, where the *extrinsecus advenire* of the *anima intellectiva*, according to Aristotle, is explained to mean only that independence from a definite organ takes place. This correcter understanding is connected with the decided preference which Duns has for Averroes over Avicenna, as a commentator. The impartial manner in which he cites the first, second, etc., signification, which a term has in Aristotle, shows how distinct to him are his synonymous investigations in metaphysics. Similar appeals to the *Topica*, show how familiar these were to him. The elucidations respecting Individuality, to which we shall presently come, appear, also, to prove that the Aristotelian distinction between *τότι εἶναι* and *τόδε τι* had become clearer than to the two Aristotelians whom he combats.

But this more thorough insight into the original sense of the peripatetic doctrine, must itself have made the opposition more visible between what its author and what the Bible and the fathers of the church had taught, so that the reconciliation between theology and philosophy which Thomas had so skillfully effected, might have appeared to be threatened. With Duns the danger is somewhat lessened by the fact that he does not maintain the two doctrines in their original form but in the form with which both in the lapse of time had developed themselves. Ritter has rightly recognized that the doctrine of Duns is more ecclesiastical than biblical. He declares decidedly (*Rep. Paris. iii. dist. 23*) that we believe the Bible only on the testimony of the church, because she has decided that the apostles, though men capable of error, have yet, during their writing, not erred. Referring to an assertion of Augustine, he remarks, that it was not yet heretical but had become so later (*Op. Oxon. iii. d. 6. qu. 3.*), because the church had so defined. On this account he allows himself very free extensions of the biblical teachings—as for in-

stance that the biblical declaration, that eternal life consists in knowing, is not contradicted by his own, that it consists in love (and also in will), because it does not read : Knowledge without love (Rep. Paris iv. d. 49. qu. 2.). In like manner he claims, in opposition to Anselm, the liberty to introduce into theology new dogmatic terms unknown to the ancients (Op. Oxon. i. du. 28. qu. 2). On the other hand he displays no such freedom towards the papal decrees. They are, to him, the end of all controversy, and we must regard it as characteristic, that Duns far oftener takes ground against Augustine than against Peter Lombard. The thought that, under the leading of the Holy Ghost, the church has advanced, is a prevailing one with him. Hence, although he knows it cannot be biblically proved, his holding fast to the *immaculata conceptio virginis*, for which it is decisive with him, that Pope Paul V. had forbidden to speak against it (Rep. Paris iii. d. 3.) ; hence, also, the frankness with which, in regard to many precepts and rules, he concedes that their biblical origin can not be asserted, but that they are ecclesiastical ordinances. (See Rep. Paris iv. d. 36., upon the celibacy of the clergy, and d. 39, the forbidden degrees of affinity etc.).

As Duns, in his theology, gives more emphasis to the ecclesiastical element than to the biblical, so for him the Aristotelian philosophy, also, is not concluded in the writings of the master. It is true he honors him so much that with him, often, Aristotle and philosophy are used as synonyms ; nay, he even says that philosophy cannot prove this or that, for otherwise Aristotle or his commentator, *maximus philosophus Averroes*, would certainly have proved it (Rep. Paris iv. d. 43. qu. 2.). But the very mention of the commentator shows what, besides, is elsewhere established, that, to him, the spirit of philosophy does not appear to have slumbered since Aristotle, and that thus Aristotle's word is no fetter to him. He regards Aristotle as having accepted much, because it appeared to his predecessors probable, not because it was proven (Quodl. qu. 7.) ; in respect to which there is now a fuller and better knowledge. Through this confidence that the spirit which formed the definitions of the church doctrine, as well as that from which the positions of philosophy have proceeded, is a progressive spirit, it became possible to Duns to investigate more impartially than hitherto the first sources of philosophy and theology, and notwithstanding all the differences which appeared in them, not to doubt that what gushed from these fountains can broaden into streams which must finally unite. But, moreover, the following fact also contri-

butes very essentially to this impartiality, namely, that the union of philosophy and theology was by no means a matter which he had so much at heart as Albert and Thomas. The latter, particularly, is meant where Duns speaks of such as confound theology and philosophy, and by that very fact do justice neither to the philosophers nor to the theologians (Op. Oxon. ii. d. 3. qu. 7.). The independence of the two with him often amounts to schism. Passages even occur where he says that a particular principle is true for the philosopher, false for the theologian, Rep. Paris iv. d. 43. qu. 3.). It is true he seldom goes so far, but he makes the schism wide enough where he says that, the condition of things which the philosopher regards as natural, is for the theologian the penalty of sin (Quodl. qu. 14.), or that, by blessedness, philosophers understand that of this life, theologians that of the next (Rep. Paris iv. d. 43. qu. 2.). The opposition between the two does not constrain him to choose between them. He escapes from this necessity by ascribing, like Albert, only much more decidedly than he, the character of pure theory to philosophy, and, on the contrary, a predominantly practical character to theology. This goes so far that he says, that even the theology of God, that is, the manner in which He comprehends himself, is practical, not speculative (Disp. Subt. 30.), and doubts whether our theology is entitled to be named a science (Op. Oxon. and Rep. Paris ii. d. 24.), since its principles, certainly, are not capable of strict proof. But even if it is allowed to pass as a science, as Duns himself mostly treats it, inasmuch as he opposes science as derived knowledge to the knowledge of principles, where the *evidentia ex terminis* makes proof superfluous (Rep. Paris Prol. qu. 1.); this, at least, must be held in mind, that it is a science essentially different from all others, founded on its own principles, a science of a character more practical than speculative (Op. Oxon. Prol. qu. 4, 5.). Inasmuch as theology and philosophy have thus a different foundation assigned them, their principles (as with Spinoza) can not come in conflict, for to that a common measure of the two is necessary.

If, now, we separate what is philosophical from what is theological, as Duns himself, at least, begins to do, and look first at his purely philosophical teachings, we have first to consider his dialectics, and in them, above all, his doctrine concerning individuality. Although the controversy between realism and nominalism is virtually decided by Abelard's mediating formula, and so, even in his time, and still more during the brilliant period of scholasticism, in the thirteenth century,

loses its earlier interest, inasmuch as all the great scholastics (precisely as Avicenna before them) maintain alike the three formulas regarding universals, *ante res, post res, in rebus*; so that to the question whether Albert and Thomas were realists, nominalists, or conceptualists no answer is possible, because they stand upon this trilemma, although, moreover, Duns declares himself in this matter fully at one with them; there is, notwithstanding, one question connected with this, which retains still a very great importance. It is this: In what does the distinction between the universal and the individual consist? The nominalists, as is known, place it in this, that the universal is a mere creation of thought, while, on the other hand, the individuals really exist (in natura). Against this view Duns declares himself not less energetically than Albert and Thomas. He who transforms the universal into a mere creation of thought, transforms all science into mere logic, and those who do this are very severely condemned by him as *loquentes* (Theorem 3, et alicubi). (The name will not surprise us, if we reflect that logic is *scientia sermocinalis*, that the nominalists are also called *vocales*, etc.). Duns himself maintains that reality (natura) embraces both the universal and the individual (is *indifferens* in regard to both. Op. Oxon. d. 3. qu. 1.), and that accordingly both exist outside of our intelligence. But, if both participate of reality, there arises the further question: By what are they distinguished? Here comes into view, the difference between Thomas and Duns. The former had maintained that in the individual there was added to the generic essence, as limitation, matter, defined by certain dimensions, here and there, so that thus the *materia signata* is the *principium individualitatis*. Thus, by *homo* becoming connected with this defined amount of matter, there arises *hic homo*. A necessary consequence was, then, that beings entirely immaterial could not be individuals coming under a species or kind, and that, consequently, every angel must be solitary in his kind, himself constituting his whole species. Not only the fact that this last assertion has been declared heretical, is a reason for Duns to combat premises which lead to it (conf. de anim. qu. 22), but he has also another reason. Since, according to Thomas, matter is something negative, mere limitation, there is manifestly implied in the Thomist theory, the assertion that all individuality is a defect, that it is, properly, an imperfection when a thing is *hoc* or *hæc*.*

* Ger. ein Ding *hoc*, eine Sache *hæc*.

In opposition to this view, to which, in modern language, a pantheistic tendency might be ascribed, Duns affirms that it is not true that by Individuality something is taken away, but much rather is it true that something is added, so that the Individuality of a thing is not a defect of being, but far rather *ultima realitas* (Op. Oxon ii d. 3 qu. 6 et al.); therefore, the Individual is by him designated as the perfect, and as the proper culmination of Reality (Rep. Paris i d. 36 qu. 4). (To use the modern way of speaking in this instance, also, an individualistic, monadologic and atomistic tendency might here be ascribed to Duns). *Individuality* Duns designates by several names. Not only in the *Expositio in duodecim libros metaphys. Aristotelis*, which, on account of the before-mentioned addendum, might be held suspicious, but also in the *Reportatis Parisiensibus* (ii d. 12. qu. 5), occurs the expression continually used by the Scotists, *hæccitas*, and in such a use, that sometimes it denotes Individuality itself, sometimes again what constitutes the essence of Individuality. Other expressions are : *unitas sic nata ut hæc, hoc signatum hac singularitate, individualitas, natura atoma*, etc. (Op. Oxon. ii d 3. qu. 4 et al). His continually recurring reproach against Thomas and his followers, is that, with them, that through which a *quid* becomes a *hoc* (*quiditas contrahitur*), is a something negative, while it is to be apprehended as something positive, something, for that very reason, enriching and perfecting. But that individualistic tendency, which we have ascribed to him, he does not wish to have exaggerated. He censures Brother Adam and others, who have said that material things are *ex se* or *per se* individuals, declaring this to be a defying of things, and pure nominalism (l. c. qu. 1). It is the first, because it is only true of God that his *quiditas per se hæc est* (Rep. Paris ii d. 3 qu. 1); it is the second, because in this assertion it is forgotten, that in the individual thing there exists, besides its *hæccitas*, something else; the universal which in it constitutes its *quiditas* before it exists as its archetype, according to which it is created; and after it, exists in our intelligence as the generic idea abstracted from it. (The three are sometimes distinguished as *formæ, quiditates, and universalia*). While God is simple *purus actus*, every individual existence is, as it were, a composite (Rep. Paris. d. 12 qu. 8). While, therefore, the *essentia divina* and the *substantia materialis* exist each as *hæc*, yet this existence as *hæc* is different in the two, in this respect, among others, that the former [the divine essence] is common to the three persons, so that in God there is, therefore, something which is a *commune* and

yet *individuum* (Op. Oxon d. 3 qu. 1), while in the unipersonality of man to *singularitas* supervenes *incommunicabilitas* (Quode qu. 19). On account of this distinction, Duns often betrays the disposition to limit the word *individuum* to the sphere in which *dividuum* is found, and not, as he had done in the above-cited passage, to designate the Divine Being an *individuum*. But however it may be named, individual existence is, of necessity the prior condition of personality. *Individuari prius est quam personari* (Rep. Paris. d. 1. qu. 5) is true of the Divine no less than of human existence.

Passing, now, from his dialectical to his *metaphysical* investigations, we meet at once the inquiry after the *primum cognitum*, which gave occasion to many controversies between Thomists and Scotists. According to Duns, we should distinguish between *cognitio confusa* and *distincta*. The first in order of time which is perceived, is the individual; for every preception begins with sense; but this perception is a confused one. On the other hand, the general is known from the individual, and this knowledge is definite (de. Anim. qu. 16); it is, therefore, first in order of thought. If it is now asked, which is the chief and first idea, and first object of our intelligence, neither substance nor God can be so designated, but rather existence (*ens*), which is a predicate of God, as of the creature, of substance as well as of accident, and, indeed; is affirmed *univoce* of all (ibid qu. 21). Especially for metaphysics is existence the chief idea, for since it is its province to prove the being of God, and since in doing this, it proceeds from the idea of existence, the priority of this idea is thereby demonstrated (Rep. Paris. d. 3. qu. 1). But the *ens* can, with as little propriety, be called strictly the most comprehensive generic idea, as it can be called the most comprehensive substance, or the most comprehensive accident. It stands above the sphere of the five predicables and ten predicaments; is, therefore, *transcendens*, has not yet descended into the distinctions of genus, species, substance, quality, etc. (Theor. 14. Report. Paris i d. 19, Quodl. qu. 5). The position of existence is only analagous to genus in this, that it comprehends all (De rer. prin. qu. 3). Since *eus* is the opposite of *non-eus* or *nihil*, and that is most completely *noneus*, which is self-contradictory, the identical proposition is true of everything; there is no *eus* which is not subject to this principle, therefore even God, himself, is so (Rep. Paris. i d. 43. qu. 3). What is self-contradictory, the identical proposition is true of everything; there is no *ens* which is not subject to this principle, therefore even God, himself, is so (Rep. Paris i d. 43. qu. 3). What is self-contradictory is unconditionally false, and precisely so,

everything is true, whose opposite involves a contradiction. The lowest of all *entia* is matter. This must not be conceived as something negative—as mere limitation. In that case, it would be a *non-eus*. It is something positive; is, even without form, something real (Rep. Paris. ii. d. 22). Whoever regards it as inconceivable, that it should be without any form, reduces it to a mere correlative, when it is really something complete, *absolutum quid* (Op. Oxon. ii d. 12, qu. 2.) This is not at all contradictory to the fact, that it is the potentiality of new realizations, nay, that in one gradation, no such potentiality whatever preceded it; that all realizations come after it; in which case, it would be “*actu sed nullius actus*,” bare definableness [*Bestimonbarkeit*], pure principle of passivity (De. rer. princ. qu. 22). This gives the notion of the *materia primo-prima*, which, as the receptivity for every form, receives its first form only from the *primum agens* in the creation of things. The *materia secundo-prima* would then be that which receives its form in generation, the *materia tertio-prima*, that which underlies other transformations, etc. (De rer. princ. qu. 7, 8). Without *materia primo-prima*, which is common to all things, exists neither angel nor soul. When, then, the soul is named the form of the body, it must not be forgotten that she herself, this *informans*, that is, that which complements the body, is a substance, that is a union of form and matter. In this lies the possibility of her continuing to exist without a body. But it follows, also, from the foregoing, that, inasmuch as angels are bodiless, and can never be united with a body as its form, that in them the *materia primo-prima* must be united with its form in another way from men, and that, therefore, a specific difference must always exist between angels and departed souls (Op. Oxon. ii d. qu. 5). As matter is the lowest place in the chain of beings, so, on the other hand, God takes the highest, as the being to whom every perfection belongs, who, therefore, rises above all which is not the Himself (De. prim. omn. rer. princ. cap. 4). This definition of the Divine idea reminds us too strongly of Anselm’s, not to suggest the ontological argument. This Duns rejects, because he sees in it the assertion that the proof of God’s existence is certain, and results *ex terminis*, and needs no proof. This is not correct. The existence of God must be proved. Since God has no cause, there can be no proof *propter quid* or *a priori*, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with a *demonstratio quia*, which draws its conclusion *a posteriori*, that is, backward from effects (Op. Oxon. i d. 1 and 2). That to which we arrive in this way, is a first cause and a last end, as that which towers above all, *quo majus cog-*

tari nequit. To Von Baur's very just remark, that here the cosmological proof is blended with the ontological, we may add, that in this blending, the teleological argument is also included. This knowledge of the existence of God, is, since it is derived, a scientific one, and since it proceeds from the idea of efficiency, which may be discovered by natural thinking, it is a knowledge for which a supernatural illumination is not required (ibid. 3. qu. 4). It is true, we must not conceal from ourselves that thereby we have simply proven that there exists a *highest* cause. But that this cause is *almighty*, that is, has need of no material whatever, out of which it produces existing things, is not yet demonstrated (ibid. d. 42—Quodl. qu. 7—Rep. Paris. i d. 42). All other further determinations (Bestimmungen) of the divine essence are also inferred *a posteriori*, it being, in this case, not the existence, but the constitution of things, which is made the point of departure. For since all things include, at least, a trace (vestigium), and the more perfect an image (imago) of God, that is, the former resemble a part of the Deity, the latter the Deity, we may conclude, *via eminentiæ*, from the essence of the effect to that of the first cause (Op. Oxon. i. d. 3. qu. 5). Psychological must be added to the ontological investigations, to make a theology possible.

The leading distinction between the Thomist and the Scotist *psychology* respects the relation of thinking and willing, which, although they are found united, *unitive*, in the soul, are really (*formaliter*) distinct as well from each other as from the soul (Op. Oxon. ii. d. 16). The determinism of Thomas, according to which the will necessarily chooses what the thought presents to it as the best, Duns combats most emphatically. Not only that the will has the power to determine itself entirely alone (ibid. d. 25.), and, under certain circumstances, to act against the reason (disput. subtil. 9 and 16), but, in decided opposition to Thomas, it may be said that in very many cases, the reason is determined by the will, *e.g.* when I will to think. It is most judicious to distinguish two different modes of thinking, the first, which precedes the will. The second, which follows it; but even the former does not determine the will, for *voluntas est superior intellectu* (Op. Oxon. i. d. 42. qu. 4). With Duns the will is entirely identical with *liberum arbitrium*, what it does is *contingens et evitable*, while the intellect obeys necessity (Op. Oxon. ii. d. 25.). The function of the latter is to furnish to the will the material which it combines, the possibility being given to it of willing entire opposites (Op. Oxon. i. dist. 39.). The decided indeter-

minism of Duns exerts even a reflex influence upon his doctrine of knowledge, so that, even in knowing, he assumes a greater self-activity than his opponent. To be sure, the first beginning of knowledge may be named a receiving, since there is no knowing without an image (*species*) of the thing known, and, for this very reason, sensuous certainty is *basis et seminarium* of all knowing (de. rer. princ. qu. 13.). But, independently of the fact that it is thus in consequence of the fall, this receiving is by no means, as Thomas will have it, a bare possibility. The object and the cognizing subject co-operate in it; the object is not the only cause, but only co-joint cause, the occasion for the image arising in us (Op. Oxon. i. d. 3. qu. 4. disp. supt. 8.). Still more does the self-activity of the mind come into view in the following stadia through which the process of knowing passes. Since, namely, the images after the act of appropriation, remain in the understanding, a part of them only being (on account of the fall), *phantasmata* (de Anim. qu. 17.) while others represent the intelligible, and both can be called forth by the memory, this is, therefore, a transforming, nay, a generating power, as which, also, it shows itself in the production of words (Rep. Paris iv. d. 45.). Still more does self-activity show itself in the *intellectus agens*, that power of the soul which stands related to the sensuous images as light to colors, to the *intellectus possibilis* as light to the eye, and to the actual knowing as light to seeing, and which out of the phantasms make the actual cognitions (de. rer. princ. qu. 14.). Finally, there is joined with all these a pure act of the will, namely, that of adherence (*Zustimmung*). Only in the few cases where something is certain *ex terminis*, does this follow of necessity, but otherwise, though, indeed, not quite arbitrary, yet it takes place without willing (disp. subt. 9.). In the latter case the adherence is faith (*fides*), and therefore most knowledge is grounded upon faith, is the completion of faith, and, therefore, more than it (Rep. Paris Prol. qu. 2), which, however, does not hinder, but that in other relations faith may have rights of pre-eminence above knowledge (Op. Oxon. iii. d. 23.). Thus we must distinguish between natural faith, and faith bestowed. The former, *fides acquisita*, is the previous condition of knowledge, and, therefore, stands below it; the latter, the *fides infusa*, as a theological virtue is more than knowledge. Relatively to the *fides infusa*, without doubt we are in a positive attitude; the error of Thomas is, that he attributes passivity to the *fides acquisita*, also, to adherence without absolutely constraining proof (Op. Oxon. i. d. 3. qu. 7.), which, for in-

stance, may be exercised by an unbaptized person, in respect to the truths of faith, if he regards those who announce them to him as honest. Should the *fides infusa* be accompanied with the consciousness of *certainly* which co-exists with the *fides acquisita*, it would be a condition of which, as it appears, man, here below, is not capable (Quodl. qu. 14.). (It appears by this, as if Duns would exclude from faith as a pure gift of grace, all reflection upon the probable, although not constraining grounds of belief).

The peculiarities of Duns' psychology, as well as his deviations therein from Thomas, reflect themselves again in the manner in which he views the essence of God, and the destiny of man, and, therefore, in his theology and ethics. As to the former, since the existence of God might be known without supernatural illumination, there is, therefore, *ex puris naturalibus*, a knowledge of the Divine essence. But just as the former could not be proved *a priori*, the latter, also, cannot be derived from the highest metaphysical idea of the *ens* (Theorem. 14), but we raise ourselves to it by proceeding from the *vestigium* and the *imago* of God. Our knowledge of the essence of God is, therefore, not intuitive, but abstractive (Rep. Paris. Prol. qu. 2). The distinction, in the human soul, between the *intellectus*, whose centre is the memory, and the will, must, and that *eminenter*, be found in the original ground of man, in God. Accordingly, in God, understanding and will must be distinguished, of which the former acts *naturaliter*, the latter *libere*; the former is the ground and sum of all necessity, the latter of all contingency, and, therefore, may be named the possibility of the contingent in God. (Rep. Paris. ii. d. i. qu. 3. *ibid.* i. d. 40). Inasmuch, now, as these two determinations (Bestimmungen) give the foundation of Duns' doctrine of the Trinity, since the Son, as *Verbum*, has his ground in the *memoria perfecta*, the Holy Ghost, on the other hand, in the *spiratio* operated through the will (Rep. Paris. i. d. 13. Op. Oxon. i. d. 10 *et al.*), he does not hesitate to ascribe to the natural man such capacity as that he may know the Trinity (Quodl. qu. 14). These intra-divine relations (*notionalia*) through which the three persons are, are the first deductions resulting from the essence of God, and are, therefore, to be derived from the known *essentialibus* (*ibid.* qu. 1). The case is otherwise with every relation of God *ad extra*. For, since all out of God proceeds from the divine will, and this cause acts *contingenter* (Op. Oxon. i. d. 39), it can by no means be proved that anything out of God must exist, and that it must exist as it is. Truly, his own being does God know and will of necessity; all else is only *secundario volitum* (Rep. Paris. 1 d. 17).

That God might have created all things other than he has, or that he might do all things otherwise than he does, cannot be proved a logical impossibility, an *impossibilitas contrariorum*; we can, therefore, only say, in the course of the established order chosen by God, this or that will or will not happen (Rep. Paris. iv. d. 49 qu. 11). Such an established order, limits which God has voluntarily fixed for himself, is postulated by Duns, because he distinguishes creation and preservation, i. e. bringing out of nothing into being, and out of being into being, as two essentially distinct relations of God to things, or, rather of things (Quodl. qu. 12) to God. (Op. Oxon. I d. 30 qu. 2). But it must never be forgotten, that the ground why this particular order was established, is to be found purely in the pleasure of God. Therefore, although it is true that God has created all things according to ideas which preceded the things in his intelligence, yet these archetypal forms have by no means determined his creating; least of all has he chosen any one form, because it was the better. Rather, it is only the better, for the very reason that God has chosen it (Op. Oxon. ii d. 19). There is, therefore, a scientific knowledge of the Trinity; of the creation there is none. It is with the incarnation precisely as it is with the creation. Had God willed, we might have become stone; there is no more an impossibility in that than there was in his becoming man. Precisely the same is true of redemption through the death of Christ. A proof of the necessity of this is not possible. It is simply the pleasure of God that the death of the guiltless one should become the ransom for the guilty (Op. Oxon. iii d. 7. qu. 1—d. 20—iv. d. 15). (Around this point revolve the controversies of the Scotists and Thomists, respecting the merits of Christ). Precisely as it must be said of these dogmas, that they are certain, not through scientific proofs, but through the *fides infusa* (ibid. d. 24), even so must we say of the moral commandments which are given us. It is not because it is evil, that God has forbidden us this or that, but it is evil because he has forbidden it. Had he commanded murder or other transgressions, they would have been no transgressions and no sin (ibid. d. 37).

The last adduced principle forms a convenient transition to the second point, which, in consequence of the psychological views of Duns, could not but assume a peculiar form with him, namely, to his ethics. Whoever, like Thomas, lays the greater stress on the theoretical side of the soul, must, with Aristotle, put theory above practice, and with such a one, if the Christian idea of blessedness be added, it must assume a peculiar form.

Here, therefore, blessedness is conceived as the knowing and beholding of God, as *delectatio* in God, and, therefore, as a *theoretic* enjoyment. With Duns, who allows to the will precedence over the thinking power, the matter must naturally take another form. The authority of Aristotle alarms him not ; it is, in his view, only the philosopher with his temporal blessedness, who is opposed to him, when he himself maintains, as the Christian and theological view, that love, therefore the will, confers the highest blessedness, so that it seems to him almost too quietistic to call it *delectatio* (Rep. Paris. iv. d. 49. qu. 1. and 2.). How he disposes of the biblical authority, according to which eternal life consists in knowing God, has been mentioned above. As, through his stronger emphasizing of the will, he separates himself from Aristotle's deification of theory, naturally with him the Augustinian will-lessness must disappear. Duns is a decided synergist. To be sure, the will is not sufficient for salvation ; it needs to be assisted through the infusion of the theological virtue of *charitas* (ibid. qu. 10), but it must be remembered also, that Christ only names himself the Door, but the door does not render entrance superfluous. Entrance requires the co-operation of man. (Op. Oxon. iii. d. 19.) He does not scruple, therefore, to name the appropriation of salvation through faith a merit which will be rewarded. It is no contradiction to say that when God shows himself compassionate only he, when just, also decides the act of man. (Rep. Paris. iv. d. 46.)

In the foregoing, all the points are touched which Baumgarten-Crusius had already brought to notice in his able essay upon Duns Scotus (Jena, 1826,) as the principal differences between him and Thomas. Important as they are, they are scarcely sufficient to explain the hate which separates the two schools, and which has not certainly arisen merely among their disciples in their zeal to honor their masters, but is also connected with the fact that Duns himself is continually criticizing Thomas. That it was any special ill-will towards the teachings of Thomas which influenced him to this, cannot be believed, since he combats, almost more than Thomas, Henry of Ghent, who is himself a downright and incessant antagonist of the Thomist doctrine. Neither does the continually cited opposition of the Franciscans and Dominicans suffice for explanations ; for if Duns cites Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, and Roger Bacon, he does it in just the same way, only to criticise and oppose them. What is the truth then as to his critical views of his predecessors ? A decisive circumstance for the right answering of this question is, that he crit-

icises and opposes even when he declares himself to agree with the decisions of the persons criticised. This happens, not from love of controversy, but because what interests him before all, is not the affirmations themselves, but the proofs for them. While hitherto the scholastics had reflected upon the church teaching, and submitted this to reasoning, Duns, on the other hand, begins to reflect upon this reflection and this reasoning. This interests him so much that it often happens that he finally gives no decision at all upon the questions proposed. This not only appears so to the hasty reader, but his most zealous disciples admit it in their careful commentaries. The fact that in him we find reflection upon the reasoning of the scholastics, that their performances are in their turn handled scholastically, this fact gives to the developments of Duns, compared with those of his predecessors, a relative position, which, with more reason it appears to us than Baumgarten-Crusius adduced for making the same parallel, may be compared with that which Fichte, in his *Wissenschaftslehre*, assumed in respect to ordinary science. But this is also the ground why many think his investigations so much more abstruse than those of Thomas and Albert. So to one who, after having read the writings of an empiric, proceeds thence to Kant and Fichte, who reflect upon the processes of the empiric, their transcendental investigations appear abstruser, obscurer than the investigations of the former, only because they have not from the beginning, in order to comprehend Kant and Fichte rightly, placed themselves in an entirely different point of view. We might, therefore, conceive the relation between Duns and the scholastics criticised by him as follows: In them scholasticism celebrates her triumphs; in him, on the other hand, she meditates upon what she is doing. They belong, therefore, to very different groups; their points of view are related to each other as different powers, as square and cube of the same root. But it may be asked, whether this progress of scholasticism to self-comprehension, can be endured and survived by it. The opposite is conceivable. If we only consider *naivete*, entire simplicity, we shall see that there are instances of points of view which immediately vanish so soon as they come to consciousness. We have now to see what scholasticism originally was, and what her proper mission was, and then, further, (which indeed will be developed in connection with her introspective view of herself,) what she really is and does.

The Scholastics had retained from the church fathers, and, as in Augustine the activity of the church fathers had reached its cul-

mination, especially from him, those dogmas which the fathers had framed out of the original revelation. They had therefore retained not the Biblical *message*, but the church *doctrine*. What they now have to do, is to prove and to vindicate this doctrine, in itself immovably held ; to vindicate it in the youthful period of Scholasticism to the judgment of healthy reason, and in her brilliant period to vindicate it before philosophy and Aristotle. (Anselm, accordingly, is intelligible to every intelligent man, Albert only to the Peripatetic.) Since the substance of the doctrine is to be retained, the work of Scholasticism is limited to formulating it. All possible keenness of intellect is called into play to show what the power of thought, first the native power, and then the disciplined power of thought, can adduce for the vindication of the not-to-be-disputed church doctrine. The church tolerated, nay, encouraged, this activity. Since the substance of her doctrine was not at all infringed upon, and reason and Aristotle had to serve for its confirmation, this seemed to her wholly irreprehensible, and she canonized the Aristotelians. She forgot only one thing, that that with which a philosophy chiefly or, it may be, entirely occupies itself, necessarily becomes its principal, nay, its only object, and that what it sets as something not to be impugned outside of the circle of its activity, at least ceases to exist for it. She forgot that the old proverb : where the treasure is, there will the heart be also, is quite as true reversed. A philosophy, therefore, which allows the contents of the church doctrine to remain as a postulate, and occupies itself only with grounds of reason and with proofs, must, so soon as its consciousness of its own activity awakes, make the discovery that reason and proofs are the *chief affair*, and for that very reason it will no longer consent to *serve* at all, not even to serve the establishment of the church doctrine, that is, it must lead to a breach with the church doctrine ; The earlier scholastics were so immersed in their activity, that they never even considered whither they were actually tending ; and for that reason they never broke with the church. But the case is different when not only the results of the scholastic activity, but that activity itself is made a subject of consideration by Duns, when he begins to reflect upon it. In such a case the schism cannot fail to come ; and since scholasticism had consisted only in the harmony, first of reason, and finally of Aristotelianism with the church doctrine, scholasticism itself must also go to pieces. Therefore, as Albert and Thomas must be placed in the bloom, so must Duns be placed in the decline of Scholasticism, which decline he introduces.

It is true, this process with him does not yet involve such far-reaching consequences as with Ockam, but that the chief points of Ockam's nominalism, the philosopheme that individuals are the Real, and the theologoumenon, that all is a product of the arbitrary will of God—that these are already found in Duns, has been shown above. If Scholasticism celebrates her real triumph where Aristotle and Augustine appear as the highest authorities, and at the same time as fully at one with each other; on the other hand, we must openly say of one who differs from Aristotle and Augustine in matters so weighty as shown above, and who, moreover, designated the most profoundly essential dogmas as having certainty only for the theologian, not for the philosopher; of such a one we must affirm, that the reconciliation between Aristotelianism and church doctrine—between philosophy and theology, as it is represented especially by Thomas—lies behind him.

Behind him! The expression was carefully chosen, with reference to what was said in the beginning of this essay, that we might be tempted on account of many points of correspondence with Albert to see in Duns a retrogression. As he who has surmounted a high Alpine crest, when he has reached a region where plants again grow, has not therefore gone back, but so many more leagues forwards, so much nearer the brilliant south, so in the points in which Duns agrees with Albert, it must not be forgotten that the one has not yet reached what Thomas maintains, and the other no longer abides by it. The chasm between theology and philosophy, which in many points Albert was not able to bridge, no longer exists for Thomas, and for Duns has again opened, because the reasoning which was yet unknown to Albert, and which Thomas devised, no longer suffices for Duns. The different position which Thomas, the completer of a stadium of development, and Duns, the inaugurator of a new phase, assume, stands now in very natural connection with the fact, that the former in his whole literary activity appears as one who has reached final conclusions, as one who is in full unity with himself. Compare, for instance, his youthful treatise *De Ente et Essentia* with his *Summa ad gentiles*, or even with his *Summa Theologica*. He is in all three the same, and yet there lies a quarter of a century between the first and last work. How different is the case if we compare the *Opus Oxoniense* of Duns, which he composed shortly before, and the *Opus Parisiense*, or the *Reportata* which he composed soon after his thirtieth year. It is usual to exalt the former at the expense of the two latter; no difficult matter, for the former is a book

edited by the author himself, while the two latter arose in the manner following. Instead of the early commentaries on the separate Distinctions of the Lombard, new explanations, where it appeared necessary, were written, and then what there was of these was apparently collected by a scholar. This was not done with strict consecutiveness, for the commentary on the fourth book promises that on the second. But if we bear in mind that we have here to do with a fragment and there with an elaborated whole, we shall be astonished at the progress in respect to definiteness of thought and expression, compared with the author of the completed work. What would the man have accomplished who was snatched away by death at thirty-four! Only in the rounded completeness in which Scholasticism appears to us in the works of Thomas, was it possible to make it acceptable and engaging to the circle of the unlearned, as Dante has attempted in the Titan-work of its poetical transfiguration. Even had he, which is uncertain, known Duns' teachings, he must have ignored those in which he deviated from the others. Not where new truths are only combatted for, but where they are won, can the hymn of victory over the conquest achieved peal forth. It is true, where it peals forth, where knights and ladies are invited in to share the possession of which hitherto only the schools have vaunted themselves, the days of this teaching are already numbered. It is always thus: Philosophy utters the secret of an age; so soon as all know it, so soon as it is no longer a secret either to the few wise or to the masses, those of deeper insight have already found something which unconsciously to all has possessed itself of the age, and seek to formulate this. As Thomas formulates the peace concluded between divine and secular wisdom, so does Duns formulate the recommencing strife between the two. If then he who sung the swan's song of the middle ages was not able to take account of him, there is yet this compensation to him, that he who does not shrink from the trouble of allowing himself to be instructed by him, is exceeding surprised to find in him so many anticipations of later teachings. Would only that there were more who did not shrink from this trouble! But it fares with Duns as with many an orator in many a national assembly: people imagine they have refuted him with what is styled "*pleasantry*" (*Heiterkeit*), as if, contrary to the familiar proverb, much laughter were a sign of wisdom.

ART. IX.—EXEGESIS OF ROM. ii. 18, AND PHIL. ii. 10.

BY REV. F. A. ADAMS, Orange, N. J.

Καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα, “and approvest the things that are more excellent:” Rom. ii. 18. *Εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα*, “that ye may approve the things that are excellent:” Phil. i. 10.

THE translation is plainly wrong. It carries by implication the notion that we are to approve the things that are excellent, instead of disapproving them; or, that we are to approve the things that are excellent instead of approving things that are not excellent—which amounts to about the same thing. Such an injunction is too flat to have a place even in heathen morals. It is like commending us to like good things, and to dislike bad things; the words *good* and *bad* carrying of themselves all that the proposition conveys. It is like proving in mathematics that a part is less than the whole. The translation, therefore, cannot convey the meaning of the text. So far English commentators are agreed, and consequently translate anew, with variations which need not be quoted here. Grouping with these the current versions in the German, Italian, French, and Spanish, we find the translation of *δοκιμάζειν* lying loosely between the notions to *know*, to *discern*, to *prove*, to *approve*; and the translation of *τὰ διαφέροντα* floating more widely between *things different*, *things contrary*, and *the best things*. This is enough, perhaps, to show that the meaning of the passage has not yet been fixed; that students and commentators have failed to see the exact point from which Paul spoke, the exact pressure which shaped the phrase. Even Olschhausen, and Meyer agree in not seeing into it; they attach the notion “to prove what is right and what is wrong,” and leave it in that wide ethical category without any closer fixing. The phrase is like a lily broken off from its root, and floating in the water, attaching itself, by casual cohesion, now to this object, now to that. It will be a service to restore it to its root.

We will first examine the words. *δοκιμάζειν* to *try by some standard*, as when one assays a metal to ascertain if it is genuine; hence, to *know the quality of a thing*, judging it by its proper standard, or, to *judge a thing by its standard*. Then, as in examining a thing our interest attaches to what is good

in it rather than to what is bad, the word takes on the derived meaning, *to approve*.

Τα διαφέροντα from *διαφέρω* to differ, hence *τὰ διαφέροντα* *the things that differ*. But, as in thinking of things that differ we naturally seek the best rather than what is worse; we have as a secondary meaning, *the better things*, or *the best things*.

We may then translate *δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα* *to discern the best things*, or *what is best*, [instead of failing to discern them, and taking as the best something that is not the best.]

Such a translation takes the words in their most usual, and most forcible sense. Is it the right translation? Begging a temporary acceptance of it, we will endeavor to justify it by interpreting it, and showing its fitness.

The first question then is, what, exactly, did Paul mean by these words? What was he thinking of when he used them? What habit of thought in him led to the phrase? What common ground between him and his readers did he touch in these words? In reply to this, we say (speaking before proof) the common ground between Paul and his readers, referred to in this phrase, was not ethical and Jewish. The reference was to notions belonging to the formal culture of the Jews; quite foreign to us, and foreign to the purely Greek mind of that day, but as familiar to a Jew as are our own notions to us when we speak of the *covenants*, the *saints' perseverance*, or the *power to the contrary*. Paul, in using this phrase, condescended to the lower plane of Jewish thought, in order to raise their thought to his own, and with it clothe the words with a new and grander power.

This we shall prove by reference to Jewish opinions and notions, but we may deduce it from the two phrases quoted. For in Rom. ii. 18 the words are used as expressing something which the Jew proudly claimed for himself: in Phil. i. 10 they are used to express something which the Christian is to aspire to. Paul could not have used the words as found in Romans, had they not expressed something familiar and thoroughly acceptable to a Jew; he would not have used them to the Philippians if there was not in his mind a higher meaning, with which he wished to fill the words for Christian use.

The statements necessary to establish the point we have made will be brief.

But first it may be well to anticipate an objection. It may be said that it seems unfitting that Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, should embody his thoughts in Jewish forms to such an extent as is implied in what has been said. To

this we reply, Paul was a Jew, and must of necessity have used, to some extent, Jewish forms of thought: besides, many of his converts were Jews, for he always began at the synagogue, if there was one, and if there was not, he met the Jews wherever he could find them; or, to say the whole at once. Paul must use some form of thought, and the Jewish form, with all its faults, was the best there was in the world at that day, for all moral and religious uses.

We recur to the main question: what was the point in Jewish culture to which reference was made in the phrase we are examining?

In the Jewish view, religion was not union with God, but the fulfillment of the law. The power in man was not faith, but free will; and the divine working in man, for the attainment of righteousness, was not by the Spirit of God; was not, strictly, a working *in him* at all, but *for him*, in giving him, providentially, external aids and opportunities; and (to exalt the doctrine of free will, and so increase the chances for merit) this providential furtherance was represented as afforded just as freely to help the bad in evil as the good in righteousness. Their doctors expressed themselves somewhat as follows: "If men endeavor after the performance of the law, God, in the way of Providence, furnisheth them with external matter and means to perform all that good to which their own free will determines them; whereas, wicked men find the like help of external matter and means for promoting their wicked and ungodly designs."

A righteous character, therefore, was built up of righteous outward acts; and as all good deeds were not of equal goodness, the quality, as well as the number, became a factor in the product of righteousness; one good deed of extraordinary righteousness being sometimes equal to many good deeds of an ordinary sort.

From this conception of law and righteousness arose, of necessity, a special branch of study; the determining, namely, what were the most meritorious things to practice; in other words, what were the most important precepts; or, in the very words addressed to Christ (Matt. xxii, 36), "Master, which is the great commandment in the law?" This study arose of necessity, for if it was possible to discover the most important commandments, then the Jew, by laying hold of these, and practicing them diligently, would store up righteousness much faster than by spending his time and strength on the small commandments; just as the Pennsylvania farmer, if he can make sure where in his land to bore for oil will neglect his plough-

ing, and go in for the main chance. This discerning of the best things was one of the high points of Jewish culture, and the men who were gifted with the power thus to discern, became their honored and trusted teachers. Here, then, we are fairly in sight of the δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα of the text, in its natural setting in the Jewish mind. The διαφέροντα were the best things to do, whereby to attain righteousness, and the business of the Jewish doctor was to discover (δοκιμάζειν) such διαφέροντα. The word fits the thing exactly, in every point of view, and that is the final test of an interpretation.

If it does not mean this that we have said, what does it mean, we may ask; and the long line of interpreters, who can not agree, and none of whom can show a vital meaning, will echo the question, what does it mean?

Or, we may put it thus: something in the New Testament must mean what we have said; and if these words do not mean it, what does mean it? The notion was too prominent in the Jewish mind not to be referred to by Paul. Where does he refer to it? We answer, in the text, and also in other Scriptures. Read, in this light, Rom. xii 2: "Be ye transformed, that ye may prove [δοκιμάζειν, discern] what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God." The adjectives added show that Paul was laboring to exalt the well-known phrase, δοκιμάζειν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, to a higher use.

We have already referred to the question, "which is the great commandment" (Matt. xxii 36). So the question to Christ (Matt. xix, 16) τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω, "What good thing shall I do?" reveals the same thought which we have made the key to our interpretation.

ART. X.—CRITICISMS ON BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

Bishop Ellicott's Commentaries. A Commentary, Critical and Grammatical on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. With a Revised Translation. Introductory Notice by C. E. Stowe, D. D., pp. 183. Commentary to the Ephesians, with a Revised Translation, pp. 190. Commentary to the Thesalonians, pp. 171. Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles. By C. J. ELLICOTT, D. D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 4 vols. pp. 264. Andover; W. F. Draper, 1864, 1865. Bishop Ellicott was born in 1819; became Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, 1844, and Prof. of Divinity at King's College, London, 1860; was made a bishop in 1862. His

Hulsean Lectures on the Life of Christ are well known. The first edition of his commentary on the Galatians was published in 1854; and since that time he has devoted himself to this work with untiring assiduity. Besides the above four volumes, his commentaries on Philippians, Colossians and Philemon, completing the series as far as published in England, will soon be republished by Mr. Draper of Andover. These works are brought out in excellent style, with that typographical clearness and accuracy for which the Andover press is so favorably known.

The method which distinguishes Bishop Ellicott's commentaries is strictly philological. His single aim is, so far as possible, to find and state the exact sense of the sacred writers, according to the strictest rules of usage and grammar, with such historical notices and references as are indispensable. His works are those of a thorough scholar and meant for the use of scholars. The text is first settled by a laborious and careful examination and criticism; and then the meaning of the text is elicited by the application of the strictest rules and principles of philology. The text in the main is that of Tischendorf. The introductions to the several books are extremely concise; almost too much so for the wants of students; but these can be readily supplied from other sources.

The author does not go out of his way at all to furnish any material, excepting the pure sense of the text, to theologians and preachers; he gives them exegetical results in a sharp and concise form, and leaves them to make what use of it they can. His whole work, too, is penetrated by a devout sense of the strict inspiration of the Word of God; his single inquiry is, what does that word teach? And so he has furnished the best examples, in English exegetical literature, of a commentary, in the term's strictest sense. Appended to each epistle is a Revised Translation, with ample quotations from the older translators, affording full opportunity for comparison. Interwoven with the notes are also references to the best illustrations of the doctrinal points to be found in the theological literature of England; this part of the work, too, is carefully done, and will be found of great value.

In the Preface to the Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Ellicott discusses in a candid spirit the question of a revision of the English Bible. He is definite in his view that such a revision must at some future time be made, "a loving and filial revision;" since "there are errors, there are inaccuracies, there are misconceptions, there are obscurities" in the present version, which so far forth, are "misrepresentations of the language of the Holy Ghost." But yet he says, "it is my honest conviction, that for any *authoritative* revision we are not yet mature either in Biblical learning or Hellenic scholarship." And all the attempts yet made confirm him in this view. "Our best and wisest course seems to be this—to encourage small bands of scholars to make independent efforts on separate books, to invite them manfully to face impartial criticism, and so by their very failures to learn practical wisdom, and out of their censors to secure co-adjutors, and by their partial successes to win over the prejudiced and the gainsaying." Dr. Ellicott's own version will help to this end; the chief difficulty about it is, that it is so very accurate and literal as sometimes to seem stiff and harsh.

The Greek text is printed at the top of the page, with a marginal summary in English of the contents of each section; directly under the text, also running across the page, comes the apparatus for settling the readings—exceedingly well done, clear and concise—better digested than Alford's; then follow the grammatical and critical notes in double

columns, very clearly printed. No difficulty is shirked ; conflicting views are fairly weighed ; and we feel that we are in the hands of a wise, candid and thorough expositor. All the chief ancient versions are constantly used, and the best modern helps. Our theological students ought to have these books constantly at hand, so as to learn how to interpret the Scriptures. They are to the English scholar what Meyer's are to the German.

Expository Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism. By George W. Bethune, D.D. 2 vols. New York : SHELDON and Co, 1864. These Lectures are a very valuable addition to the literature of the Heidelberg Catechism and of systematic theology. They are admirable examples of the way in which doctrinal preaching can be made attractive and profitable. With no obtrusion of the scholastic and formal elements of the system, they go over the ground thoroughly and systematically, and with constant reference to the Christian character and life. Students in divinity may learn much from the diligent study of such models. A thorough preparation is evinced throughout, without any parade of learning. And Dr. Bethune's affluent general learning and brilliant gifts as a pulpit orator, give fullness and variety to his exposition of the most difficult topics.

These lectures, too, may lead some persons to a more diligent study of the admirable catechism on which they are based—on the whole, perhaps, the very best of the Catechisms of Continental Europe, uniting, as does hardly another document, the truest spirit of both the Lutheran and Reformed churches, though mainly Calvinistic in its tone.

The volumes are brought out in elegant style by Sheldon and Co., who always do their work well. A full bibliographical list of writers on the Catechism is appended by the editor. Several works have been published since this list was made out ; one of the most valuable is Sudhoff's "Theological Hand-book." The tercentenary volume of the German Reformed Church in this country should also be consulted. A valuable account of this Catechism was given by Dr. Schaff in our Review last year.

Meditations on the Essence of Christianity, and on the Religious Questions of the Day. By M. Guizot. New York : SCRIBNER and Co., 1865. pp. 356. This noble work of Guizot will be a help and cordial to many minds. It will, with a large class, have a much greater influence than if it were written by a theologian. It takes up the great religious questions of the day from the point of view of a man versed in public affairs, thoroughly read in history, and able to appreciate, without undue refinement, the large, practical bearings of the subject. It is a wise book, in what it omits, as well as in what it says.

The whole plan of Guizot contemplates the production of five volumes ; the second on Christian History ; the third on the actual state of Christianity in face of its foes ; the fourth, on its future destiny.

The subjects of the Meditations in the first volume, are Natural Problems ; Christian Dogmas ; The Supernatural ; The Limits of Science ; Revelation ; The Inspiration of the Scriptures ; God according to the Bible ; Jesus Christ according to the Gospel.

On all of these topics, while it can not be said that the trains of thought are absolutely original, yet many of them are presented with freshness, and in so clear a method as to have the effect of novelty. The second essay, for example, defends the position that the specific Christian doctrines are the solution of the problems of natural religion ;

and this is admirably put. The chapters on the Supernatural, and on the Limits of Science, state the questions in a satisfactory way. The whole work discusses the great religious problems of the times in a wise, catholic, and firm spirit. Guizot, as the crowning honor of his life, will take his place among the best defenders of the Christian faith.

The book is very well translated, and printed in good style and clear type. Prof. Tayler Lewis adds a valuable note on the bearing of grammatical anomalies upon the question of inspiration.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Dr. Ryland's Translation, revised and corrected after the fourth German edition, by E. G. ROBINSON, D. D., Rochester Theological Seminary. New York: SHELDEN and Co., 1865, pp. xxviii, 547, royal 8vo. This great work of Neander is too well known to require any new commendation. It has its recognized place, as, upon the whole, the most genial and complete account of the Apostolic men, and times, and writings. If we may use the word, the *inwardness*, the deep spirituality of Neander's Christian thought and experience, are nowhere more fully revealed. He penetrates to the heart of the matter; he seems to read the souls of those about whom he writes. He uses the external as a means of coming to the internal. And with all his sagacity in stating the differences, even the shades of difference, among the apostolic men, and in their modes of thought and statement, there is also the fullest recognition of their substantial unity in spirit, thought, and doctrine. Peter, Paul, James, John—we see them in their individuality, and also in their union in the faith of Christ.

A new English edition of this work was much needed. Mr. Ryland's translation was first made in 1841; the fourth edition of the original was published in 1847; its numerous additions and corrections were appended to Ryland's text in 1851, and not incorporated with it. And, besides, this translation was in many ways imperfect. We are glad, then, that so competent a scholar as Dr. Robinson has put his hand to the work of revision, and given us this excellent edition, on which we can safely rely for accuracy and completeness. Quotations from other languages have been done into English, in both the text and notes. The publishers have made a solid and handsome volume. It will be the standard edition of a work indispensable to the ministerial library, and full of instruction for all thoughtful readers.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America. By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D. : 2 vols. The Planting and Training of American Methodism, to 1792. New York: Carlton & Porter, 1864. With portraits of Rankin and Vasey. This well compacted and digested history is appropriately introduced by a comparison between Watts and Wesley. Methodism in its practical efficiency has a sort of likeness to a steam-engine. Dr. Stevens continues his excellent work, with the same comprehensiveness, minuteness, and spirited delineation which marked the earlier volumes. American Methodism is honored in and by its historian. If the history is continued, as here begun, it will be the best history of any denomination yet produced in this country. All the points connected with the early mission under Wesley, and the introduction of Methodism into the different parts of the land, the character and influence of the early preachers, the shaping of the ecclesiastical system, and

the general spirit of Methodist theology, are faithfully and elaborately portrayed.

Dr. Stevens rightly says that Methodism "was not a new dogmatic phase of Protestantism. They err who interpret its singular history chiefly by its theology." Arminianism was dominant in the Anglican church long before Wesley, though our author is wrong in putting South (vol. I. p. 29) among its defenders. He also overstates "the general acceptance given to the doctrine of Assurance," relying upon the assertions of Sir William Hamilton, which have been so abundantly refuted by Principal Cunningham. Methodism in fact was a new system; not on account of its Arminianism, but on account of its peculiar combination of certain Arminian doctrines, with the so-called "doctrines of grace." Chapter V. in Bk. III. (vol. II.) is instructive on this point—in describing the creed of Methodism, as compared with the XXXIX (the author by a slip says "Forty-nine") Articles of the Church of England. His exposition of the doctrines of Perfection, as held by the Wesleyans, is also worthy of note.

R. F. GRAU, of Marburg, in a recent work on the *Semitic and Indo-Germanic Races*, in relation to Religion and Science, (Stuttg., 1864, pp. 244,) examines with care the traits of these two great races, whose progress and interaction have controlled the course of history, and shows that the conflict between the tendencies they respectively represent runs down to the present times. The Semitic people, at the height of whom stood the Hebrews, represented faith in a living God; it brought salvation to mankind; it upheld the authority of conscience, and the ideas of God, judgment, and eternity. The Israelites are the culmination of the general Semitic tendencies to what is supernatural and divine. The Indo-Germanic stock developed art, science, philosophy, jurisprudence, etc. The former are more susceptible to divinity, the latter to humanity. The former are religious and ethical; the latter critical and rational. When Renan says that the Semitic are "an inferior race," he speaks in the name of the intellectual pride of the Indo-Germanic race. The contest is on the question, whether thought and imagination shall be freed from the bonds of conscience and religion.

The History of the Jews: From the earliest period down to modern times. By HENRY HUNT MILMAN, Dean of St. Paul's. 3 vols. Boston: William Veazie. This reprint from the newly revised and corrected London edition of a work which was popular thirty years ago, comes to us in the attractive dress of the Riverside press, with the luxury of clear type, good paper, and an open and inviting page. It is enlarged, and, in some respects, altered from the earlier editions, yet not so as to change the spirit or general drift of the work.

Of this wonderful and peculiar people, whose history is an ever-living verification of the truth of the Divine Word, we believe there is no popular and accessible record in our language comparable to this of Dean Milman. It covers the whole ground. It commences with the story of Abraham, traces the wanderings of the Tribes, their consolidation, the glories of the kingdom under David and Solomon, its subsequent decline, the vigor of the Maccabean princes, the powerful but wicked reign of Herod, mis-called the Great, the destruction of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the race, and their various fortunes down to our own day, with a concluding chapter on the influence of the Jews on philosophy, poetry, and history.

On some of the critical questions suggested in this long series of events, especially on the limits which separate between the natural and supernatural, Dr. Milman does not always express an opinion. He either still reserves his judgment, or he does not choose to stand as umpire between conflicting parties. Hence, his history moves with somewhat more of freedom and vigor, when it leaves the sphere of the supernatural altogether, and recounts the fortunes of this remarkable people in their various struggles with "the Gentiles," among whom they have been forced to abide as outcasts for these eighteen hundred years.

Throughout its whole extent, the work is marked by elegance of composition, and by candor, fairness, and moderation in judgment; and although, from the extent of ground which it covers, the writer can not stop for critical discussion of contested passages or events, although on some points he is less decisive than we could desire, he always avoids a dogmatic and dictatorial tone, and if he can not successfully elucidate the narrative, at least leaves us in a quiet and conciliated temper.

Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of LYMAN BEECHER, D. D. Edited by CHARLES BEECHER. With Illustrations. Vol. II. New York: Harpers, 1865. pp. 587. The second volume of Dr. Beecher's life describes the most important and stirring part of his career, from 1824 to its close. The great work he wrought in Boston and its vicinity; his removal to Lane Seminary, and his labors and conflicts there; his trials for heresy before presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies; his exertions in favor of temperance, and against infidelity and Romanism; his entanglements with theological parties in and outside of New England; his skill and directness as a teacher; and, above all, his zeal and success as a great preacher of the gospel—all these points are minutely and faithfully reproduced in this most attractive biography. We are not sure, but that some other biographer, than one of his own sons, might have been less restrained by a natural unwillingness to speak too strongly, and have done better justice to the real greatness of Dr. Beecher, and brought out his character and deeds in more full and striking relief. It strikes us, too, that some parts of the personal correspondence were evidently meant only for private eyes and ears; and that Dr. Beecher himself would hardly have printed some sharp criticisms on men and things, which are here reproduced. The total impression left, is that of a noble, manly, self-sacrificing, genial and loving nature, with the highest mental and moral endowments, and an eloquence that was not equalled in his generation, devoted to the great work of preaching repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Few men have so lived by the light of a single great idea.

His own explanations of his doctrinal belief, especially in respect to original sin (p. 391.), show that the points of difference between him and his opponents were much more faint than was supposed in the heat of the controversy. His strong personal affections had a prominent part in determining his course of action. He would not go to extremes with either party.

His biography is a most valuable addition to our ecclesiastical and theological literature, as well as most engrossing in itself. It is, of course, brought out by the Harpers in very good style.

The History of the Romans under the Empire. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D. From the fourth London edition. Vol. VII. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1865. pp. 569. With a full index of seventy pages to the

seven volumes. This volume concludes the republication of Dr. Merivale's able work, which is printed by the American publishers in admirable style, surpassing the English edition. It speaks well for the intelligence of our reading public, that such an expensive work, running through so many volumes, can, in these times, be brought out successfully. This last volume is even more interesting and able than its predecessors. It comprises eight reigns, and about one hundred and ten years, from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A. D. 180. And here it comes upon the period traversed by Gibbon. Though the author has neither the minute learning nor the method of Gibbon, nor his power of historic representation, yet he will rank as second only to the great masters in the English historic literature. And he writes, too, under a profound conviction of the truth and necessity of the Christian faith. The grand result of his historic researches is, that the Roman Empire was prepared for the reception of Christianity; and that the salvation of the old world could be achieved only by the prevalence of the new faith. The history of the Empire, its literature, its philosophy, its superstitions, its civic degeneracy, its moral excesses, all tended in this direction. "The world was dying out at Rome," and Christianity came to save it. The author says, that he "can not venture to anticipate" that his work "should be permanently accepted as the English history of the Upper Empire." But it will be long before it can be superseded. No historical library can be complete without it.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Deutsche Uebersetzung der Zendbücher. Von Professor PIETRASZEWSKI. Berlin. F. Weidling. 1864. Professor Pietraszewski, a Pole, has published a grammar of the Zend language, and also the text of the three sacred books, translated into French and Polish, the Vendidad, the Yasna, and the Wispered. He also proposes to publish a dictionary of the language. His translation into German of the works of Zoroaster is intended to popularize them, and is done, he says, "with the conviction that the originals have never yet been understood." He complains that Sprengel, in his version, has falsified the original by introducing ideas from other oriental languages. His object is to restore the original text. Many parts of the work he finds to be interpolations of a later date. Among these he puts the representation in the first two books of the Vendidad, that the human race is an incarnation of the divine, of Ormuzd. He puts the time of Zoroaster at 500 before Christ; and makes his religion to be much simpler than has usually been supposed. He says, in his preface: "In the time of Zoroaster there was great tyranny and a crowded population in Persia. The wise Zoroaster, as the books recount, then came as a prophet, in the name of God, and commanded the oppressed people to emigrate to the 'seventh region,' where they fish for amber. This is the meaning and object of the text. After issuing this command, Zoroaster gives laws for the journey and for the new home." "These laws contain the doctrine of one single, all-merciful God; they enjoin morality, monogamy, and labor. They especially insist upon agriculture as the surest and best means of plenty and independence. No mysterious doctrine is taught." The books also contain instructions as to cleanliness, and the means of preventing the plague. This representation of Zoroastrianism, if correct, must modify the cur-

rent accounts. Whatever is said of the angels and demons is put to the account of later additions, made when the books first became known, a long time after the birth of Christ, under the middle Sassanide dynasty. Prof. P. maintains that previous translators have made gods where there were none : thus, e. g., the personification of Mithra—which word, he holds, means only Lord, and has not the sense of mediator. The evil spirit, Ahriman, he also holds, is often interpolated into the text, by taking the word *airieme*, (also in Turkish,) and which means to *separate*, as representing a divinity. Yet there are some cases in which Prof. P. himself renders it by evil spirit.

If these views (which we condense from *Der Gedanke*, part iv, 1864) be correct, a great modification must be made in the current representations of the Zoroastrian religion. Of a supersensible world, all the traces that remain are a good and an evil spirit.

Lectures on the Science of Language. By MAX MÜLLER : Second Series. With thirty-one Illustrations. New York ; Scribner, 1865, pp. 622. These fascinating Lectures are written in the spirit of the saying of Leibnitz, “ that languages are the best mirror of the human mind, and that an exact analysis of the significations of words would make us better acquainted than any thing else with the operations of the human understanding.” The first part of the work examines the body of language ; the second, its soul ; the first, the sounds, letters, syllables ; the second, the conceptions of the mind expressed in words—and this leads the author over into ingenious and philosophical disquisitions on mythology, ancient and modern ; which might at first sight seem an irrelevant topic, but which he so handles as to show in a most forcible manner, what we may call the reflective influence of words on ideas ; where words are idolatrously substituted for the proper mental conceptions.

The second Lecture examines clearly the relation of reason and language : “ no speech without reason, no reason without speech ;” also discussing at length Bishop Wilkins’s ingenious attempt at framing a universal language. All language comes, not from sounds, but roots ; and the great business of historical philology is to trace these out in their transformations. In the seventh Lecture the root *war* is thus tracked through all its changes, yielding as surprising results as any development in the sphere of nature ; and on the principle of “ natural selection,” too, here skilfully applied. The physiology of speech is largely and clearly illustrated, by drawings, in two Lectures. The influence of “ metaphor,” its necessity and limits, are fully explained in the eighth lecture. But perhaps the most interesting part of the volume, and in some respects the most novel, is, in the last four Lectures on mythology ; showing that a more thorough knowledge of this subject may be gleaned from language than from almost any other source. Many of Professor Müller’s incidental opinions and judgments on collateral matters are worthy of notice. Thus his distinction of the different kinds of knowledge, of the philosophical meaning of faith, etc. ; and his incidental reply to Mansel on the negative character of the idea of the Infinite. The last sentence of the book has a profound sense and wide application : “ The mischief begins when language forgets itself, and makes us mistake the Word for the Thing ; the Quality for the Substance ; the *Nomen* for the *Numen*.” The book is brought out in the best style ; paper, printing, binding—all excellent.

Method of Philological Study of the English Language. By FRANCIS A.

MARCH. New York: Harpers. 1865. pp. 118. The author of this book is Professor of the English Language and Lecturer on Comparative Philology in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. He is one of the best scholars in the country, especially in the department of Comparative Philology, which is now receiving so much attention. The object of this little manual is to show how the English language may be studied, just as the Greek and Latin languages are studied; so that every word, construction, thought, fact, allusion, may be fully understood by the pupil. This volume will prove an invaluable aid and guide to both teachers and students. We heartily wish that it might be introduced into all our academies and colleges. It ought to be. It is the best thing of the kind yet produced: in fact the only one, which is really thorough and systematic. The extracts, to which this method is applied, are from Bunyan, Milton, Shakespeare, and Chaucer. The method is philosophical, minute, and exhaustive.

Phrasis: a Treatise on the History and Structure of the Different Languages of the World, with a Comparative View of the Forms of their Words and the Style of their Expressions. By J. WILSON, A. M. author of "Errors of Grammar and Nature of Language." Albany: J. Munsell. 1864. pp. 384. With a likeness of the author. This work is another evidence of the increased interest in philological researches, which is so marked a characteristic of recent scholarship. Mr. Wilson has evidently devoted laborious study to this branch of learning, and has produced a volume which will be a stimulus and help to future inquirers. A Table of Contents should have been given to aid in getting a clear view of the general method of investigation. The author says in the Preface: "Some credit is claimed for the general plan and conception of the work, one which is entirely new." It is also recommended by the fact that Prof. Tayler Lewis, to whom it is dedicated, devoted "several weeks" to the examination and criticism of the manuscript.

The volume is divided into two main Parts: the first treats of the Elements of Languages, and the second of the History of Languages. The first Part is introduced by a brief review of the principles of English and of Latin Grammar, as a preparation for the subsequent discussion. The nature of Nouns, Adjectives, Cases, Numbers, Genders, Comparisons, of Pronouns, Prepositions, Adverbs and Conjunctions, is then exhibited, followed by a review of the forms of the Participle and a disquisition on the nature of the Verb. The subject of Etymology is next taken up at length, and quite fully analysed. The second part presents an instructive and elaborate History of the main peculiarities of the different leading languages.

The work is not so much an attempt at a philosophy of language, as a digest of the main facts about languages; and as such it will be welcomed as a useful aid to the student. It shows the marks of thorough study, and an ability to compress a multitude of facts into a concise exposition. While not free from occasional awkwardness and inelegance in point of style, it is, on the whole, clearly written, and is creditable to the industry and perseverance of the author.

Wet Days at Edgewood: with Old Farmers, Old Gardeners, and Old Pastorals. By the author of "My Farm at Edgewood." New York: Chs. Scribner. 1865. pp. 324. This new volume by that universal favorite, Ik Marvel, is felicitously dedicated to Mr. Scribner, in recognition of his "literary judgment" and "uniform courtesy." It is redolent of the

soil both of the farm and of books. It contains capital work in the subsoiling of literature, bringing to light hidden wealth. No one of the author's volumes is written in clearer style; no one is more fascinating. We might say of it, as he says of Charles Lamb: "No, you need not put back the book, my boy; 'tis always in place." Beginning with the Greek and Roman literature, that has to do with farming, we are brought down through nine "wet days"—days as bright as any out-of-doors sunshine—and hold converse with wise and genial men who have talked of farms and gardens. The largest space is fitly given to England. Many a rainy day will be cheered by this charming volume.

The Culture of the Observing Faculties in the Family and the School. By WARREN BURTON. New York: Harpers. 1865. This is a highly suggestive little volume, and is full of wise, pertinent and important teachings. Its study would add to the interest of life.

Science for the School and Family. Part III. Mineralogy and Geology. By WORTHINGTON HOOKE, M. D. Illustrated by nearly two hundred engravings. New York: Harpers. 1865. Among the numerous scientific text-books of the day, none, perhaps, take a higher rank than this series by Dr. Hooker. They are systematic, clear, and concise in style, well-arranged, admirably and profusely illustrated and made intelligible to the student. They are sure to come into extensive use.

O Mother Dear, Jerusalem. The Old Hymn, its Origin and Genealogy Edited by WILLIAM C. PRIME. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1865. An elegant edition of this famous hymn, in the form "as nearly as may be," which it bore two hundred years ago. "This hymn has grown to be very sacred. It was sung by the martyrs of Scotland. It has rung in triumphant tones through the arches of mighty cathedrals; it has been chanted by the lips of kings, queens, and nobles; it has ascended in the still air above the cottage roof of the poor; it has given utterance to the hopes and expectations of the Christian on every continent, by every sea-shore, in hall and hovel, until it has become, in one or another of its forms, the possession of the whole Christian world." The editor gives a good deal of the literature connected with the hymn.

Tony Butler; a Novel. New York: Harpers. 1865. This novel originally appeared in serial form in *The Dublin University Magazine*. It belongs to the better class.

Our Mutual Friend. By CHARLES DICKENS. With Illustrations. New York: Harpers. 1865. The first part of Dickens' last and popular novel, which is appearing in serial form in *Harper's Magazine*, is now published in separate form. This work is sure to find many readers and admirers.

Vanity Fair; a Novel without a Hero. BY WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. With Illustrations by the Author, and a Portrait on Steel, engraved by Halpin after Lawrence's Picture. A new and elegant Library Edition, in three volumes, post 8vo, on toned paper. Cloth, \$7 50. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. Of this master-work of the lamented author, nothing need be said. *Vanity Fair* will be appreciated so long as genius is honored. But too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the publishers for the taste and skill which they have shown in their new edition of Thackeray's writings, of which these elegant volumes are the first instalment. The letter-press, the binding, the form, and the illustrations, are all perfect. It would be hard to increase the artistic attractions of the work. It cannot fail to be highly popular.

The Perpetual Curate. A Novel. By the author of "Chronicles of Carlingford." New York: Harper & Bros. Mrs. Oliphant has succeeded in making an interesting novel, with a clergyman for the central figure. It is not, perhaps, equal in sustained vigor to some of her previous works; but the story is well told, and the characters are natural. It introduces us to scenes of religious life in the midst of the current ecclesiastical movements of England.

Mattie: A Stray. By the author of "High Church," "No Church," &c. New York; Harpers, 1865; 75 cents. A very interesting tale, illustrating the motto: "By bestowing blessings on others, we entail them on ourselves." A Stray, from the lowest haunts of vice, maintains her virtue, through many trials, gives life, order, and comfort to all around her, and sacrifices her own love to the welfare of those less noble than herself. The different characters are drawn with skill.

My Brother's Wife: A Life History. By AMELIA B. EDWARDS. Harper's Library of Select Novels, No. 250. A spirited and well-managed tale, by an author who has already received a large circle of readers. Her reputation will be increased by this new volume.

A Graduated System of Sunday School Instruction; Primary Year—Second Year—Third Year. A Year with St. Paul. By CHARLES E. KNOX. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. These books aim to be much more than mere question books. They aim to furnish a *course of education* in the Scriptures. The design is to make the system, which, in some form, is in every school but the Sunday-school—the "graded" system—practical in teaching and in learning the Scriptures.

The plan of the whole course includes three parts: the *oral* instruction of the Infant department, in which the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Institutes, the twenty-third Psalm; the familiar stories of the Old Testament, and some of the simpler parables, are made the *substance* of lessons; the *memorizing* part of the course, consisting of five years in the ordinary Sunday-school, or Middle department; and the *topical* part, consisting of a graduated series of Bible-class studies.

The Primary, the Second, and the Third Year, are three books out of the five designed for the memorizing part of the course, the Fourth Year and the Senior Year being in preparation. The object during these five years is the exact learning of Scripture, giving to the child a clear and intelligent arrangement of the parts of Scripture which should be his for life; in reaching which, three principles, common to all good education, are used: first, the adaptation of the lesson to the advance of the child, in gradual increase of the number of verses and of questions, and gradual intricacy in the *quality* of the selection, as the mind of the child grows; secondly, frequent reviews—the verses of previous Sundays being repeated constantly—review of the quarter of the year being required in review lessons, and the three years represented in the books before us requiring a repetition of the Saviour's life in outline; and thirdly, stimulation to *home preparation* of the lesson, in putting the questions of the books from the child's, and not from the teacher's, standpoint.

In the *topical* part of the course, only one book has been published—"A year with St. Paul," which is now in its third edition. The completion of the series of topical studies completes the full course of study, when "it is believed that there will not be one *kind* of Scripture, if indeed one book of the Bible, unrepresented."

The child who takes the course in order, makes a regular and gradual ascent from the Lord's Prayer to the discussion of the evidences of Christianity, or the doctrine of inspiration, or even systematic theology.

Some of the advantages of such a course of Scripture education are given in the introduction to the Second Year :

" 1. It is a systematic course. Each year, if used in connection with the other years, adds its part to a carefully constructed plan. The whole course aims at a definite result—a definite education in Scripture teaching.

2. It gives definite limits to the Middle department in relation to the Infant-class and the Bible-classes. There is a time fixed for beginning. At a fixed time the course ends. And these two important points, at which there has been so much vagueness and hesitation, are clearly marked. The course of the Infant department brings the little scholars up to the beginning. The course of the Bible-class takes them on from the end.

3. The character of the selections, as well as the length of the lessons, advances regularly in its adaptation to the advance of the child. In the Primary Year, the selections are from simple incidents. In the Second Year, something of instruction is added to incident. In the Third Year, discourse or doctrine holds a larger proportion to incident ; while in the fourth and fifth years, doctrine, as taught in the Scripture address or psalm or prayer, occupies the whole time.

4. A chronological order of the gospels is preserved, according to Dr. Robinson's Harmony. Each outline is chronological in itself, without disturbing the order of the evangelist's narrative ; and therefore each outline fits back into the preceding, making at the end a complete harmony, without confusion in the child's mind by mingling the different gospels in one text-book.

5. Variety and comprehensiveness, to a very considerable extent, are secured. The leading facts and doctrine of the gospels are studied in a short time, giving as much as possible of them all in a compact, systematic form. All the principal *kinds* of Old Testament scripture are represented freely in those passages which are precious to the Christian experience of every age.

6. Through the Middle Department, constant repetition of verses is made a leading principle in memorizing. This is done in three ways, to secure the Scripture in the mind : first, by the repetition of one or two previous lessons every Sunday ; secondly, by quarterly reviews which sum up the results ; thirdly, by the repetition of the substantial outline of the life and doctrine of our Saviour for three years.

7. The Scriptures are therefore clearly and firmly fixed in the memory, without overburdening the mind with indefinite, promiscuous, and monotonous study.

8. The plan gives unity to the teachers, as an organized corps, doing one work. Each is a part of one system. Both teachers and superintendent work toward one definite purpose of completing the Scripture education of the child, so far as that education depends on the Sunday-school.

9. The gradual advance from the simpler to the more difficult subjects, gives a better opportunity to lead on the child's mind to a higher and more thorough systematic discussion of doctrine in the more argumentative parts of the Scriptures."

MISCELLANY.

The *Addresses at the Inauguration* of Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D., as Professor of Didactic Theology, in the Western Theological Seminary, have been published in a pamphlet of 51 pages. Dr. C. C. Beatty gave a valuable and impressive charge. Dr. Hodge's Inaugural address describes chiefly the nature and relations of Systematic Theology, and gives abundant evidence that he is well trained for the important post he has been called to occupy.

The American Crisis: A Discourse, by SHERMAN B. CANFIELD, D. D., Syracuse, N. Y. A thoughtful, patriotic, and eloquent discourse.

The Address of Mr. G. C. MAUND, of Baltimore, before the Alumni of Pennsylvania College, August 10, 1864, on the Responsibilities of the American Citizen, is earnest, clear, and patriotic. His allusions to the future historical renown of Gettysburg, are pertinent and felicitous.

Rev. HOMER M. DUNNING's *Thanksgiving Sermon*, on 'The Strangeness of God's Ways, is a clear and forcible account of the leadings of divine Providence during our present national struggle. "Our posterity in the generations to come, far out at sea, shall catch sight of the summits of these events, and shall steer their course by them as landmarks in their voyage over dangerous waters."

ART. XI.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

SCANDINAVIA.

G. SVEDERN's work on the *Wars and Policy* of Sweden, 1808 to 1815, is highly commended.

The *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologia*, Jan., 1865, gives an account of the theological and religious journals now published in Sweden. 1. *Theologisk Tidskrift*, edited by Prof. Beckman, aided by the Theological Faculty of Upsala, published every two months. 2. *Svenk Kirkotidning*, edited by Bishop Sundberg, published every fortnight. Both of these periodicals are thoroughly Lutheran, and contain essays on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. 3. The Universities of Lund and Upsala, in their respective journals, devote one department to theology. 4. *Wittnet* (The Witness), edited by Myrberg, published at Gottenburg—a single sheet, issued irregularly, devoted to the defense of religion. 5. Prof. Myrberg also edits the *Bidrag till biblisk Theologie* (*Contributions to Biblical Theology*) made up of translations and theological and philosophical essays, published at irregular intervals. Prof. M. is one of the ablest of the younger clergy, and is noted for his refutation of the idealism of Prof. Bostrom, who, in the last ten years, has written against positive Christianity. 6. *Monadsblad för biblisk Theologie* edited by Dr. Ekman of Stockholm. 7. A weekly journal *Waktaren*, a popular and efficient religious sheet. There are also three magazines devoted to missions. A free-thinking journal, *Tidskrift för fri Forskning* (*Journal for Free Investigation*) edited by Dr. Warburg (of Jewish descent), V. Rydberg and Dr. Surzenbecker, the latter known as a poet and political writer. It is published in Gottenburg.

VICTOR RYDBERG of Gottenburg, of some repute as a poet and political

writer, and one of the editors of a *Journal for Free Inquiry*, is the author of a book (published 1862, second edition 1864,) entitled *The Doctrine of the Bible about Christ, and Conscientious Inquiry*; taking the ground that the Bible does not teach the divinity of Christ, and, as coming from Jewish soil, could not do so. He grants that it teaches not a mere political Messiah, but also his pre-existence. He brings much from the Jewish literature to illustrate his views, which are similar to, though not so extreme as those of Prof. Colani of Strasburg in his *Christ and the Messianic Belief* of his *Times*; Colani says, that all in the Gospels which describes Christ as superhuman is a mere interpolation. *Lutherische Zeitschrift*.

Prof. CARPARI of Christiania, an able scholar, is publishing a very thorough examination of all that pertains to the early symbols, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, etc. He also edits a journal devoted to the mission to the Jews, which has a circulation of 1500 copies.

Prof. JOHNSON edits the Norwegian Church Journal, Christiania, and is publishing in it a series of lectures by Caspari on the History of the Patriarchs.

The Danish Grundtvigian controversy still continues in full life, in spite of the war.

Bishop MARTENSEN has published an able work entitled *Defense against Grundtvigianism*, which went through five editions in six weeks. CLAUSEN has also written on the same side. The whole question of the use and authority of symbols of faith is under discussion. On the side of Grundtvig, Prof. Hammerich of Copenhagen has published a work. *Lutherische Zeitschrift*.

Professor J. R. Keyser, of the University of Christiania, is deceased. He wrote on Scandinavian antiquities, and on the History of the Church in Norway in *Catholic Times*. He was also one of the editors of a collection of the Ancient Laws of Norway. C. C. Rafu, of Copenhagen, is also dead. His researches on the early Discovery of America by the Northmen are well known. He was the most learned man of his times in all Northern lore.

SWITZERLAND.

ETIENNE CHASTEL, the author of the *Destruction of Paganism in the East*, and of the *History of Christian Charity* (both crowned by the French Academy) has published an attractive and concise history of *Christianity in Modern Times* (1520-1800) in continuation of his *Christianity and the Church in the Middle Ages*, 1859. He intends to complete the work in two more volumes, one on Christianity in the first six centuries, and the other on recent Church history.

ITALY.

The population of the new kingdom is 21,777,334, divided into 7720 parishes. In the public schools are 1,149,013 scholars. There are 93 royal, 115 private, and 111 free gymnasia, with 20,373 pupils. Also 67 lyceums, with 4612 scholars; 39 royal technical schools, 35 private and 94 free, with 9554 pupils. In the kingdom are 19 Universities, 15 of which are state institutions, and 4 free; an Institute for Higher Instruction in Florence, and a Scientific Academy at Milan. The students at the universities number 15,508, of whom 10,000 are credited to Naples.

In Macerata there are 63 professors and 37 students, and in Urbino 11 professors and 8 students.

PETRUCELLI DELLA GATINA, a member of the Italian parliament, is bringing out in Paris an interesting History of the Conclaves for the election of the Popes. He has had access to numerous unpublished documents. Two vols. are issued.

Italy has now five evangelical journals; DE SANCTIS' *Eco della Verità* the most influential, published twice a week; the *Scuola della Domenica*, weekly; *Lecture di Famiglia*, every fortnight; *Il Raccoltore Evangelico*, Milan; *Lo Specchio della Verità*, in Palermo. Dr. De Sanctis' Almanac, *L'Amico di Casa* circulated 80,000 copies last year.

The seventh volume of GIUSEPPE MAZZINI's collected work, has appeared at Milan.

One of the striking points about the present revival of thought in Italy is the increased attention given to the study of philosophy, and especially of the German systems. PROFESSOR BERTRAND SPAVENTA, of Naples, teaches the Hegelian system. At an examination for the doctor's degree in Naples, held last December, the subject was the Principles of the German Philosophy, and the candidate, a Calabrian, named FELICE TOCCO explained the Hegelian *Sein* and *Werden*, *Grund* and *Folge*, *Gegensatz* and *Widerspruch*, with a fluency which is said to have astonished his audience. Professor VERA, who has written several works in French in vindication of Hegelianism, and who has also translated Hegel's Logic and Philosophy of Nature into French, helps on this remarkable movement. ALTA is professor of Philosophy at Naples, TARI teaches *Æsthetics*, ZULULLI, Moral Philosophy.

A new edition of Dante is in preparation from Mss. of the Fourteenth century, preserved in the library of Monte Cassino.

Castellani, a Roman archæologist, has published a work on Primitive Civilization, tracing it to the Pelasgi in Italy before the siege of Troy. They were, he alleges, driven by the Northmen to the East, and afterwards returned to Ethiopia. The work has been prohibited by the Papal authorities.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

A collection of unpublished documents upon the discovery and conquest of the Spanish possessions in America and Oceanica has been issued in Madrid, being the first volume of a series. The materials are derived from the Archives of Indian Affairs.

In Portugal, 1862, there were 1,708 public schools, and 1,057 private schools; the former had 79,172 pupils, the latter 27,959. This is in a population of about 4,000,000; or one pupil to 37 inhabitants. In France there is one to 9; Holland, one to 8; England, one to 7; Prussia, one to 6. Out of the 107,103 pupils in Portugal, only 29,369 are girls.

GERMANY.

Zeitschrift f. Wissenschaftliche Theologie, 4s. Heft, 1864. B. Spiegel on Johannes Pollius, an almost unknown name among the German reformers, who aided in the reform of Osnabrück. He died in 1564. J. T. Tobler on the Codex Sinaiticus, in relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews; and Prof. Ph. Buttmann on the same Codex, marking its peculiarities of orthography and usage. The latter essay is minute and thorough.

L. Paul in continuation of the controversy on the historical credibility of Christ's Resurrection. G. Frank on a free-thinker of the seventeenth century, John Philip Treiber. Al. Buttman on Lipsius's posthumous work upon the Greek of the Bible. A. Hilgenfeld on the Tübingen School, in relation to the attacks of the Roman Catholic Professor Aberle.

MR. ERNEST DE BUNSEN has made a contribution towards a reply to the question—who was Adam? His theory—suggested, perhaps, by a phrase of the late Baron Bunsen—is that Zoroaster was the Hebrew Adam. This suggestion is a curious one; and Mr. de Bunsen has presented it ably and learnedly.

Zeitschrift f. Lutherische Theologie. Jan. 1865. Dr. J. C. M. Laurent on Synzygos, Phil. iv. 3, contending that it is a proper name (not “yoke-fellow”); E. Paret, on the Spiritual Powers in the church, an examination of the original gifts and their permanency; G. E. Plitt on the book called “Theologia Germanica,” advocating the view that it is mystic pantheistic, and not really reformed in tone; D. Kerler on Luther's views about Work; O. Zöckler, Prof. at Giessen, on Therese d'Avila (or de Jesu), as exhibiting the monastic spirit of the sixteenth century. The usual full biography occupies one third of the number.

Studien und Kritiken. Jan. 1845. Drs. Hundeshagen, Riehm and Beyschlag, are added to the corps of editors, Rothe withdraws. This number contains an interesting sketch of the Messianic Prophecies, by Dr. Riehm; a criticism on Strauss's New Life of Jesus, showing the contradictions between him and Baur; Piper on the representation of Revelations in Christian Art; Hollenberg's notes on Schenkel's Dogmatics; with reviews of Dove's Journal of Canon Law by Palm; of Hundeshagen on Church Politics by himself; and of Baumlein on John by Weiss.

DR. D. SCHENKEL, whose Portraiture of the Life of Christ has recently been so severely criticised, edits the *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, a monthly, published at Elberfeld. The January number reviews the present position of parties and tendencies in the church, &c. It is of a more popular and sketchy character than most of the German reviews.

In 1858, King Maximilian II. of Bavaria, formed the plan of a History of the Sciences in Germany in recent times. Leopold Ranke drew up a full draft and directions. Two volumes have just been issued by the Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences; the History of State Laws and Politics since the sixteenth century, by T. C. Bluntschli; and the History of Mineralogy 1650 to 1860, by Fr. von Kobell. The price is low, since the expense is largely defrayed from the royal purse. Among the projected Histories are Catholic Theology by Werner; Protestant Theology by Dorner; Philosophy by Zeller; Aesthetics by Lotze; Classical Philology by Sauppe; German Philology by R. von Raumer; Oriental Philology by Benfey; History by Köpke; Jurisprudence by Ihering; Political Economy by Roscher; Mathematics by Gerhard; Geology by Ewald, etc. The plan is comprehensive; and the collaborateurs are men of the highest note in their respective departments.

MOMMSEN is editing an edition of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, from a manuscript of the ninth century, in the collection of Didot of Paris, which varies considerably from the current text. Didot has nineteen Mss. of Cicero's works, four of the fourteenth, and four of the sixteenth century.

A new edition of Pauly's invaluable Real-Encyclopedia of Classical Antiquities is in progress; the first half of vol. I., A. to Apollinopolis is out. It is much superior to any other work of the kind.

The fourth edition of De Wette's Hebrew and Jewish Archaeology, edited by Prof. Raebiger is out. It makes a volume of 442 pages.

DOMBART's new edition of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (2 vols. Teubner, Leips.), gives for the first time a thoroughly revised and critical text on the basis of Mss. in Paris, Munich and Bamberg. The Benedictine edition gives extracts from various Mss., but does not use them for correcting the text. A manuscript of the tenth century is the basis of the new text.

The long-promised first volume of Tholuck's History of Rationalism has at last been published; it begins with the History of Pietism. Tholuck has published four volumes by way of preparation for this work, to which he has devoted some years of his life.

PAULI's History of England from 1814, vol. i., is out, coming down to death of George IV. It maintains his own reputation, and that of this series of histories, among which Springers' Austria, and Bernhardi's Russia take a high rank.

STRAUSS is preparing a work on Schleiermacher's recently published Life of Christ, entitled *The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History*.

The new part of Bunsen's Bibel-werk concludes the New Test, Ephesians to Revelation; by Prof. Holtzmann. Two volumes are still wanting in the Old Test.

DR. LUTHARDT, Professor in Leipsic, delivered in 1864 a course of Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Revelation, which have been published, and gone rapidly through three editions. They are avowedly constructed on the basis of Pascal's Thoughts. The topics are: the Antagonistic Schemes, historically treated; the Contradictions of Life; God a Person; Creation; Man; Religion; Revelation; History of Revelation (Heathenism and Judaism); History of Christianity; the Person of Christ. The author has also written a valuable review of Strauss, Renan and Scherkel on the Life of Jesus.

FRANCE.

Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne. Oct. 1864. Acts of St. Eugenias, a supposed companion of St. Denis, martyr at Deuil, near Paris, in second century; by ABBÉ DAVIN. De Rougemont, on Shakspeare's Will, as showing him to be a Catholic. De Riancey, on the Oriental Origin of the European Nations (Pelasgi, etc.) M. Wescher, on a variety of new and important Egyptian Inscriptions. Abbé Alliez, on Faustus of Riez, defending him against the charge of Semi-Pelagianism. Meignan's Defense of the Gospels against modern criticism. Nov. 1864; Dissertation on the Altar to the Unknown God, by Chevalier Drach (in his *Harmony of the Church and the Synagogue*, 2 vols., 1844), recast with notes by Bonnetty; a learned dissertation, inclining to the view that the Unknown God was Jehovah. Latin text of the Acts of St. Eugene, from a manuscript of the fourteenth century. Account of the late Bishop Gerbet of Perpignan. The Philosophy of Prayer, by Laurentie.

Revue Chrétienne. Nov. 1864. An admirable account of the Battle of Lepanto, by Rosseeuw, St. Hilaire; Germond, on Saint-Beuve's Monday Criticisms, a new collection; Delmas, on Character in France. Extracts are also given from the Editor's (De Pressensé) Notes of Travel in Palestine.

L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieuses, published once a fortnight, corresponds with the London Notes and Queries, and is conducted with spirit and success.

Father Tailhan, of the Society of the Jesuits, has edited, in the third part of the *Bibliotheca Americana*, Paris, Nicholas Perrot's *Memoirs on the Customs and Religion of the Savages of North America*. It now sees the light for the first time. Father Crayon, of the same Society, has published a *Bibliography of all the works pertaining to the Jesuit history*.

E. Flotard, *La Religion primitive des Indo-Européens*. Tiberghien, *La Theorie de la Connaissance, ses Origines, ses Lois, etc.*

Humboldt's *Correspondence*, edited by Mr. de la Roquette, vol. I., is a work of rare interest. The text includes the most eminent names in literature and science in Europe for the last half century. Sketches of the biographies of the writers are to be given.

It is reported that the lost books of the *Annals of Tacitus* have been discovered in Catania. They relate to the reign of Caligula.

The *Annuaire Philosophique*, vol. I., for 1864, reviews all the French works on psychology, metaphysics, and morals.

M. Vattier is giving in *La Correspondance Littéraire* accounts of the lives and works of the living French Academicians. One of the later sketches is devoted to Count de Montalembert, the eloquent orator; his works are collected in eight volumes, three contain his Discourses. His other chief works are, *St. Elizabeth, of Hungary*, 1836, often reprinted; *Monuments illustrating her history*, 1838; *Vandalism and Catholicism in Art*, 1839; *Saint Anselm*, 1844; *Political Future of England*, 1855; the *Western Monks*, 1850; *Father Lacordaire*, 1862. He has also written for the *Revue des deux Mondes*, and largely in *Le Correspondant*.

Joseph Pierre Proudhon, the recently deceased French political writer, was born in Besançon on the 15th of July, 1809. In 1837 he was partner in a printing house in his native place, and published an edition of the Bible, with annotations. Going to Paris, he published a pamphlet, in which he enunciated his celebrated doctrine, "Property is Robbery." After the revolution of 1848 he became the editor of *Le Représentant du Peuple*, a radical newspaper, and was elected deputy to the constituent assembly. He is said to have left a body of annotations on the Bible. His various short-lived papers, from their violent tone, frequently involved him in difficulty, and finally gaining for him a three years' imprisonment. As late as 1858, he was again sentenced to a similar penalty for his three-volume work on *Justice in Revolution and the Church*.

Proudhon's writings are chiefly political. Among his works the principal are: *Right to Labor*, *The Malthusians*, *Demonstration of Socialism*, *Revolutionary Ideas*, *Confessions of a Revolutionist*, *Acts of the Revolution*, *Social Revolution Demonstrated by the Coup d'Etat*, (a partial apology for Napoleon's policy,) *Manual of Operations on the Bourse*, (a satire on Parisian stock-jobbers,) and his latest production, published in 1861, and entitled, *Peace and War*.

ENGLAND.

Theological Works: A new, the 3rd edition of Lee's *Lectures on Inspiration* has been published. The Abp. of Dublin, Trench, says it is the best treatise on the subject in the English tongue. Rev. C. A. Row has published a vol. on the *Nature and Extent of Inspiration*, pp. 437, in reference chiefly to the New Testament, which is well spoken of. Rev. W. B. Marriott, on the *Testimony of Inspired Writers to the Nature of In-*

spiration (pp. 631,) attempts to show that the apostles claimed no more Inspiration for what they wrote than for what they spake; that they did not pretend to infallibility on all subjects, etc. He argues, too, that the phrase the Word of God is never applied in the Bible to the Bible as a whole. Dr. BANNERMAN, of New College, Edinburgh. *Inspiration; Infallible Truth of Scripture*. Mar Jacob, bp. of Eless, who died A. D. 708, was renowned for his learning, and received the name of "the commentator." Dr. George Phillips has just edited, from the Syriac Mss. in the British Museum, his *Scholia on Passages on the Old Testament*, never before published. Mar Jacob also composed a Syriac grammar and restored the purity of the Syriac language.

There were published in England, in 1864, 3,553 new works, pamphlets included; 715, religion; 233, biographical and historical; 151, geography and travels; 515, general literature; 256, philology, English classical, and foreign. The edition of the London journals amounts to 248,000 copies daily. The total sale of copies of weekly journals amounts to 2,263,200, of which number, 1,149,000 copies are issued by newspapers partly political, partly literary; 510,400 copies thereof are purely political; 252,500 are issued as sporting sheets; 47,000 copies are devoted to agriculture; 45,050 copies are devoted to architectural and polytechnic arts; 40,750 copies are issued by periodicals devoted to general literature; 15,300 copies are issued by periodicals exclusively devoted to medicine, chemistry, pharmacy, etc; 12,000 devoted to law; 8,500, to music; and 183,700, to theology.

The statistics of magazine literature, inclusive of "Reviews," weekly, monthly, and quarterly, show still more astounding results, they having been quadrupled within the past five years.

The Canon of Westminster, Dr. CHR. WORDSWORTH, has begun a work, the *Holy Bible, with Notes and Introductions*: Part I., Genesis and Exodus. He shows, of course, wide reading, and illustrates largely from patristic sources. But, when he attempts to prove the universality of the deluge from the universality of Baptism, as an antitype of the Deluge, and from the universality of the Flood of Fire, of which the deluge was a type (2 Pet. ii. 6,; iii. 5, 6), he does little towards refuting the gain-sayers or edifying the faithful. Rev. J. H. Blunt has published a *Directorium Pastorale* adapted to the Church of England (p. 433), which is said to be a useful work. Rev. F. Meyrick has written a sharp pamphlet on Dr. Newman's *Rejection of Liguori's Theory of Equivocation*, exposing his inconsistencies. Rev. C. J. Vaughan's *Epistles of St. Paul for English Readers*, Part I, the First Epistle to the Thessalonians; by the same author, *The Church of the First Days: The Church of Jerusalem*. *The Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*, by Wm. Webster, A. M. Of Alford's *New Testament for English Readers*, Vol. II, Part I, contains the Epistles of St. Paul. Rev. Wm. Denton, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*. Rev. H. Goodwin, Dean of Ely. *Commentary on St. Luke; Matthew and Mark* already published; for domestic use.

University for Wales: That which has long been a desideratum for Wales, as well as a subject of wonder that it had not been formed—a University—is about being founded. It will be on the same liberal principle as the London University, or the Irish Queen's Colleges; and will be of great importance for the literary and theological advancement of the Independents and Calvinistic Methodists, while it will most probably absorb the Episcopal College at Lampeter.

Episcopal Clergy of England and Ireland: At the Annual Conference for the Dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore, November 23d, a paper was read on "Demand and Supply of Clergy in England and Ireland." In 1863 there were 2281 clergy in Ireland, of whom 60 per cent were incumbents. The Church was progressing. From 1800 to 1829 there were 619 new churches built; from 1829 to 1863, there were 326. But in the year 1730 there were 200 clergy for say 100 churches, and now there were still 139 for the same number. There had as yet, therefore, been no great increase in the demand for clergy, but it would shortly come. At present, they required 63 every year. In England there were 22,000 clergy, including 3,000 unattached, or 14 per cent; 2,000 foreign chaplains and tutors, or 9 per cent.; 12,000 incumbents, or 57 per cent.; and 4,400 curates, or 20 per cent. In England, the churches increased by 90 every year; and the multiplied efforts of the Church would require a large annual increase to the clergy. But even at present they required for England and Ireland 674 annually. To meet that, the supply from Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin produced only 500, and was diminishing.

The Journal of Sacred Literature. Jan. 1865. The Nature and Extent of Inspiration, illustrated by extracts; Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament, and Mr. Fry's Facsimiles; Capital Punishment, and Genesis ix. 6; Popular Infidelity in the Metropolis—a startling array of the facts; Exegesis of Difficult Texts; Prof. G. Masson on Metaphysics among the Arabs—a valuable sketch on the basis of Munk's Works; The Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul, translated from a Syrian Manuscript by Dr. Justin Perkins—taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society; Rev. Franke Parker on the Meronic Cycle and Callipic Period; The Departure of Lady Mary from the World, in Syriac text, by Dr. W. Wright.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review. Jan. 1865. St. Brigitta and the Northern Church—a most interesting sketch, on the basis of Hammerich's Life of St. Brigitta. 1863—the fullest and best work on the subject of this Scandinavian Saint and her remarkable "Revelations;" Antichrist—arguing that it is the Roman Church; Twenty Years of the Free Church of Scotland; Unexhausted Resources of Christian Evidence, by Professor Lorimer, an Inaugural at the opening of the New College Hall of the English Presbyterian Church in London; the Dogmatic Element in Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus"—as not sufficiently recognizing either the strict divinity or the atonement of Christ; Recent German Discussion on the Atonement—chiefly devoted to the views of Prof. Hoffmann of Erlangen, in his *Schriftbeweis*; Man's Mental Instincts; Works of John Knox; Memorials of Rev. Wm. Bull; the Rev. James D. Buras; Biblical and Miscellaneous Intelligence.

DAVID LALING's edition of the Works of John Knox is completed by the publication of the sixth volume; it was begun in 1846. A brief biography is added. This edition is the only good one.

MR. JAMES NICHOL of Edinburgh is to bring out a series of Puritan commentaries on the Bible, in crown octavo. Bishop John King on Jonah (1618); Ed. Marbury on Obadiah (1649); John Rainolds D. D. on Obadiah (1613); R. Stook and S. Torshall (1641) on Malachi; R. Bernard on Ruth (1678), and Thos. Fuller on the same (1654) are already out, making two vols. Attersol on Numbers; Rogers on Judges; Cotton on Canticles; Perkins on Galatians; George on Hebrews; Dickson on Paul's Epistles—are among the volumes in preparation. Three vols. are offered to subscribers for 10s 6d.

The remarkable library of Mr. Offer is to be sold at auction. His collections of early printed Bibles is one of the most celebrated. For forty years he was preparing a History of the English Bible, with numerous facsimiles, which was never completed. His edition of Bunyan is well known.

Four elaborate volumes on the Book of Daniel have been published in England during the last two years, vindicating its authenticity; W. Boyle, *Inspiration of the Book of Daniel*; J. C. Walter, *Genuineness of the Book of Daniel*; J. M. Fuller, *Authenticity of the Book of Daniel*; G. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*. Dr. Pusey's book is very full and thorough.

The EARL OF DERBY has translated the Iliad of Homer into English blank verse, two vols. Mr. W. Simcox has rendered the same into hexameters, retaining the spelling of proper names as in the original.

Dr. McCausland, *Adam and the Adamites; the Harmony of Scripture and Ethnology*. Dr. Candlish, *the Fatherhood of God* (the Cunningham Lectures); C. W. King, *The Culdees and their Remains*; Dr. Hanna, *The Advent and Earlier Years of our Lord*, Bunsen's *God in History* is translated by Miss Winkworth; Ernest de Bunsen, *The Hidden Wisdom of Christ, and the Key of Knowledge, or History of the Apocrypha*; Rev. Cha. Merivale, *The Conversion of the Roman Empire* (Boyle Lectures); F. D. Maurice, *Lectures on St. Luke*; Rev. F. Tranch, *Brief Notes on the Greek of the New Testament, for English Readers*. *Epistle to the Galatians*, by Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Prof. of Divinity, at Cambridge.

Mr. MURRAY announces *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, by various writers; a second series of Stanley's *Jewish Church*; *Student's Manual of Scripture History*; *the Hand Bible*, with Notes, by Rev. Ed. Churton; *Outlines of Theology*, from the French of Alexander Vinet; Rev. J. B. Paton, *Review of Renan's Vie de Jesus*.

Miss Whately writes to the *Notes and Queries*, that Mr. Fitzpatrick's Life of her father, Archbishop Whately, was written "without the knowledge or sanction of any of his family," and contains "many repartees and jokes never uttered by him."

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH has in preparation a *Short History of England Down to the Reformation*, to be published by Macmillan.

HERBERT PALMER's *Memorials of Godliness*, from which were derived the Paradoxes ascribed to Bacon (see our last number, p. 174), are to be reprinted under the charge of Rev. Alexander Groshart.

MR. FRANCIS FREY is preparing for publication a description of the Great English Bible, 1530, the Cranmer Bibles 1540, 1541, and the large folios of the Authorized Version, 1611. Of the latter he has compared seventy copies, nearly all of them more or less imperfect.

LOWNDES's *Bibliographer's Manual*, edited by Bohn, is completed by the eleventh part, which contains lists of books printed by learned Societies and private presses.

REV. E. GARBETT's, Boyle Lectures February, 1864, on the *Divine Plan of Revelation*, is an argument from internal evidence, establishing the structural unity of the Bible. His motto is: "Moral sequence rules everywhere." The argument is well handled.

The subject of the Bampton Lectures, 1864, by REV. T. D. BERNARD, is *The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*.

JAMES DONALDSON is writing a History of Christian Doctrine and Literature to the Nicene Council. The first volume on the Apostolical Fathers is announced. The author is to discuss the genuineness of all the early Christian literature, the circumstances of the writers, and the growth of Christian theology.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A New Literary and Religious Monthly. Under the pleasing title of **HOURS AT HOME**, Charles Scribner & Co., of this city, commence early in April, under the editorship of the Rev. J. M. Sherwood, a Monthly which, from its object and plan and the character of the writers engaged in its support, we think can hardly fail to be a great success. The Editor's address says: "**HOURS AT HOME** is designed to stand among our Monthly magazines as a representative of the Religious element of American literature. Besides articles on purely religious subjects, it will contain reviews of books, biographical and historical sketches, poetry, notes of travel, moral tales, papers on popular science, and essays on miscellaneous topics. Discarding the frivolous, the irreligious and corrupting, it will aim to furnish a pure, healthful, and instructive literature; it will be animated also by a thoroughly Catholic spirit, so that it may belong to the entire American church. In brief, **HOURS AT HOME** will aim to be what its name indicates: a Family Magazine, unexceptionable in all its teaching, elevated in tone, and useful; at the same time it will strive to render itself an invaluable aid to the Sunday-school teacher, and a welcome visitor to the study of every pastor. Numerous eminent clergymen and laymen of all denominations, distinguished as popular writers, have been engaged as contributors to **HOURS AT HOME**, whose names will be a sufficient pledge of the high standard of literary excellence which will characterize it. While **HOURS AT HOME** will be thoroughly American, the editor will avail himself of the choicest materials furnished by the foreign religious magazines. The articles will be short, varied, and sprightly. No expense will be spared to make it equal to any magazine in the country in mechanical execution and general appearance. Each number will contain 96 pages, royal octavo, double columns." The first number will contain a mezzotint engraving of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, from a statue by Paul Akers. The price will be \$3 a year.

The Christian public, we are sure, will welcome such a monthly. It is much needed. The country is flooded with irreligious and semi-infidel, frivolous and corrupting literature; and a popular monthly, of the highest literary ability and yet pervaded by a religious tone and spirit, such as we are certain will characterize **HOURS AT HOME**, is a want everywhere felt and confessed. We wish it a signal career of success and usefulness.

A new literary monthly has just been started by D. M. Gazlay & Co., New York, entitled *Gazlay's Pacific Monthly*. In general appearance it resembles *Harper's Magazine*. It contains less matter, and is well illustrated. Price, \$5 a year. The first number (January) starts off well. It is occupied mainly with matters relating to the Pacific States.

A New Work on China. Rev. J. Doolittle, Missionary of the American Board at Fuh Chau, in China, after spending a few months with his friends in the United States, has sailed for London, proposing to spend several months there in order to publish first in that country a volume on the home life of the Chinese—the fruit of more than a dozen years of close observation of their domestic, business, and religious habits and condition.

Benjamin Silliman, LL. D., died at New Haven, Conn., November 24, 1864, in the 86th year of his age. He has been a Professor of Chemistry in Yale College since 1798. He published a Text Book of Chemistry, two volumes, in 1830. He also founded the American Journal of Science in 1818. He has contributed more than any other American to the general diffusion of scientific knowledge.

Myron Winslow, D. D. LL. D., died at the Cape of Good Hope, while on his way from India to England. He has been forty-five years a missionary of the American Board. Few men have accomplished a greater amount of valuable service in the missionary field. Besides the presidency of the Madras College, and the care of a native church, he published a History of Missions, and Hints on Missions, and translated the Bible into Tamil. But the greatest work of his life was the Tamil and English Lexicon, upon which he labored over twenty years. The work has been, by competent authority, pronounced the greatest achievement of any American scholar and missionary. It is a quarto of 1,000 pages, and 68,000 words translated into English, of which one half were collected by the author. The dictionary is a complete one, containing the mythology of India, names of heroes, poets, warriors, etc., definitions and illustrations of the Brahmaic tongue. It is a work greatly needed in christianizing and civilizing that people, and the native and English press have been loud in their expression of thanks to the author.

In the last number of this Review, in an article on the Indians, Dr. Williamson inadvertently fell into an error in stating that a certain family in Ohio is descended from the New England Indians. We regret the mistake, but none beyond the family referred to probably knew to whom reference was made.

A manuscript dictionary of the Maya language of Yucatan, now in the possession of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., is said to be one of the most complete dictionaries extant of any of the languages of Spanish America, as large as Molina's Dictionary of the Mexican Language. Dr. Berendt, a German physician, being long resident in South America, is transcribing it; he has ascertained that the author was a Franciscan Monk, living in Yucatan between 1570 and 1600.

The *Historical Magazine* for February, has an interesting article on the first books printed in Mexico. The priority has usually been given to the *Doctrina Christiana*, printed by Juan Cromberger, 1544; but it seems that nine years earlier, 1535, there was printed *The Spiritual Ladder* by St. John Climacus, Juan Pablos being the printer. Titles of several other works printed before 1544, are also given.

Mr. Scribner proposes to republish Forsyth's Life of Cicero; Lord Derby's translation of Homer; Fronde's History of England. Dr. Schaff's Lange is already in its fourth edition.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS. Since the secession of the Southern churches, the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church are more evenly balanced than many suppose. The following tables compiled from the minutes of the year are:

	O. S.	N. S.
Synods reported.....	25	22
Presbyteries	126	105
Ministers	2,265	1,644
Churches	2,626	1,442
Communicants	231,960	138,074

The benevolent contributions of the two bodies which will perhaps represent their relative activity, do not admit of comparison except on the four objects following, the New School, so called, being silent on the other objects for which the churches have contributed:

	O. S.	N. S.
Domestic Missions.....	\$86,414	\$174,177
Foreign Missions.....	126,615	98,529
Education	135,344	88,353
Publication.....	28,184	77,442
Total.....	\$376,527	\$437,501

ARTICLE XII.—ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

BY EDWIN F. HATFIELD, D.D., New York.

LICENSED TO PREACH.

Albert Bryant,	April 14th, 1864, by the Presb. of	Phila., Fourth.
Charles S. Pomeroy,	" 21st, " " " " "	Brooklyn.
Joseph H. Bradley,	" 25th, " " " " "	New York, Fourth.
Martin P. Jones,	May 16th, " " " " "	Phila., Fourth.
Francis L. Cordova,	June 30th, " " " " "	Brooklyn.
David R. Fraser,	" " " " " "	Dist. of Columbia.

ORDINATIONS.

Joseph H. Bradley,	April 27th, 1864, Evang., New York City, by Presb. of	New York, Fourth.
Enoch K. Miller,	May 15th, " " " " "	Phila., Fourth.
William H. Lyle,	Sept. 2d, " " Spring Place, Chh. Tenn, " "	Union.
Benjamin Talbot,	" 7th, " " Brooklyn, Io., by Presb. of	Iowa City.
Edward Dickinson,	" 15th, " " Fentonv', Mich., " " "	Saginaw.
Calvin P. Quick,	" " " " " " " " "	"
Alanson Herrick,	" " " " " " " " "	"
Holon Cobb,	Oct. 11th, " " Owego, N. Y., " " "	Tioga.
Dwight H. Steele,	" 12th, " " Green, Pa., " " "	Erie.
Lewis E. Jones,	" 15th, " " Piqua, O., " " "	Dayton.
David Stuart Dodge,	" 16th, " " New York City, " " "	New York, Third.
George H. Smyth,	" " " Pastor, Wash. City, D.C., " " "	Dist. of Columbia.
Gulick Van Aken,	" " " " Phila., (Southwk.,) Pa. " " "	Phila. Fourth.
Henry V. Hitchcock,	" Evang, by Presb. of	Cincinnati.
Lycurgus Railsbach,	" " " " " "	"
Thomas Marshall,	Dec. 18th, " " New York City, " " "	New York, Fourth.
Augustus C. Shaw,	Jan. 15th, 1865, " Rochester, N. Y., " " "	Rochester.
James R. Laurie,	" 17th, " " Lowville, Wis., " " "	Columbus.
Ariel M. McMasters,	" 18th, " " Cooperst'n, N.Y., " " "	Otsego.
Henry E. Butler,	" " " " Keeseville, N.Y., " " "	Champlain.
Gavin L. Hamilton,	Feb. 1st, " " Vernon, N.Y., " " "	Utica.
William H. Edwards,	" 8th, " " Wilmington, Del., " " "	Wilmington.

INSTALLATIONS.

Amos N. Freeman,	Jan. 7th, 1864, Brooklyn, (Silcom,) N. Y. by Presb. of	Brooklyn.
William H. Thorne,	June 7th, " Allentown, (First,) Pa., " " "	Phila., Fourth.
Oliver Crane,	Sept. 14th, " Carbondale, Pa., " " "	Montrose.
Francis V. Warren,	" " " Wattsburgh, Pa., " " "	Erie.
William Hart,	" 28th, " Malden, N. Y., " " "	Catskill.
George H. Smyth,	Oct. 6th, " Wash. City, (Sixth,) D. C., " " "	Dist. of Columbia.
J. Jormain Porter,	" " " Watertown, (First,) N. Y., " " "	Watertown.
Charles F. Beach,	" 9th, " Centralia, Ill., " " "	Alton.
Fred. A. M. Brown,	" 11th, " Hanover, (Second,) N. J., " " "	Rockaway.
Elias L. Boing,	" 12th, " Angelica, N. Y., " " "	Gen. Valley.
William K. Platt,	" 18th, " Hector, N. Y., " " "	Ithaca.
Jacob G. Miller,	" " " Montrose, Pa., " " "	Montrose.
Frank Schroeck,	" 17th, " Milwaukee, (Holland,) Wis. " " "	Milwaukee.
Clement E. Babb,	" 23d, " College Hill, Ohio, by " " "	Hamilton.
John B. Hall,	" 26th, " Johnsonv' and Pittst'n, N. Y., " " "	Troy.
Antoine DeMattas,	" " " Jacksonv', (Portg.,) Ill., by " " "	Illinois.

Bulkeley,	Nov. 5th,	"	Plattsburgh, N. Y.,	"	"	"	Champlain.
Duncan,	"	"	Mt. Sterling, Ill.,	"	"	"	Schuyler.
Kessler,	"	15th,	Mt. Pleasant, Pa.,	"	"	"	Montrose.
Alkins,	"	20th,	Phila., (Calvary,) Pa.,	"	"	"	Phila., Third.
Holsington,	Dec. 14th,	"	Warren, Ohio,	"	"	"	Trumbull.
Jones,	Jan. 8th, 1865,		Mattoon, Ill.,	"	"	"	Wabash.
Kittridge,	"	15th,	New York City, (Eleventh,)	"	"	"	N. Y., Fourth.
F. Sharp,	"	26th,	Mineral Ridge, Ohio,	by	"	"	Trumbull.
Halsey,	Mar. 8th,	"	Stamford, (First,) Ct.,	"	"	"	N. Y., Third.
Gartan,	"	22d,	New York City, (Prince st.,)	"	"	"	"

DISSOLUTION OF THE PASTORAL RELATION.

S. Johnson,	Mar. 7th, 1864,		Phila., (Mantua st.,) by Presb. of Phila. Third.
McCool,	April 12th,	"	Pottsville, Pa. " " " " "
John F. Judd,	"	29th,	Hanover, (Second,) N. Y., " " Rockaway.
John K. Platt,	June 2d,	"	Somers, N. Y., by " " North River.
McCaskie,	"	20th,	Phila., (S. W.,) " " " Phila., Third.
Ward,	Aug. 1st,	"	Freedom Plains, N. Y., " " North River.
H. Holloway,	"	30th,	Shelter Isl., N. Y., by " " Long Island.
W. Atherton,	Sept. 7th,	"	Oedar Rapids, Io., " " Iowa City.
Elley,	"	28th,	Middletown, Del., " " Wilmington,
Anderson,	"	"	Sennett, Ga., " " Cayuga.
Little, D. D.,	Nov. 3d,	"	Granville, Ohio, " " Pataskala.
McLean,	"	"	St. Louis, (North,) Mo., " " St. Louis.
P. Halsey,	Jan. 17th 1865,		Rockaway, N. J., by " " Rockaway.
E. Niles,	"	"	Albion, N. Y., " " Niagara.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE.

W. Atherton,	from Fox Lake, Wis.,	to Brimfield, Ill.
W. K. Bartlett,	" Poughkeepsie, N. Y.,	Rochester, N. Y.
N. Bassett,	" Kendall, Ill.,	to Lodi, Wis.,
S. S. Beman, D.D. LL.D.,	" Troy, N. Y.,	" Carbondale, Ill.
Bigelow,	" Brooklyn, Mich.,	" Silver Creek, N. Y.
W. H. Bird,	" Bethel, Ill.,	" Sandoval, Ill.,
Brundage,	" Ringhamton, N. Y.,	Kirkwood, N. Y.,
Bushnell, Jr.,	" Ailensville, Ind.,	to St. Louis Crossing.
P. Campfield,	" Newark, N. J.,	" Casanovia, N. Y.
A. Conant,	" Meravia, N. Y.,	" Augusta, N. Y.
Stuart Dodge,	" New York City,	" Beirut, Syria.
Gilbert,	" Scipio, N. Y.,	" Peoria, Ill.
W. H. Ham,	" Janesville, Io.,	" Scott, Io.
W. H. Graves,	" Avoca, N. Y.,	" Nelson, Pa.
P. Halsey,	" Rockaway, N. J.,	" Stamford Ct.
Estine Hamilton,	" San Jose, Cal.,	" Oakland, Cal.
Wm. M. Heiser,	" Black Hawk, Col. Ter.,	Winterset, Io.
Wm. J. Hetrich,	" New York City,	to Westport, Ct.
Holmes,	" Manitowoc, Wis.,	" Rockford, Ill.
J. Hof,	" Detroit, Mich.,	" Louisville, O.
H. Hyde,	" Webster Grove, Mo.,	" Carrollton, Ill.
L. Jones,	" Brooklyn, Ill.,	to Mattoon, Ill.
Wm. H. Lockwood,	" Lowville, N. Y.,	" Eauclaire, Wis.
Wm. Luce,	" Belleville, Ill.,	" Carbondale, Ill.
Wm. W. Macomber,	" Gold Hill, Neb. T.,	" Shasta, Cal.
Wm. Marsh,	" Tecopsha, Mich.,	" Ada, Mich.
Wm. W. Martin,	" Sonora, Cal.,	" San Jose, Cal.
Wm. S. Miles,	" Knoxville Ill.,	" Gilson, Ill.

Daniel M. Moore,	"	Greenfield, Ohio,	"	Yellow Springs, O.
Henry E. Niles,	"	Albion, N. Y.,	"	York, Pa.
Rufus Nutting,	"	Lodi, Mich.,	"	Saline, Mich.
Sefferinas Ottman,	"	Burr Oak, Mich.,	"	Broadhead, Wis.
James H. Phelps,	"	North Chili, N. Y.,	"	Winterset, Io.
Robert Proctor,	"	Jordan, N. Y.,	"	Freeport, Ill.
Isaac Riley,	"	Middletown, Del.,	"	Pottsville, Pa.
John Sailor,	"	Niles, Mich.,	"	Allegan, Mich.
Franklin E. Sheldon,	"	Savannah, Mo.,	"	Troy, Kansas.
James O. Smith,	"	Red Creek, N. Y.,	"	Romulus, N. Y.
Warren Taylor,	"	Nairn, Ohio,	"	Wilkesville, O.
William P. Teitsworth,	"	Arkport, N. Y.,	"	St. Louis, Mo.
Allen Traver,	"	Hillsdale, "	"	Corfu, N. Y.
Edmund F. Waldo,	"	Pardeeville, Wis.,	"	Wayland, Mich.
George W. Warren,	"	Weedsport, N. Y.,	"	Savannah, N. Y.
J. Evarts Weed,	"	Toledo, Ohio,	"	Lansing, Mich.
John O. Wells,	"	Greenville, N. Y.,	"	Romulus, N. Y.
Isaac T. Whittemore,	"	Rushville, Ill.,	"	Plymouth, Ill.
Timothy Williston,	"	Reedsburgh, Wis.,	"	South Boston, Mich.
Benjamin F. Willoughby,	"	Verona, N. Y.,	"	Augusta, N. Y.
William Wilmer,	"	Walnut Hills, O.,	"	New Bethel, Ind.
Samuel Wyckoff,	"	Peoria, Ill.,	"	Knoxville, Ill.

DEATHS.

Thomas S. Ward,	52,	Feb. 12, 1864,	Carbondale, Pa.,	of Presb. of Montrose.
John O. Blythe,		Mar. 18,	"	" " " Phila. Third.
Samuel W. Bonney,	49,	July 27,	" Canton, Ohio,	" " " Cincinnati.
Edward McMillan,			" Marietta, Ga.,	" " " Illinois.
Evan Evans,			" Radnor, Ohio,	" " " Franklin.
Veron D. Taylor,			" Huntsburgh, Ohio,	" " " Cleveland.
Phineas Kingsley,	75,		"	of " " "
William W. Woods,		Oct. 28,	" Camp Nelson, Ky.,	" " " Dubuque.
Nathaniel Hammond,	69,	Nov. 1,	" Ossian, N. Y.,	of " " " Gen. Valley.
Levi Parsons,	85,	" 20,	" Mareclius, N. Y.,	" " " Cayuga.
Nathan Allen,		"	" Springville, N. Y.,	" " " Buffalo.
D. Van Valkenburgh,	59,	" 24,	" Springfield, N. Y.,	" " " Otsego.
Frederick W. Graves,		Dec. 8,	" Canandaigua, N. Y.,	" " " N. Y., Third.
Abraham Blakely,	58,	" 19,	" New York City,	of " " " Kansas.
A. G. Orton, D. D.,	75,	" 28,	" Lisle, N. Y.,	" " " Cortland.
Ambrose Eggleston,	71,	Jan. 23, 1865,	" Coldwater, Mich.,	" " " Coldwater.
A. H. Wright, M.D.,		" 4,	" Oroomiah, Persia,	" " " N. River.
Edwin E. Merriam,	28,	Feb. 17,	" Salem, Pa.,	" " " Montrose.
Comfort I. Slack,		" 24,	" Newton, Io.,	" " " Des Moines.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review.

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BUSINESS NOTICE.

OUR subscribers who are still in arrears will greatly oblige us by remitting the amount due. Bills were sent to all in the April number. Notwithstanding the increased cost of publishing the Review we have not advanced the price of it, and for this reason we need promptly all that is our due.

Such as prefer to pay in advance for *next* year will be charged but \$3 for the present year, *i. e.* \$6 for 1865 and 1866.

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THE
AMERICAN
PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

NEW SERIES, No. XI.—JULY, 1865.

ART. I.—ANALYSIS AND PROOF-TEXTS OF JULIUS MÜLLER'S
SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY.*

DR. JULIUS MÜLLER'S Lectures on Dogmatics are one of the chief attractions of the University of Halle. They have been eagerly solicited for publication, but without avail. The little work, whose title stands below, was prepared by one of Müller's students, with his own consent, as a help to his auditors. It gives the general plan of the system, the captions of most of the sections, and the proof-texts in full, in Greek, Hebrew and German. The texts are accompanied by concise statements of the doctrinal results. In drawing up the present sketch, for the use chiefly of students and ministers, we have been aided by excellent manuscript notes of the Lectures, from which we have taken the points and statements needed to get an accurate idea of the whole system, and of the definitions of each doctrine. This has been done in the most concise form; but yet, it is hoped, with sufficient fullness and perspicuity to give the reader an intelligent view of the whole system. The texts, to save room, have not been quoted in full, but all of them are referred to. They will be found of special value to theological students, as they are carefully selected and sifted. It will of course be understood that we do not pretend to endorse all the views here presented, especially the author's theory of preëxistence, his opposition to several

* Beweisstellen zur Dogmatik des Consistorialrath Prof. Dr. Müller. Herausgegeben unter Bewilligung des Herrn Consistorialrath mit den betreffenden jedesmaligen Ueberschriften. Halle, 1863, pp. 186.

points of the Reformed theology, and some of his speculations on the eschatology. But intelligent and thinking men will be glad to know the views of so eminent and candid a theologian, even though they may not be accepted as final. The present article contains about half of the system.—EDS.

PROLEGOMENA TO DOGMATICS.

§ 1. *The Idea of Dogmatics.* It is the science which sets forth the contents and connection of the Christian faith. The religious consciousness of the writer must be in harmony with the Christian church, and absolutely determined by the revelation of God in Christ.

§ 2. *Idea of the Prolegomena.* The Prolegomena are designed to determine the Contents and Form, the Object and Method of Dogmatics. The ideas of Religion, and Revelation, and the position and authority of the Scriptures, are here to be investigated. Apologetics is excluded.

FIRST PART OF THE PROLEGOMENA.

THE CONTENTS OF DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.—OBJECT OF DOGMATICS.

§ 3. *The Nature and Essence of Religion.* God as the most perfect being must be personal, and have moral predicates. Religion is a real fellowship with God, as personal, mediated by reverence, love, prayer, etc.

§ 4. *The Connexion between Man's Relation to God and to the World.* Both are necessary, but the lower must be subordinated to the higher.

§ 5. *The Origin of Religion.* It is only to be explained by a positive principle, implanted in human nature, which leads the soul to recognize an author of the world, and to seek for communion with Him.

§ 6. *The Relation of Religion to the Different Functions of the Human Mind.* Schleiermacher finds religion in the feeling of absolute dependence, and makes a broad distinction between feeling and knowledge. But the feeling, in which religion has its root, is a state of the whole soul, and must contain implicitly knowledge and will. Religion can not be indifferent to truth and falsehood. Where it is sound, it demands the whole life—feeling, thought and will united.

§ 7. *Relation of Religion to Philosophy.* There can be no relation but that of antagonism with the pantheistic systems. The relation of religion to the Theistic system, is not that merely of faith to knowledge; for in religion there must be

an element of knowledge. Religion is *qualitatively* superior to philosophy, since it is not merely a knowledge of God, but a life in God, of which life knowledge is only one of the elements.

§ 8. *Natural and Positive Religion.* Natural religion, based in the immanent religious tendencies, always goes over into and expresses itself in positive and historical forms.

§ 9. *The Corruption of Religion in the Natural Life of the Human Race.* This is owing to sin, enfeebling man's powers and making him averse to the divine holiness. Hence, polytheism and superstition. The original belief was monotheistic.

§ 10. *Necessity of the Historical Revelation of God.* For theology all revelation of God is self-revelation. In this sense Paul represents nature and conscience as the media of the divine revelation: Romans i. 19, 20, 32; Acts xiv. 17; Comp. Rom. ii. 14, 15. All revelation of God to a sinful race must have essential relation to its redemption.

§ 11. *The Idea of a Historical Revelation more exactly defined.* The revelation of God is made known, objectively, through determinate historical facts (Matth. xi. 27; John xvii. 6; 1 John i. 2); subjectively, by the working of God upon and in the human soul—inspiration (1 Cor. ii. 10–13; 2 Pet. i. 20, 21); and this latter form (inspiration) of the revealing efficacy of God is the condition of the real understanding of the objective facts and institutions. Matth. xvi. 17; John xiv. 26; Gal. i. 11, 12.

§ 12. *Revealed Religion.* The peculiar nature of revealed religion is seen in the fact that it is mystery. Psalm xxv. 14: "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant:" Matth. xiii. 11; 1 Tim. iii. 16. As far as the divine revelation is intended to be appropriated by the human mind in the form of knowledge, revelation is essentially the unveiling of the mystery: Rom. xvi. 25, 26; 1 Cor. ii. 7, 10. Comp. Ephes. i. 9; iii. 3; iv. 9; vi. 19; Colos. i. 26, 27; ii. 2; iv. 3, 4. Yet there are elements in revealed religion which address themselves chiefly to the feelings: 1 Cor. xv. 51; Rev. x. 7. A mystery is a divine truth, which, even after it is announced, remains hidden, until faith attains an approximative knowledge of it: Mat. xiii. 11. There are mysteries in all the three stages of religious consciousness, the natural, the Old Testament, and the Christian.

§ 13. *Testimony which Christianity gives of itself.* The fellowship of man with God is indissolubly connected with the mediation of a single historical individual, Jesus Christ: Matth. xi. 27; John xvii. 3; Acts iv. 12; 1 Cor. iii. 11; 1 Tim. ii.

5, 6 ; 1 John ii. 3 ; 1 John v. 11, 12, 20. From this point Christianity is unfolded in these two elements or principles: 1. That in Jesus of Nazareth, the Logos, who was with the Father in the beginning, became man : John i. 14 ; Col. ii. 9 ; 1 John iv. 2, 3. 2. That Jesus, through the facts of his earthly life, death and glorification, is the Redeemer of the world from the power of sin : Matth. i. 21 ; Matth. xx. 28 ; John vi. 51 ; Rom. iii. 19–21 ; 1 Peter i. 18–21 ; 1 John iii. 5 ; iv. 9, 10.

§ 14. *The Relation of the Christian Religion to Reason in respect to the Antagonism between Rationalism and Supernaturalism.* Rationalism claims that reason is the highest authority in matters of religion, and the ultimate arbiter in respect to the truths of revelation. But true reason includes the knowledge of God, and conscience ; by these elements it is led to Christianity. Rationalism supposes that faith is a merely intellectual process of conviction ; but it is an internal energy, resting in and appropriating its object, evoked not merely by the wants of the understanding, but of the whole man. Reason can never develop the contents of Christianity from itself. Supernaturalism recognizes the divine origin of Christianity ; but, in some of its forms, it makes faith too much dependent on external evidences, as miracles and prophecy.

CHAPTER II.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL CHARACTER OF DOGMATICS.

§ 15. *The Principles of Protestantism.* 1. The “formal” principle: the Holy Scriptures are the chief source and only rule of the knowledge of revelation ; in contrast with the infallibility and tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. 2. The “material” principle: justification by living faith in Christ alone. These two principles are so united, that the one leads to and demands the other.

§ 16. *Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinistic) Protestantism.* They differ not only on the doctrines of Predestination and the Lord’s Supper, but also in the fact that the Reformed insist more strenuously upon the “formal” principle ; yet in doctrinal theology they ought not to be viewed as antagonistic, for both receive the Protestant principles.

SECOND PART OF THE PROLEGOMENA.

THE FORM OF DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY : BASIS AND PROOF OF THE DOCTRINES.

§ 17. *Incorrect modes of Establishing the Doctrines.* A Confession of Faith is *norma doctrinæ ecclesiæ*, but only, *quia cum Scriptura sacra consensit*, and the *quia* implies a *quatenus*.

On the other hand, systematic theology is not a purely speculative science, but it is based in facts of the divine love and freedom; it also presupposes the existence of sin. Hence its doctrines can not be deduced from pure reason. Nor is Dogmatics a science *sui generis*, between what is speculative and what is empirical; it has a definite historical basis and also contains eternal truth.

§ 18. *The Holy Scriptures and Religious Experience.* The Scriptures contain the perfect revelation of God in Christ, and are therefore the source of Christian doctrines. But the Scriptures are also reproduced in man's spiritual life, by a living experience of the salvation in Christ; and this experience is a subordinate, yet real, source of knowledge of divine truth, especially in the central points of sin and redemption. Individual experience is corrected and tested by that of the body of believers, as expressed in the Confession of Faith. But this experience can not establish truths or doctrines not found in the Word of God.

§ 19. *Evidence of the Normal Authority of the New Testament.* The revelation centres in Christ; he conveyed his teaching authority to the apostles: John xiii, 20; xiv, 26; xv, 20; xvi, 13; xvii, 18–21; Matth. x, 19. 20; Luke xx, 16. They were fitted for this (1) by personal intercourse with Christ, being eye-witnesses of his deeds, etc.: John xv, 26. 27; Acts, i, 8; x, 39–41. Also (2) by the gift of the Holy Spirit to teach them the meaning of Christ's manifestation, and to reveal to them truths still hidden: John xiv, 16. 17; Luke xxiv, 49; John xx, 21. 22. Paul, according to the witness of history and his own testimony, was recognized as an independent and equal organ of Christ, Galat. i. 16. 17; i, 1; 1 Cor. ix, 1; this was also confirmed by wonders and signs: 2 Cor. xii, 11. 12; Rom. xv, 18. 19; 1 Cor. xv, 10.

The Inspiration of the Scriptures is proved by an argument in a circle from the two following passages, since they presuppose the inspiration: 2 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Pet. i, 20. 21. See, too, 1 John v, 6. It is proved from the testimony of the Holy Spirit in man by the two following passages; 1 Thess. ii, 13; Rom. viii, 16: This testimony relates to what is central in the contents of the Scripture, to the proclamation of grace and salvation in Christ: the Scriptures are not directly spoken of.

§ 20. *The Idea of Inspiration.* The following passages have been thought to prove that the New Testament was directly dictated by the Holy Spirit: John xiv, 26; 1 Cor. ii, 10. 13; 1 Cor. vii, 40; 2 Cor. iii, 5; 1 Thess. ii, 13: indirectly from 2 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Pet. i, 19–21. But these passages prove only

a powerful and determinate working of the Holy Spirit in respect to the knowledge and teaching of the apostles. The first and fundamental failure of the mechanical theory of inspiration consists in holding that inspiration exclusively, or in an isolated way, relates to the composition of the books of the Scripture. This is not borne out by 2 Tim. iii, 16; and it is inconsistent with John xiv, 20 ; xv, 26. 27 ; xvi, 13 ; 1 Cor. xii, 12. 13 ; 1 Thess. ii, 13 ; 1 Pet. i, 12. The dynamical theory of inspiration allows differences of degrees.

§ 21. *Old and New Testament.* If we would hold fast the authority of the New Testament, we must ascribe a like authority to the Old. Besides the New Testament expressly ascribes theopneusty to the Old : Matth. xxii, 43 : 1 Pet. i, 10-12 ; the same is implied in John x, 34. 35. While recognizing the organic connexion between the Old and New Testament, it is also necessary to maintain their difference from each other : Gal. iii, 23. 24 ; Gal. iv, 1-3 (implying that the Old Testament is subordinate to the New) ; Col. ii, 16. 17, Hebr. vii, 19 ; viii, 6. The Old Testament religion is the only one in history, which definitely points to a more perfect one above and beyond itself : Jer. iii, 16 ; Zech. xiv, 20. 21 : John vii, 39, i.e. the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, proceeding from his personality, after that was glorified.

§ 22. *The Traditional Canon and the Right of Criticism.* Criticism has the right to investigate the authenticity, canonicity and integrity of the books generally received (the *Homologoumena*), as well as of those about which opinions were divided (the *Antilegomena*, viz. : Apocalypse, Hebrews, 2 Pet., 2. 3. John, James and Jude). The church must insist upon holding fast the received canon, until it is compelled to exclude a book by a generally recognized negative result of criticism. Such books alone have a place in the New Testament canon as give a credible historical account of the life, deeds and discourses of Christ, and of the discourses of the apostles, or which have an apostolic design. The apocryphal books can not be used in establishing doctrines, especially since the New Testament makes no use of them.

§ 23. *Other Qualities of the Scripture in Relation to Christian Doctrine.* The Scripture is necessary not merely for the *well-being* (bene esse) of the church, but also for its *being* (esse). Only by means of it can we obtain a sure knowledge of revelation. The Scripture is also *sufficient*, and *perspicuous*. These points are in opposition to the Roman Catholic assumptions about tradition and infallibility. The perspicuity of Scripture presupposes a sense of need, and longing for truth : 1 Cor. iii, 14. 1 John ii, 20. 27 ; 1 Cor. ii, 4. 6.

§ 24. *Doctrinal Statements* are also determined in part by the logical and necessary demands of the system itself. Certain positions must be excluded, which are inconsistent with what is definite and clear; and such statements must be made, as are necessary to a complete and harmonious view of the system as a whole.

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

PART FIRST OF THE SYSTEM.

THE DOCTRINE RESPECTING GOD AS PRESUPPOSED IN THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION.

§ 1. *Introduction. Division.* Our general arrangement of the system starts from the idea of Redemption, as the focus of the Christian religion; or, the restoration of that fellowship between God and man, which was lost by the fall. First we must consider the two factors, God and man; God as working and man as worked upon. Then follows the direct subject of Dogmatics, which proceed from the union of these two factors: viz. Redemption by the Godman, and its effects. . Theology proper: 2. Anthropology: 3. Redemption.

FIRST DIVISION.

MAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, AND THE CERTAINTY OF ITS TRUTH. FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

GOD AS KNOWN IN HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

§ 2. *The Immediate Knowledge (Consciousness) of God.* God is near to every human consciousness, by virtue of the tie which unites the human spirit with God: Acts xvii. 27, 28. He is present in our inmost being, and there bears witness to himself in a veiled way, otherwise we could not seek for him. We are his offspring so far forth as we, having the *πνεῦμα*, bear in us his image; Gen. i. 26, 27. Comp. Gen. v. 1; vii. 6; James iii. 9; ii. 14. This is also implied in Rom. i. 19, 20; the revelation of God in creation could not be recognized by us unless God were in some way made known in the mind itself. Man, in this world of shadows, may suppress the knowledge of God; but after death it will be forced upon every one's consciousness.

§ 3. *Can God be Known?* He is first known in his relations to us; but he could not be thus known, unless we had some proper knowledge of his nature. The Scriptures testify that the divine revelation imparts to man a knowledge of God: John vii. 13; Matth. xi. 27; 1 Cor. ii. 10-16; Eph. i. 17; Col. i. 10; 1 John. v, 20 (see Prolegomena § 13). This knowl-

edge is possible, because man is (not identical with, but) like God. This knowledge is not absolute; 1 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 John iii. 2.

SECOND HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE BEING OF GOD.

§ 4. *The Subjective Possibility of denying the Being of God.* Atheism has its ground in sin, which obscures the connatural knowledge of God. Practical atheism, springing from deep seated moral corruption, is to be distinguished from theoretical atheism, the offspring of perverted philosophical tendencies, while a belief in moral order may still remain. Pantheism becomes atheism when it resolves the absolute into a substance and dialectic process, allowing no real distinction between God and the world.

§ 5 *Relation of the Proofs of the Being of God to Dogmatics.* The proofs of the Being of God presuppose the self-revelation of God in human consciousness. The significance of the proofs is this—that they confirm, in the way of reflection, what the mind is led to recognize by a divine instinct. They have a rightful place in the doctrinal system, since each of the proofs brings to light some element contained in the nature of God, or in his relation to the world.

§ 6. *The Principal Proofs of the Being of God.* The historical proof leads only to the recognition of some higher power. The Philosophical Proofs are four. 1. The Ontological, from the idea of God. 2. The Cosmological, from the idea of the world as contingent, concluding, since there can not be an infinite series, that there is a Being who has the ground of his existence in himself. 3. The Physico-theological from the order of nature. 4. The Moral and Historico-theological, reasoning from the moral law, and the moral order in history.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE DIVINE NATURE AND DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

§ 7. *Arrangement.* We must distinguish between the Predicates of the Divine Nature, and the Divine Attributes. Another possible division would be: 1. The Predicates of the Divine Nature in itself: 2. In its relation to the world.

FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE

THE FUNDAMENTAL PREDICATES OF THE DIVINE NATURE.

§ 8. *God as the Absolute Being.* As absolute, God is independent of all other beings, not only in his being, but in his

acting. He is *causa sui* (*aseitas dei*), and the cause of all else : Exodus vi. 28 ; iii. 14 ; Rom. xi. 36.

§ 9. *God as Personal.* The belief in the Divine Personality is necessary to all religion, to all prayer. Man's religious consciousness is inexplicable, if that which is highest in him, his personality, be not the divine image in him. The Bible is full of the divine personality. The elements of personality are self-consciousness and self-determination.

§ 10. *The Relation of the Personality of God to his Absoluteness.* Self-consciousness and self-determination, conceived in their completeness, lead necessarily to this idea of an unconditional being, conditioning itself. An absolute Being, too, that has the ground of its existence in itself, and which is complete in itself, is inconceivable except as it is self-determining and self-conscious.

§ 11. *God as One.* God as absolute must be One ; for two absolute beings would limit each other. The recognition of the unity of God is the basis of all true religion : John xvii. 3 ; 1 Cor. viii. 6 ; Eph. iv. 6 ; 1 Tim. ii. 5. Is. xlv. 6.

SECOND HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

§ 12. *The Idea of the Attributes in General.* The attributes are to be distinguished from both the fundamental predicates of the divine essence, and from God's agency in respect to the world. They embrace positive and distinct elements of the divine nature ; and give an actual, though limited, knowledge of God : 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12. They must also express real distinctions in God himself.

§ 13. *Division of the Attributes.* 1. Absolute or Immanent ; 2. Relative or Transitive—in relation to the world.

§ 14. *Sources of the Divine Attributes.* Partly from the idea of God as absolute and personal—the immanent attributes ; partly by analogy and contrast, and by reasoning from effect to cause, on the basis of facts in the world, in man's mind, in history and in redemption.

FIRST SUB-DIVISION OF THE ATTRIBUTES.

THE IMMANENT ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

§ 15. *Immutability ; or God above the Law of Change.* God abides in his being, what and as he is. He needs no process of growth or development to realize the full idea of his nature. James i. 17. There is no change in him in moral respects ; this is implied in Psalm cii. 27. 28.

§ 16. *The Eternity of God.* Rom. i. 20 ; xvi. 26 ; Gen. xxi. 33 ; Isaiah xl. 28. The popular idea of eternity, *æternitas succediva* is expressed in 1 Tim. v. 15, 16 : Rev. i. 4, 8, Job, xxxvi. 26. The absolute eternity—*æternitas simultanea*—all is present to God—is best conceived by the mode in which Christ designates his being with the Father ; John iii. 13 (the present tense has here a pregnant sense), John viii. 58.

§ 17. *Spirituality of God.* God is spirit, as such he has simplicity of being. John iv. 24 ; Rev. i. 20 ; 1 Tim. i. 17 ; Col. i. 13, 15.

§ 18. *The Immanent Love of God.* Love is the fundamental quality of the divine nature. God is not truly known except as love : 1 John iv. 7. God as absolute love must have in himself an adequate object. Love seeks and must have a personal object ; this, in God, can only be an image of his own perfection. Hence the need of personal distinctions in the divine nature. God could not be perfect if he needed the world as an object of love : God is love. 1 John iv. 8. 16 : John xvii. 24.

§ 19. *The Blessedness of God.* This is found in the fullness and harmony of the divine life ; and God's perfect joy in the absolute internal object of his love : 1 Tim. i. 11 ; vi. 15.

SECOND SUB-DIVISION OF THE ATTRIBUTES.

THE TRANSITIVE (RELATIVE) ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.

§ 20. *Introduction. Scheme.* These attributes are divided into those of the Divine Intelligence, and of the Divine Will. God's knowledge and will are inseparable yet distinguishable. The attributes of the Divine Will, again, are in part Ethical in part Metaphysical—the latter as referring to the capacities of the Will.

FIRST ORDER. ATTRIBUTES OF THE DIVINE WILL.

I ARTICLE. ETHICAL PROPERTIES OF THE DIVINE WILL.

§ 21. *The Transitive Love of God* (love to creatures) can not consist in the communication of the divine essence, for this is eternal. But it is found in communicating himself to his creatures so as to promote their good in the ordering of their lives : Matth. v. 44. 48. Sin being in the world, even evil may become a wholesome means of preparing man for salvation : 2 Cor. iv, 17 ; Hebr. xii. 10. 11 ; Rev. v. 3. 5 (Comp. Rom. viii. 35, with verses 1 to 30, in respect to the connection). That the divine essence is the essence of the world has been falsely inferred from 2 Pet. i. 3. 4.

§ 22. *The Holiness of God.* The holiness of God is his eternal will to impart his fellowship to those who are conformed to his will : 1 John i. 5 ; James i. 13. 17 (God is the cause only of good in nature) ; Deut. xxxii, 4 ; 2 Cor. vi. 14–17 ; Psalm v. 5. Hence the moral law is a manifestation in human consciousness of the divine holiness : 1 Pet. i. 15. 16. Holiness opposing evil is the wrath of God : Rev. i. 16 ; Eph. ii. 3. The holiness of God has its root in the divine love.

§ 23. *The Justice of God.* This is derived from holiness ; the latter is internal ; the justice is external. God is just, in that it is his holy will to reward those who obey his law, and to punish those who oppose this law, which is planted by God in man's native constitution ; Rom. iii. 56 ; Rev. xvi. 7 ; 1 Cor. iii. 8 ; Eph. vi. 8. In the present life, man's external condition is imperfectly harmonized with the moral state of the will ; this is to be adjusted in a future state of being : Rom. ii. 6–10 (Jews and Greeks here stand for the whole race) ; 1 Cor. iv. 5 ; 2 Cor. v. 10. Man as a creature has no claim to reward on God's part, since obedience is obligatory, and he receives from God the power to obey : Luke xvii. 8 ; Rom. xi. 35. God's justice in our natural state appears only as punitive, on account of the relation here existing between moral good and the blessings now conferred only through the divine favor. Rom. iii. 19. 20 ; Gal. iii. 10–13. Yet we may speak of a special justice of God in the way of reward, in relation to those who have become just through faith in Christ, the restorer of the order of grace. 2 Thess. i. 6, 7 ; Rom. ii. 5–7 ; Hebr. vi. 10.

NOTE. *The Veracity of God.* This springs from the divine love, which makes it impossible that there should be any contradiction between the divine will and mind, and the divine revelation : Rom. xv. 8 ; 1 Cor. i. 9 ; 2 Tim. ii. 13.

Pity, goodness, mercy, grace, long-suffering—are modifications of the divine love.

II ARTICLE.—METAPHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF THE DIVINE WILL.

§ 24. *Omnipotence.* The perfect freedom and unlimited power of the divine will, in creating and changing finite existences : Matth. xix. 26 ; Ps. cxv. 3 ; Jer. xxxii. 27 ; Rom. xi. 36 ; 1 Cor. viii. 6.

§ 25. *Omnipresence.* The unlimited power of God's will, as seen in sustaining and penetrating all finite being by his efficiency : Matth. x. 29 ; Psalm cxxxix. 7–13 ; Jer. xxiii. 24 ; 1 Cor. xv. 28 ; Eph. i. 23 (refers to spiritual and ethical relations, as appears from the *presens eventuale*.)

SECOND ORDER.—ATTRIBUTES OF THE DIVINE KNOWLEDGE

§ 26. *The Omniscience of God.* The quantitative and qualitative perfection of the divine knowledge of the world, in respect to what is both possible and actual. It is theoretically perfect, *i. e.* the absolute agreement of knowledge with its object: 1 John iii. 20 (heart is here equivalent to conscience); Acts i. 24; Hebr. iv. 13; Matth. vi. 8; x. 20; Psalm cxxxix. 1–6.

§ 27. *The Wisdom of God.* The practical perfection of the divine knowledge, *i. e.* the perfect knowledge of the ends of the world and the means thereto; love gives the measure: Rom. xi. 33, 34; Job xii. 13. The highest end of the world is the perfect fellowship of man with God in his kingdom, that is, in redemption: Eph. iii. 8, 10; Col. ii. 23.

THIRD DIVISION.

THE PERSONAL DISTINCTIONS IN GOD—THE DIVINE TRINITY.

§ 28. *The Origin of the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity.* The most important point in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity is in its connexion with Christology. The testimony of Christ about himself and the nature of his work, led to the recognition of distinctions in God. These distinctions can not be in the essence of God—for that is one; nor in the mere manifestation of God, for then Christ were only a prophet; but these distinctions must be personal, as Scripture describes them. Further, the very idea of God, as *love*, demands these distinctions; else the love of God could not have an adequate object. Christ speaks of himself as the object of divine love before the creation: John xvii. 24. Only Father and Son are named in the apostolical salutations, excepting 2 Cor. xiii. 13, and 1 Pet. i. 1, 2.

§ 29. *Difference between the Ontological (immanent) Trinity, and the Trinity in the Economy (or manifestation).* The former is a purely internal relation; the latter has respect to the will and acts of God in relation to redemption: the Father sends the Son and Spirit: John i. 3; Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 2. The connection is this: man's redemption is conceivable only through an incarnation of God; incarnation is inconceivable, if there be not eternal personal distinctions in the Godhead; hence, the Trinity in the manifestation is not conceivable, unless there be an ontological Trinity.

§ 30. *The Immanent Trinity.* According to frequent utterances of Christ, love is the chief expression for the Trinitarian relation: John iii. 35; v. 20; x. 17; xvii. 24–26; Matth. vii. 17. Love is absolute when met by an equally complete return

on the part of the loved one: John iv. 34; v. 20; i. 18. (In consequence of sin, there is, however, in the relation of God to man, love to those who do not love: Rom. v. 1-10; Matth. v. 44.) The Unity in the Trinity is numerical. The Scripture in many ways sets forth the difference as hypostatic, 1 John i. 2; ascribes to Christ the divine nature: John xx. 28; Rom. ix. 5; Phil. ii. 6; John xvi. 15; Col. ii. 9 (that is, the Father hath communicated himself completely to the Son.) The third hypostasis, the Holy Spirit, is represented in Scripture, not as a created being, but as divine in the strict sense: Acts v. 3, 4; 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20. Yet the texts on the relations and subsistence of the Spirit refer only to his position and character in the manifestation: John xv. 26; 1 Cor. ii. 10, (See § 20 Proleg.) But the following passages teach, that the Spirit is a self-conscious and self-determining person: 1 Cor. xii. 11; Acts xiii. 2; xv. 28; Eph. iv. 30; Rom. viii. 26, 28; John v. 19, 30. His connexion with Father and Son is stated in Matth. xxviii. 19; 2 Cor. xiii. 13. A proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and Son is taught in John xv. 26; xiv. 16 (the Spirit is masculine, personal). The immanent process in God, constituting the personal relations of Son and Spirit, must be viewed as eternal in consequence of the divine attribute of eternity: John xvii. 5, 24; 1 John i. 1-3; Col. i. 15, 17 (begotten first before all creation).

§ 31. *The Trinity as Manifested (in the Economy).* The eternal purpose, grounded in the love of Father, to bring the world into being, is unfolded in the order of thought (not of time), in the self-consciousness of the Son, in the form of the concrete idea of the world: Col. i. 16, 17. The Son, further, mediates in respect to the coming of the world into real existence, and by his agency conditions its continuance in being: John i. 3, 10; Col. i. 16; Hebr. i. 2, 3. To the Logos, as his peculiar work, is ascribed an illuminating influence upon the human mind, embracing the whole human race: John i. 4, 5, 9, 10. The Logos is in a general sense the mediator of men with the Father, although his incarnation had sin for its ground and reason: Rom. viii. 3; Gal. iv. 4, 5; 1 John iv. 9, 10; Hebr. ii. 14, 15. The name Logos is given to the second hypostasis, because he is considered as the means or principle of the revelation: John i. 1, 14; Rev. xix. 13; Hebr. iv. 12. The germs of the doctrine of the Trinity are contained in the Old Testament (Prov. viii. 21-31), where there is an anticipative allusion to a universal revealing principle in God, yet without distinct recognition of the hypostatic subsistence. See Is. ix. 5, 6; Micah v. 1; Zech. xii. 8; Ps. li. 13; cxliii. 10; Is. xlviii. 16; Joel

iii. 1, 2. The order of achieving redemption proceeds from the Father by the sending of the Son and the Spirit : John iii. 34, 35; xii. 49, 50. The Son, by his incarnation and redemptive work, brings it objectively into existence: Matth. xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; John xii. 47; Phil. ii. 6-8; Rom. v. 10. The Holy Spirit applies subjectively the completed atonement, and is the source of the new and divine life developed in humanity: John vii. 39; Rom. v. 5; viii. 16; 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, 14; ii. 18. In the Father, divinity is separated from us, in the incarnation of the Son it comes into the midst of us: Luke xvii. 21; John i. 26. In the Holy Spirit God works in us ever present, in an absolutely internal way: John xiv. 16, 17. The Father by his prevenient grace draws men to the Son, to whom he has committed dominion over the kingdom of God among men: John vi. 37, 44; xvii. 2; Matth. xi. 27; xxviii. 18; 1 Cor. xv. 27. The Son points us to the Spirit of Truth, as a helper, who takes his place and completes his work: John xiv. 25, 26 (see § 19 Proleg.); xvi. 13, 14; Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 6-8. But the Spirit teaches us to know the Son truly as our Lord, and glorifies him in us (1 Cor. xii. 3; John xv. 26; xvi. 14—see § 19 Proleg.); and so we have, through the Son, in the Spirit, access to the Father as the beginning and end of all things: 1 Cor. xv. 28; xii. 6; viii. 6. (Compare § 11 above, and the next section).

The chief Biblical proof of the Trinity as a whole is not to be sought in 1 John v. 7 (the text is spurious; *water* here refers to baptism, and *blood* to Christ's death); but Matth. xxviii. 19 (the formula of baptism); 2 Cor. xiii. 13; 1 Pet. i. 1, 2; 1 Cor. xii. 4-6.

§ 32. *The Ecclesiastical Development of the Doctrine of the Trinity.* The Athanasian doctrine is essentially right and Scriptural; the objections of rationalism are obviated, when it is seen, that the object is not to evince the necessity of the Trinity on rational grounds, but only to show its possibility, and its harmony with rational truth. The church doctrine is incorrect so far as it excludes all subordination of the Son in respect of dignity within the unity of the divine essence: John v. 19, 26; 1 Cor. i. 3; iii. 23; Hebr. ii. 11. The monotheistic principle of the Christian faith is sometimes in Scripture expressly referred to the Father in distinction from the Son and the Spirit: John xvii. 3 (this refers not to the immanent relation, but to the incarnation); 1 Cor. viii. 6 (against pantheism); John xiv. 28 (not to be pressed; Christ is not here speaking dogmatically). Subordination is implied in the dependence of the Son's personal subsistence upon the Father.

FOURTH DIVISION.

THE DIVINE AGENCY IN RESPECT TO THE WORLD APART FROM THE REDEMPTIVE ECONOMY.

§33. *Creation and Preservation.* No other transition from God to the world can be found, except the absolute causality of his eternal love. So far as the world is the work of the Divine will, it is the expression of the Divine idea, and the revelation of the transitive (relative) attributes of God : and thus it is a harmonious and orderly totality—a Cosmos : Rev. i. 20 ; Acts xvii. 24 ; 1 Tim. iv. 4 ; Rev. iv. 11 ; Gen. i. 31 ; Psalm xcii. 6 ; civ. 24 ; Is. xi. 26, 29. If the world has not a real being, the will of God must be impotent. If it is real, there is a twofold process in it, one from God, the other from itself. This process is mediated by its conservation through Divine power, sustaining and dynamically penetrating the efficiency of the powers of nature ; John v, 17 ; Psalm civ, 29, 30 ; Heb. i, 3. If preservation be a continual creation, the freedom of the creature is annulled. Yet the creative power of God introduces all the relative beginnings that are found in the midst of the world's development. Thus Paul designates redemption as a second creation : Gal. vi, 15 ; Eph. ii, 10 ; iv, 24.

§34. *The Creative Energy of God.* The doctrine of creation is opposed by pantheism, by dualism, and by the theory of emanation. The formula of "creation from nothing" means that the free will of God is the exclusive causality of the existence of the world. This formula is not found in Scripture : Heb. xi, 3, means that the visible did not proceed from other things that appear : Rom. iv, 17, means "He rules over what is not as over what is." The Scripture teaches that the Father created the world through the Son, and preserves it through him : John i, 3-10 ; 1 Cor. viii, 6 ; Col. i, 16 ; Heb. i, 2, 3. The world was created not *ante tempus* nor *in tempore*, but *cum tempore* ; time and the world are correlative. That the world-time is limited *a parte ante* is implied in John xvii, 5, 24 ; Eph. i, 4 ; and more definitely by the fact that a definite action is revealed as bringing the world into being : Gen. i, 1 ; Mk. xiii, 18 ; Rev. iv, 11 ; x, 6. The creation of the world by the Son was incorrectly proved, by many of the Church fathers, from the passages in which the $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha$ of God is spoken of 2 Pet. iii, 5 ; Ps. xxxiii, 6.

§35. *The Preserving Agency of God.* God preserves the world in its special orders, genera and species, each within the limits put to its duration by the Divine plan : Matth. vi, 26, 30 ; x, 29, 30. The divine agency so penetrates that of the

creature, that the agency is not partly from God and partly from the creature, but at the same time from God and the creature. No valid distinction can be made between *conservatio* and *concursus*.

§ 36. *The Divine Government of the World.* The all-comprehensive end of the world is, the union of all personal creatures, who do not withstand the divine will, in a Kingdom of God, in the completion of which evil vanishes, and the life of personal creatures is perfected by their completed fellowship with God: 1 Cor. xv, 28; 2 Cor. iii, 18; Eph. iv, 13; 1 John iii, 2. God's government of the world is rightly seen in all its connexions and relations only from its focal point of redemption, for which the race was prepared: Acts xvii, 26, 27, 30, 31; Rom. xi, 32, 33. Since the connexion between cause and effect in the world as a whole is of an elastic nature, the all-seeing knowledge of the omnipresent Omnipotence of God has the power so to order free causes that they subserve his ends: Matth. xxvi, 54; Rom. ix, 10, 11; Acts, ii, 23; Gen. i, 21; Jer. x, 23. Physical evils, such as sickness and death, are not to be regarded as a necessary limit of all finite existence, for otherwise the hope of the Christian church, that it will at last be freed from it, is a delusion: Rom. viii, 18, 25; Rev. vii, 16, 17. The reason why evil clings to the earthly life of man is to be found in the sinfulness of the human race: John ix, 3; Rom. v, 12; vi, 23. But even evil, through the overruling power of God, must subserve the revelation of the divine glory: John xi, 4; ix, 3; Rom. viii, 28; Jas. i, 2-4. The great promises given to prayer all presuppose that the soul of the prayer is genuine piety: Matth. vii, 7-11; Mark xi, 24; Jas. i, 5, 6; Luke xviii, 1-8; John ix, 31.

§ 37. *Of Miracles.* A miracle is an occurrence in the sphere of nature, effected by a causality absolutely above nature. Hence Scripture says that God alone can work a real miracle; John v, 36; iii, 2; xiv, 10. So far as God ordinarily makes use of men as the organs of his miraculous power, this gift has an analogy with other habitual gifts: 1 Cor. xii, 10, 28, 29. When wonders are said to be wrought by demoniacal agency, this is only a delusive imitation of real miracles, probably through unknown powers of nature: Matth. xxiv, 24; Rev. xiii, 13; 2 Thess. ii, 9. Miracles are possible; for only natural forces are limited by the laws of nature, but that supernatural causal energy, which produces the miracle, is not thus limited.

PART SECOND OF THE SYSTEM.

THE DOCTRINE RESPECTING MAN AS PRESUPPOSED IN THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION.

Introduction. The Nature of Man is to be first considered, and then Human Depravity.

FIRST DIVISION.

THE NATURE OF MAN.

§ 39. *The General Position of Man in Creation.* On the side of nature he belongs to the earth in the highest sphere of its development (Gen. ii. 7); spiritually he is made in the image of God and immortal; thus he is the wonderful bond of two wholly different spheres of being: Acts xvii. 28, 29. The creation of the world is complete in man: Gen. xi. 26, 27; Gen. ii. 2.

§ 40. *The Elements of Human Nature.* The Scripture usually speaks of man as made up of body and soul. Sometimes a three-fold division (trichotomy) is implied—body, soul and spirit: 1 Thess. v. 23; Hebr. iv. 12; Phil. i. 7 ("spirit" here refers to man's relation to God, "soul" to his relation to the phenomenal world). See also Matth. xxvi. 38 ("soul" here in contrast with "body"); Luke ii. 35; John xii. 27; xi. 33 ("spirit" includes feeling as well as thought and will); Matth. xxvi. 41; Luke x. 21; Cor. ii. 14 (the "physical" man is here the "natural"); Jas. iii. 15 ("physical" is earthly). The soul, when distinguished from the spirit, is the living principle of the body, including the senses and natural desires. "Spirit" in man includes personality, self-consciousness, reason, conscience, knowledge of God: Rom. viii. 16; yet it is capable of perversion and corruption; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Eph. iv. 23, 24; 1 Thess. v. 23; (this passage refers not to the first but to the new creation).

The old Protestant theology held that the image of God in man consisted in his connected holiness, justice and wisdom, on the basis of the two passages: Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10 ("him that created" in Christ as Saviour). But the Scriptures represent the divine image as remaining after the fall: Jas. iii. 9 (*ὁμοιωσις* is moral likeness in contrast with *εἰκὼν*); Gen. ix. 6; Acts xvii. 28, 29; 1 John iv. 20. The passages, Rom. viii. 29 and 2 Cor. iii. 18, also show that the "create" in Col. iii. 10 and Eph. iv. 24, refers to the new creation of man in Christ. The image of God in the new creation is religious and moral; in the first creation, it is metaphysical. Acts xvii. 27–29 refers to this first image in the phrase "offspring of God."

§ 41. *The Freedom of Man.* Man's real freedom is found in communion with God. This real freedom presupposes a formal freedom, the power of self-determination. From the testimony of the Bible to man's real freedom, we infer that it implies formal freedom: John viii. 33, 36; Rom. viii. 21; 2 Cor. iii. 17; Jas. i. 25; ii. 12. It testifies directly to this freedom (1) by calling on man to decide between life and death: Deut. xxx. 15, 16; (2) by making man's seeking and willing the condition of his salvation: Matth. xi. 12; Hebr. iii. 18; Luke xi. 5-13; Matth. xii. 7; xxiii. 37; John v. 30. It is also attested by remorse and the sense of guilt.

§ 42. *Man's Freedom and God's Omniscience.* Augustine says God's knowledge is eternal; others say, God knows the free act as free. Neither of these solutions avails. Knowledge as such is not causative, as is will. The divine knowledge in relation to man's free act must be viewed in this way—that God in absolute freedom allows his intelligence to be determined by its object.

§ 43. *The Law.* A created will can not be absolutely self-determined; it must be subject to God and his will, that is to a law. Moral law is the expression of the idea of a personal creature in the form of command. Man must be under law in the beginning and progress of his development: Matth. v. 17-19 (law is here the essence of the moral law); Gen. ii. 16, 17. When man has realized the idea of the law, it has for him no further application (1 Tim. i. 9), for his life and the law are one.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE DEPRAVITY OF MAN.

§ 44. *Introduction.* The possibility of sin is given in man's formal freedom; it is a necessary possibility. But the actuality of sin is in its very nature arbitrary, and can not be rationally constructed; for sin is a breaking loose from all rational connexions. It is the *liberum arbitrium*, formal freedom, sundered from its relation to real freedom. It is an accident, as contrasted with metaphysical necessity, but not as contrasted with what is intentional.

FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

HUMAN DEPRAVITY.

FIRST SUBDIVISION—SIN.

§ 45. *The Essence of Sin.* Sin is not a negation, a want of good, but enmity against God: Rev. v. 10; viii. 7; Col. i.

21 ; 1 John iii. 8 ; John iii. 36 ; Ps. v. 5, 6. Paul does indeed represent the flesh (*σάρξ*) as the source of sin ; but he does not mean by this man's corporeal nature, but human nature, as living in and for itself, sundered from God and opposed to him : Rom. vii. 14 ; Gal. v. 19 ; Eph. ii. 3. On the other hand, the real principle of moral excellence is found in man's giving himself wholly to God : Matth. xix. 17 ; Rom. xiv. 7-8 ; 2 Cor. v. 15 ; Gal. ii. 20. In sin, selfishness is seen as absolute, in place of God. Sin in its inmost nature is self-seeking (*selbstsucht*) ; Luke xv. 12, 13 ; 2 Tim. iii. 2. Holiness, on the other hand is in its inmost essence, love : Matth. xxii. 37 ; Rom. xiii. 10. Sin manifests itself first in the attempt of man, in his own strength, to become as God : Gen. iii. 3 ; in its higher evolution, as positive opposition and hatred to God and Christ : John xv. 23, 24 ; in its highest stage, as open rebellion of man (the *Ego*) deifying himself : 2 Thess. ii. 4. When the mind is turned away from God, man falls into a slavish dependence on the outward world : 1 John ii. 15-17. With this arise disorder and distraction of the sensuous nature and the appetites, and opposition to the demands of the spirit : Rom. vii. 21-23.

§ 46. *The Universality of Sin in the Human Race.* Sin is not sporadic, but a general characteristic of the race : Rom. iii. 9 (not Jews and heathen then alone, but the whole of mankind) ; iii. 20, 23 ; v. 12 ("death" here means moral corruption as hereditary ; "in that," not "in quo," but "ideo quod," "adde quod") ; Gal. iii. 22 ; Eph. ii. 3 ; 1 John i. 8 ; Ps. cxliii. 2 ; Prov. xx. 9 ; Eccl. vii. 20. The New Testament represents redemption as made for the whole world, and so implies that the whole world needs it, is sinful : John iii. 16 ; vi. 51 ; xii. 47. It knows of no other salvation than that in Christ, and no one attains this without repentance and regeneration : John i. 12 ; xiv. 6 ; Acts iv. 12 ; Mark xvi. 16 ; Matth. iv. 17 ; Mark i. 15 ; vi. 12 ; Luke xxiv. 47 ; John iii. 3, 5. Hence those who do not come to Christ are called *evil*, from the absolute point of view : Luke xi. 13. And yet even among those who are not redeemed there are elements of a nobler activity, springing from reverence for the claims of conscience : John xviii. 37 (but Pilate had not this desire for the truth) ; Acts x. 35 (implies reception into his fellowship) ; Rom. ii. 14 ; vii. 22 ; Luke x. 30-37 (the good Samaritan) ; 1 Cor. xi. 7 ; James iii. 9 ; Gen. i. 6.

§ 47. *Sin as Found in the Race.* It does not originate at any one moment of the individual life, but it only manifests itself and comes into consciousness : Rom. vii. 7-9 ("dead" is here used relatively, of the slumbering power of sin). The

earliest life of children is a period of relative innocence ; the gems of sin are not yet developed : Matth. xviii. 3 (that is, come to Christ as confidently as children) ; Matth. xix. 14 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 20. With the awakened knowledge (consciousness) of the moral law is always connected a sense of antagonism thereto : Rom. iv. 15 ; vii. 9–13. Human life in every individual is from the beginning attainted with a propensity to sin : John iii. 6 (“flesh,” viz. that which by itself is not fitted to have part in the kingdom of God) ; Rom. v. 12, 19 ; 1 Cor. vii. 14 ; Ps. li. 7 (the idea of guilt is not here essentially predominant) Gen. viii. 21 ; Job xiv. 4.

§ 48. *The Different Grades of Moral Corruption.* States of sin produce acts of sin ; acts of sin react, confirming the sinful state. The first stage of corruption is a rude moral condition, with no full consciousness of opposition to the divine law. (See Rom. vii, 7–9). In the second stage there is a conscious conflict of conscience with the sinful desires. In the third stage, actual sin, by constant repetition, attains invincible power. (Matth. vii, 17 ; xii, 33–35.) It is the state of obduracy : Matth. xiii, 15 ; Isaiah vi, 9–10 ; Rom. xi, 7 ; Deut. xxix, 3 ; John ix, 39 ; Luke ii, 34. This obduracy (hardening) is referred to the divine agency, so far as there comes a crisis, in the divine revelation, in which those that offend God are impelled onward and downward in their course of moral corruption, are not left as they are found : John xii, 40 ; Exod. iv, 21 ; Deut. ii, 20 ; Rom. ix, 18 ; Pet. ii, 8. This state becomes most sinful, when preceded by some experience of the inward workings of divine grace : Matth. xii, 45 ; 1 John v, 16–17. (Sin unto death designates total apostacy from Christ).

SECOND SUBDIVISION—GUILT AND PUNISHMENT.

§ 49. *The Essence of Guilt.* With sin is connected guilt ; and this has its foundation in the free self-decision of a person bound to render satisfaction to law : Rom. iii, 19 ; Jas. ii, 10 ; Matth. vi, 12 ; Luke xiii, 4. From this it follows that the last ground of sin is in the free self-determination of the subject. Guilt is personal. There is also a common guilt ; the individual is in his sin closely interlocked with the development of the whole race ; but still sin makes the individual guilty because it is based in his personal self-decision.

§ 50. *The Universality of Guilt.* This follows from the universality of sin ; but it is also expressly taught by Scripture : Rom iii, 9 ; John iii, 3–6 ; Ephes. ii, 3 ; Rom. v, 18 ; 2 Cor. v, 15–19 ; 1 Tim. ii, 6 ; 1 John ii, 2.

§ 51. *The Difference of actual Sins in Respect to Guilt.* The Scriptures declare that intentional sins, sins against conscience, have a greater degree of guilt than unintentional—*peccata involuntaria*: John xv, 22–24; Luke xii, 47–49; xxiii, 34. Sins of malice are greater than sins of infirmity. Sin comes to its height, and its greatest degree of guilt, in the sin against the Holy Ghost: Matth. xii, 30–31; Luke xii, 10. (1 John v, 16–18 does not refer to this, but to total apostasy from Christ).

§ 52. *Evil as the Punishment of Sin.* Chastisement differs from punishment, as presupposing the relation of children to a Father: 1 Cor. xi, 32; Hebr. xi, 6–10 (in the “father of spirits” is a support to the theories of pre-existence and creationism). Rev. iii, 10; Rom. ii, 5–9; Hebr. x, 26. In chastisement God appears as a Father; in punishment as a judge—the one comes from the love of God, the other from his holy wrath. By punishment the authority of the law is upheld, and it is necessary for this.

§ 53. *The different Kinds of Punishment.* Natural punishments, so called, taken strictly, are also positive. We must also distinguish between punishments in this world and in the future life. Punishment, like sin, is common to all mankind; but a higher degree of suffering is not always evidence of a high degree of guilt: John iv, 1; Luke xiii, 4–5. Later generations must often suffer for the sins of earlier: Ex. xx, 5; Matth. xxiii, 32. The pangs of an evil conscience are the height of punishment internally. Externally, death is the highest degree. To consider death as merely natural is forbidden by the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body: Rom. v. 12. Comp. Gen. ii, 17; iii, 19. That God punishes sin is seen in the state of obduracy. (See § 48). Sin enslaves him who commits it: Rom. i, 24; 1 Thess. ii, 11.

SECOND HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE ORIGIN OF HUMAN CORRUPTION.

FIRST SUB-DIVISION. THE MYSTERY OF OUR NATIVE PERSONAL GUILT.

§ 54. Sin is universal, and comes by descent; and yet it implies guilt, and personal self-determination. This contradiction can only be solved by supposing an intelligible self-decision in a timeless preëxistent state. The church doctrine does not meet this difficulty. Augustine derived imputation from Rom. v, 12, falsely rendering it “in quo;” while it means “ideo quod”—*seeing that*. Hebr. vii, 10 *argumentum ad hominem*.

SECOND SUB-DIVISION. ORIGINAL SIN.

§ 55. *The Original Sin of the Individual as hereditary.* Our native moral corruption has other sources than the sin committed in a preëxistent timeless. This is proved by hereditary forms of sin. But what is thus transmitted belongs to the soul (*psyche*) and not to the spirit (*pneuma*). This hereditary sin is to be traced back to the first man. Our theory mediates between preëxistence, traducianism, and creatianism.*

§ 56. *The Primeval State of Man in Time.* That the race is descended from one pair can not be disproved by science. The narrative in Gen. i. 26, 27 ; ii, 15-23 is referred to as historical in the New Testament : Matth. xix, 4 ; 1 Cor. xv. 45 ; Rom. v. 12. The previous sin of man (§ 54) must be considered (to harmonize with the narrative in Genesis) as at first hidden and unconscious. Man's original state in the earth was one of unconscious childlike innocence, not knowing good and evil. The Scripture represents sin and its consequences as coming into the world by the disobedience of Adam : Rom. v. 15-19 (the obedience in verse 19 in Christ's passive obedience : the "many" means all who believe) ; John viii. 44 ("your father the devil," in contrast—not with Christ as Son of God, for then it might imply dualism—but with the divine sonship, they ascribed to themselves ; "murderer from the beginning" refers not to Cain, but to the coming of death into the world ; the "beginning," not absolute, but the beginning of human history) ; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22 ; 2 Cor. xi. 3 ; 1 Tim. ii. 14.

§ 57. *The Temptation and Fall.* It is probable even on internal grounds that a temptation by a being opposed to holiness preceded the fall. The serpent in Genesis is Satan : John viii. 44 ; Rev. xii. 9. (See the Apocryphal book of Wisdom of Sol. ii. 23-24.) To bring man's latent perverse will into open transgression, the tempter appealed to his pride—that he should be as God. After the fall man's moral corruption penetrated his whole psychical nature, and is so transplanted. The sinfulness as hereditary does not involve guilt ; but it is the medium by which "the transcendent self-perversion of man's spirituality is transmitted" to his whole temporal mode of being.

§ 58. *Death as the Consequence of Sin.* Scripture declares that the possibility of the dissolution of the human body was

* A candid and thorough examination of Müller's theory of preëxistence is given by Dr. H. F. Th. L. Ernesti, General Superintendent, Wolfenbüttel, in his work *Vom Ursprunge der Sünde*, Bd. 2, 1862, pp. 1-274. He shows that it is irreconcilable with the doctrine of Paul.

originally grounded in man's earthly and material nature: 1 Cor. xv. 42, 44, 50, 53; Gen. ii. 7; iii. 19. Yet the actual introduction of sin, and the necessity of being subject to it, are represented as the punishment of sin: Rom. vi. 23; viii. 10; 2 Cor. v. 1-4 (this makes against the view that Adam before the fall was strictly immortal). This enigma is resolved by what is said in Gen. iii. 22, of the tree of life; the transition to a higher state was conditioned on eating its fruit. Christ's ascension, too, implies, that death is not necessary to human nature as such; else he must have died again after his resurrection before his ascension. The original destination of man was, not to suffer death, but to be transformed into a glorious body.

§ 59. *General Result.* The human race, bound by guilt and sin, has no power in itself to attain to fellowship with God. The need of redemption, and the susceptibility thereto, are the highest capacities that remain to man.

APPENDIX TO PART II.

OF PERSONAL CREATED BEINGS OTHER THAN MAN: OF GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS.

§ 60. *General Statements.* Angels are not the constant organs and ministers of divine providence. They appear only at remarkable turning-points of history: at the greatest of these, the coming of Christ, their office is proclamation and praise: Luke i, 26; Matth. iv, 1; Mark xvi, 5; John xx, 12; Acts i, 10; 1 Pet. i, 12; also, 1 Cor. xv, 46; Gal. iii, 19; Matth. xiii, 39; Hebr. i, 14; (spirits, not corporeal with a spiritual body; their service has respect to the eschatology): Hebr. ii, 2. The doctrine respecting good and evil angels is important, since the evil show us the real nature and results of sin; the good, that sin is not a necessity for created beings. It also proves that there are beings among whom there is not as in man, a state of indecision between good and evil. They also are to appear at the last judgment: Matth. xiii, 39.

§ 61. *The Holy Angels.* In this order of creation there is revealed a manifold variety of gifts and powers: Eph. i, 21; iii, 10; Col. i, 16. They surpass men in power and knowledge, and proclaim God's messages to man: Gen. xxii, 12; Luke i, 11; ii, 9; are free from sin: Matth. xviii, 10: though as creatures not absolutely perfect: Job iv, 18. They have spiritual bodies; Luke xx, 36; 1 Cor. xv, 40. Their essential traits are given in the early books, Gen., Ex., Isaiah, Job, Psalms: special names (Gabriel, Michael) after the Babylonian exile.

§ 62. *The Evil Angels.* There is nothing contradictory in the idea of a created being, whose will is wholly merged in sin. The dualistic view, that Satan was originally evil, is refuted by Scripture, which represents him as changed from a holy to a sinful state, by self-perversion : 2 Pet. ii, 4 ; Jude 6 ; John xvi, 11 ; Rom. xvi, 20 ; 1 John iii, 8 : ("beginning" that is of man's history : see John viii, 44.) The fall of a being so much higher than man would naturally end in a deeper perversion and blindness : John viii, 44 ; Eph. vi, 12. The mode of the devil's agency is a mystery : 1 Pet. v, 8. The works of the devil are to be destroyed by Christ : 1 John iii, 8.

ART. II.—THE EARLY LIFE OF MILTON.*

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NEARLY all the biographies of Milton, prior to that of Masson, were written as introductions to new editions of the poet's works. Prepared for this secondary purpose, they became, almost of course, mere summaries of facts, with perhaps some brief critical estimate of the author's writings, and did not rise to the dignity and value of independent memoirs. This want in English literature Prof. Masson undertakes to supply. And he proposes to give us not only a full biography of the poet, but also "in some sort a continuous History of his time." He divides Milton's life into three periods : "the first extending from 1608 to 1640, which was the period of his education and of his minor poems ; the second extending from 1640 to 1660, or from the beginning of the Civil Wars to the Restoration, and forming the middle period of his polemical activity as a prose-writer ; and the third extending from 1660 to 1674, which was the period of his later muse and of the publication of Para-

* 1. The Poetical Works of John Milton, in 6 vols. with the Principal Notes of various Commentators, with some account of the Life of Milton, by the Rev. Henry John Todd, M. A. London, 1801.

2. The Prose Works of John Milton, with a Life of the Author, interspersed with Translations and Critical Remarks, by Charles Symons, D. D. of Jesus College, Oxford : 7 vols. London, 1806.

3. The Poetical Works of John Milton, with a Life by Dr. Johnson, 8 vols., 12 mo. Chiswick : 1822.

4. The Life of John Milton, narrated in connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time, by David Masson, M. A., Professor of English Literature in University College, London. Vol. I, 1608—1639, Boston : Gould and Lincoln, 1859.

disse Lost." It is the author's plan to devote a volume to each of these periods. Only the first part of this extended work has yet appeared, and this is a royal octavo of nearly seven hundred pages. As might have been expected from the reputation of the writer, it is copious in learning, vigorous yet ornate in style, and imbued with a spirit in fine harmony with his theme. The period included in the volume before us covers the youth of Milton, a portion of his life by no means unimportant, since during it he had shown the bent of his powers, and had written much that will always be associated with his name. It is this that we propose to consider in the present article.*

John Milton was born in London, December 9th 1608. His father, also named John, was by profession a scrivener, a sort of attorney or clerk employed in drawing up legal papers and records of various commercial transactions. His office was in Bread-street. Houses in cities then were not designated, as now, by numbers, but places of business were marked by some sign or emblem over the door,—such as the Dial, Cross-Keys, Three Pigeons, the Ship and Swan. The scrivener's sign was an Eagle with outspread wings. It is not surmised that he chose this symbol to indicate his favorite style of rhetoric, but because it had been a part of the armorial ensign of the Milton family for several generations. The poet used the same emblem on his private seal, as may be seen on the document now in the British Museum, containing his original agreement with the publisher Symons, for the printing of *Paradise Lost*. John Milton senior, who was born in 1563, lived contemporaneously with Shakspeare, but whether their lives had any other relation than this of time, we are not informed. The poet's mother is recorded to have been an estimable woman. Only one bodily infirmity is mentioned of her, viz., that of weak eyes, which compelled her to use spectacles in early womanhood. The poet seems to have inherited this physical ailment from his mother. The father's eyesight was uncommonly good, scorning the use of glasses to extreme old age.

Bread-street remains to this day, but the buildings standing on it in Milton's time were swept away by the great fire of 1666. The precise locality of Spread Eagle can not now be ascertained; yet this much is known that Milton's youth was spent in the very heart of London,—a circumstance worthy of

* And while we have availed ourselves of all the sources of information on the subject within reach, we acknowledge special indebtedness to Prof. Masson, and shall follow his general track of thought in the following sketch of the poet's life and times.

note when we consider how much a child's education consists in the impressions of his early life. Bread-street contained several places of interest for the curious eyes of the young poet. There was the famous Gerrard's Hall, an ancient stone building, which a popular myth peopled formerly with a family of giants; the church of Allhallows, where he went every Sunday with his parents, and where he had been baptized; and the Mermaid Tavern, famous as the resort of Shakspeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and other wits of those days. Beaumont has commemorated this place in his lines beginning :

"What things have we seen
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
So nimble and so full of flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolved to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life."

This club, established by the efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh, near the close of Elizabeth's reign, was composed of the chief literary celebrities of the town and a few men of the like tastes from the country. It were no strange thing if the boy Milton, led along the street at evening, sometimes overheard merry laughter from the rooms of the Mermaid, and wondered what the noisy men could be about. "Nay," says Masson, "and if we will imagine the precise amount of personal contact that there was or could have been between Shakspeare and our poet, how else can we do so but by supposing that, in that very year, 1614, when the dramatist paid his last known visit to London, he may have spent an evening with his old comrades at the Mermaid, and, going down Bread-street with Ben Johnson, on his way may have passed a fair-haired child of six playing at his father's door, and, looking down at him kindly, have thought of a little grave in Stratford church-yard, and the face of his own dead Hamnet? Ah, what an evening in the Mermaid was that; and how Shakspeare and Ben bethought each other, while the others listened and wondered; and how, when the company dispersed, the sleeping street heard their departing footsteps, and the stars shone down on the old roofs."*

But whatever the boy may have seen or heard in the bustling streets, these things had less to do in forming his character than the scenes and influences of his own home. What kind of a home was that? His father, though not a graduate,

had spent some time at college, and was in many respects a cultivated man. He was a musician of no mean attainments, playing skilfully upon the organ, and writing music which was published and attained a wide popularity. Various musical instruments composed part of the furniture of the dwelling, and gave it a look of cheerfulness and home-like enjoyment. Amateur performers often dropped in of an evening, making the parlor walls ring with their hearty little concerts. Young Milton showed himself an apt scholar in this art, for he learned to sing almost as soon as he could speak, and to play upon the organ as soon as he could stretch his fingers over the keys of the instrument. So happy were the impressions left upon his mind by these home influences, that when, in after life, he came to prepare a scheme of education for the young, he gave a high place to music.

But the elder Milton was something more than a musician. A man of education and reading, not uninterested in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his time, he was well fitted to guide the thoughts and awaken the aspirations of his gifted son. Of his mother, fewer records have been preserved than we could desire. One biographer says: "She was a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness." The poet speaks of her as "a most excellent mother, and particularly known for her charities in the neighborhood." And this, for substance, is all that is said of her, which does not seem to help the claim so often set up that great men inherit their genius from the mother. His sister Ann, and Christopher, a younger brother, complete the household circle. The Milton family attracted to themselves cultivated society. Among their favorite visitors, was the Rev. Richard Stocke, minister of their parish, and a learned man; Humphrey Lownes, a publisher well known among the bookish men of the time; and John Lane, a poet of some account in his day, but whose works did not long survive him. Whoever may have composed the social circle at Milton's house, many events of public importance transpired during the poet's boyhood, to give zest to their conversation:—such as the formal adoption of King James' version of the Bible, in place of the Bishop's Bible; the death of Prince Henry, in his nineteenth year, much lamented, leaving the succession to his brother, Prince Charles; the death of Shakspeare at Stratford, Milton being then about eight years old; the visit of the king to Scotland, where, after much opposition, he succeeded in settling a modified form of Episcopacy over the people; the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh; the meeting of the Synod of Dort; the beginning of

a war which proved to be the great Thirty Years' War. With events of such public moment occurring, while the poet was yet under twelve years of age, if they did not give life and consequence to the talk at the fireside of the Spread Eagle, the fault must have been in the family and its visitors, not in the events.

As to the early education of Milton, he himself thus summarily speaks: "I had, from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, been exercised to the tongues and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and in the schools." He was from the first a child of unusual promise, the pride of his parents and the object of their special care. His brother Christopher testifies that even in his eleventh year, "he was a prodigy in the household, and a writer of verses." That the scrivener had the portrait of his son taken at ten years of age, is evidence of his fond expectations concerning him. This portrait, an engraved copy of which appears in Masson's biography, represents him as a sedate, yet bright-eyed, chubby boy, with closely shaven locks, and in no respect different from the majority of modern boys, except in the peculiar dress of the times. The only private tutor, of whom mention is made, was one Thomas Young, a Puritan minister who afterwards attained considerable eminence. After enjoying his instructions for a time, Milton was sent, at twelve years of age, to a public school known as St. Paul's. Here, it would seem, he was a hard student, for so young a lad. Late in life, he refers to his daily habits at this time, as follows: "My father destined me, while yet a little boy, for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age, I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight; which indeed was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar-school and under other masters at home; and then, when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities." At St. Paul's he spent four years. While here, he not only underwent a thorough drill in Latin and Greek, but gave much time to English literature, both prose and poetry. During his last year at this school, being then fifteen years old, he wrote versifications of two psalms, which have been preserved. One was the 136th, and thus begins:

"Let us with a gladsome mind,
Praise the Lord for he is kind;
For his mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure."

This paraphrase has been adopted by the compilers of several modern hymn-books. Another was the 114th, and runs thus :

"When the blest seed of Terah's faithful son,
After long toil their liberty had won," &c.

He was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, Feb. 12th, 1624, being then sixteen years old. This college was distinguished as the place where Latimer the Reformer, and Leland, and Sir Philip Sydney, as also several eminent prelates of the 16th century had received their education. And the officers of the university now presented an array of talent and learning which must have been inspiring to a young man of genius. Here was George Herbert, public orator of the university, a man of noble and saintly life, though not yet widely known as a writer of verses. Here was Dr. Matthew Wren, afterward bishop of Henford and Ely; Thomas Fuller, destined to become a church historian, and Edmund Waller, bound to eminence as a poet. Ushered into this little academic world, Milton dons the scholastic cap and gown, and for a time abandons himself to the spirit of the place. He strolls along the banks of the famous Cam. He walks past the various college halls, meeting the great scholars of whom he had heard at home and at school, and, fired with generous emulation, resolves to become a scholar worthy of himself and of the university. Of the routine of his life at college we can not speak at length. A few incidents may be recited :

His first acquaintance, outside of his class, was one Thomas Hobson, the university carrier and job-master in general. Once a week, this man jogged to London and back, carrying letters and parcels and sometimes passengers. He had driven his team all through Shakspeare's life, and now kept the cart-bells tinkling, eight years after the dramatist's death. Carrier though he was, he had accumulated a fortune. He kept a large stable of horses for hire to the students, and is believed to have been the first of men to establish the livery business. Milton conceived a great fancy for him, and, as we shall see, his muse took his name in charge for immortality.

The course of study at Cambridge, in Milton's day, was briefly as follows: In the Faculty of Arts, it extended over seven years, and was also divided into parts, the first of four years, ending with the attainment of the B. A. degree, the second of three, and ending with that of M. A. Originally it was re-

quired that the student should spend the whole of this second period at the university as regularly as he had the first, and that whosoever aspired to either of the learned professions should bind himself to seven years more of study ; but this rule was gradually relaxed in its rigor, and in effect soon done away. The Bachelor was allowed the Master's degree on giving proof of good conduct, and of having pursued somewhere a reasonable amount of study during three years ; and as to his qualifications for either of the professions, that was decided by some other tribunal. Milton spent seven full years at the university, and afterwards pursued liberal studies five years at his father's residence in Horton.

During his first year at Cambridge, King James died, and was succeeded by Charles. It was no easy thing for professors and pupils who had been long accustomed to the formula "*Jacobum* regem," in their public prayers and in their graces at meat, to change the words at once into "*Carolem* regem." Mention is made of one college officer who was so bent on making it known that Jacobus had gone out and Carolus had come in, that when in publicly reading the Scriptures, he came to the phrase "*Deus Jacobi*," he altered it, before he was aware, into "*Deus Caroli*," and then stood horror-struck at his mistake !

During his second year at the university, it would seem that Milton fell out with his Tutor Chappel, and that a serious altercation ensued between them, which led to the poet's rustification for a few months. This did not much disconcert his muse, for we find him, soon after, writing the beautiful poem entitled, "*On the Death of a Fair Infant*." It was his lament over the grave of his sister's first-born child, and begins thus :

" O fairest flower, no sooner blown than blasted,
Soft, silken primrose, fading timelessly."

At the opening of his third Academic year, among the new students enrolled, was the name of "Jeremy Taylor, son of Nathaniel Taylor, a barber at Cambridge," a name to become hardly less famed in sacred eloquence than Milton's in sacred song. Latin poetry was much in vogue in those days, and Milton wrote his share. This year, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, he composed two sets of verses which are sufficiently patriotic and ferocious. In one of them he blames Guy Fawkes for not having blown the priests of Rome and other "cowled gentry" themselves to heaven, since otherwise there was no probability of their ever rising far in that direction !

The monotony of university life in his fourth year was broken

by the visit of King Charles to Cambridge. In this year, also, that parliament was held in which Oliver Cromwell first took his seat, and in which the famous "Petition of Right" was presented by the discontented people. This year is memorable, too, so far as Milton is concerned, as furnishing the first known instance of his being touched with the tender passion. Some of his biographers make a very romantic story out of it, to wit: that a young Italian lady riding, one summer's day, with an older companion through the suburbs of Cambridge, passed the spot where Milton lay asleep under a tree; and, being struck with his beauty, alighted from her carriage and placed some lines which she had written in pencil, in the sleeper's hand, unperceived, as she supposed, (but there were laughing students near,) and that Milton, when he awoke, read the lines, and learning how they came there conceived such a passion for her that he afterwards went to Italy in search of the fair unknown, and thought of her tenderly all his days. There is no sufficient ground for this story, but it is certain from his own confessions that during the year he was captivated by the curls and glances of a bewitching maiden, and so much so as to interfere a little with his studies.

At the "Commencement," this year, one of the graduates who had been appointed to discuss with another, in Latin, the question, "*Naturam non pati senium*," obtained from Milton some Latin verses on the subject, which he caused to be printed and distributed among the audience, during the debate. Masson gives a prose version of these lines which show the vigor and highly imaginative style of his thoughts at this time.

He could hardly have been an unconcerned observer of the discussions in parliament, next year, on the spread of errors in the church, and the question of tonnage and poundage. In the little world of Cambridge, no event pleased him more than the bestowment of the honorary degree of A. M., upon the great artist Rubens, then fifty-two years old, and residing in England. This year, too, he received in regular course his own degree of A. B.

After the Christmas vacation of next year, he addressed a Latin epistolary elegy to his literary friend Diodati, in which he alluded to the origin of a poem which he had just completed. The reference is this: "But and if you will know what I myself am doing, here is the fact: we are engaged in singing the heavenly birth of the king of Peace, and the happy age promised by the holy books, and the infant cries and cradling in a manger under a poor roof of that God who rules, with his Father, the kingdom of heaven, and the sky with the new-

sprung star in it, and the ethereal choirs of hymning angels, and the gods of heathen eld suddenly fleeing to their endangered fanes. This is the gift which we have presented to Christ's natal day." This poem, as it will be readily understood, was his ode "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," and which, after a suitable preamble, thus begins :

"It was the winter wild,
While the heaven born child," &c.

This ode, pronounced by Mr. Hallam to be "perhaps the most beautiful in the English language," was a college exercise, handed in, with others by his classmates, to be criticized by the Tutor. We wonder if this teacher showed it to his fellow-instructors for their admiration ; or, were they all too dull to appreciate it? During this winter, also, he composed the "Ode upon the Circumcision," the short pieces on "Time," and "As a Solemn Music," which last contains the familiar lines :

"When the bright seraphim in burning row,
Their loud, uplifted, angel-trumpets blow," &c.

It opens a window into the social history of the times to read, as we do, that the national government this year found it necessary to reprimand the authorities of the University for laxity in discipline. The principal matter of complaint was "that, of late years, many students, forgetful of their own birth or quality, had made contracts of marriage with women of mean estate and no good fame in the town of Cambridge, greatly to the discontent of their parents and friends, and to the discredit of the University. To prevent such occurrences in future, the authorities were enjoined to be more strict in their supervision of flirtations."*

The Plague, which was wont to visit London and vicinity every ten or fifteen years now appeared in Cambridge, and spread with such rapidity and violence as to break up the exercises of the University, and to scatter pupils and teachers in all directions through the country. During Milton's absence, he composed the well known epitaph on Shakspeare, running thus :

"What needs my Shakspeare for his honored bones,
The labor of an age in piled stones,
Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
Under a star-y pointing pyramid ?

These lines were published anonymously two years afterward, in connection with the second folio edition of Shakspeare's

* Masson, p. 168.

works, and were probably the first of Milton's verses that appeared publicly in print.

Not the least noteworthy event of the succeeding year, as connected with our poet's history, was the death of the carrier Hobson, eighty-six years old. The town authorities had forbidden him to make his regular trips from Cambridge to London during the Plague, and this enforced idleness, together with grief at the loss of his accustomed gains, took him off. Milton wrote two epitaphs on him, full of kindly humor; the better of the two opening thus:

"Here lieth one who did most truly prove,
That he could never die while he could move," &c.

A poem of a different sort was written this year, "On the Death of the Marchioness of Winchester," of which these are the first two lines:

"This rich marble doth inter,
The honored wife of Winchester."

No one can examine the several poems without admiring the remarkable facility with which the writer passes from one theme to another, grave or gay, and his uniform success in whatever he undertakes.

His last year at Cambridge witnessed the entrance of several names which afterwards became famous, viz: Richard Crawshaw, as a poet; Ralph Cudworth, as a divine; John Pearson, as a bishop and expositor of the Creed; and Henry More, the platonist and mystic philosopher. That Milton himself looked out with serious eyes upon the world he was soon to enter, appears from the sonnet which he now composed, "On being arrived at the age of twenty-three." Somewhat pensively he sings:

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year!"

We have now reached an important and critical epoch in Milton's history. He has finished his studies at the university, but has not chosen his profession or course of life. He had been designed for the church by his parents, and this was his own choice, early in life, but during the few last years, his purpose has undergone a gradual change. He begins to feel that he is better fitted for a literary than a professional career; and moreover, he is greatly dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the church at this time. His familiar correspondence reveals this. In one of his pamphlets written ten years afterward he says: "I speak of the church, to whose service by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destined of a

child, and in my own resolutions, till, coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the church;—that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either perjure or split his faith,—I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and foreswearing.”

Let us look at this matter more closely. What was there in the state of the church at this time that should so influence the mind of Milton? A brief survey may help us to appreciate the reasons for his course. The entire population of England, numbering nearly five million souls, was, in theory and in law, considered as belonging to the established church. Yet, of these, about one-third were Papists, and a small number, Separatists or Dissenters. There were 9,284 parish churches well endowed. Of these, only 5,439 were occupied by stated rectors. The others were appropriated by bishops and the officers of colleges and cathedrals, who filled them with deputies or vicars on half pay, pocketing the rest of the income themselves.

Within the church itself, there were two great parties, the Prelatical and the Puritan or Non-conformist. And it may be noted that while the prelatists were largely Armenian in theological sentiment, the non-conformists were mostly Calvinistic. The position of the latter may be inferred somewhat from a famous petition known as the “Millennial Petition,” which they presented to king James in the year 1603, and in which they complained of certain corrupt forms and usages which had crept into the church, rather than of any change in its essential principles of belief. But they gained nothing by their prayer. The king, the universities and the entire prelatical portion of the clergy combined their efforts to oppose and crush out the malcontents. Yet the latter were not to be subdued. Men of true grit, they kept up the discussion of their principles year after year, bating not a jot for the bitterness with which they were assailed. At length, fearing that henceforth they would be allowed no liberty or peace within the church, they broached the idea of separation and independency. Such was the state of parties during Milton’s boyhood.

When he entered the university, though there was less display of ecclesiastical authority, any careful observer could see that Arminianism was steadily gaining ground, and that the Articles of the church were held more and more with a semi-

Romish interpretation. Macaulay tells of "a divine of that age who, being asked by a simple country gentleman what the Arminians held ; answered, with as much truth as wit, that they held all the best bishoprics and deaneries in England."* As the non-conformists could not keep silence amid these abounding corruptions and abuses, king James forbade the clergy of both sides to preach on the disputed topics and enjoined it upon them simply to teach the Catechism, and to preach from texts taken out of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer.

At this period there enters upon the stage a personage destined to fill an important place in church and state for twenty years to come. This was William Laud, then only the bishop of an obscure Welsh diocese, but a man of fiery zeal in the prelatical cause, and ambitious of preferment. *Parva Laus*, as the wits of the university styled him for his smallness of stature, he lived to become known as *Magna Laus*. In his theological sentiments, he was ultra-Arminian. As he rose in office, he used his power to enforce uniformity in belief and in outward forms of worship. He attempted to revive many of the doctrines and usages of the church in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was among his favorite dogmas, often reiterated, that there could be no church without diocesan bishops ; that "Presbyterians were as bad as Papists," their churches but "conventicles ;" and that the Romish church contained much that he admired, and was the true church, only it needed purifying.

King James liked him not, he was so restless and fiery, and kept the church and kingdom in such a continual ferment. But when James died and was succeeded by Charles, Laud became the favorite prelate at court. From being the bishop of Bath and Wells, he became bishop of London and member of the Privy Council. He obtained the issue of a royal Declaration forbidding any dissent from the Thirty-Nine Articles, and all discussion of the canons and polity of the church. This order was enforced by a severe penalty. He also contrived to secure the promotion of the prelatical clergy, and the humiliation and debasement of the puritan. Who can wonder that under this harsh treatment the non-conformists became restive, and showed that the limits of their forbearance were nearly reached ? This was quite apparent at the opening of the parliament of 1628, when tonnage and poundage, Arminianism and Popery, and violations of the Petition

of Right, all came up for discussion. Had events been rife for civil war, it would now have broken out, but the time had not yet come. Meanwhile, and for eleven years, Charles and his ministers had matters all their own way. Laud was in his glory. With the coöperation of several leading bishops, he formed new plans for regulating the church and controlling its belief; and, the king endorsing them, they had the force of law.

In respect to these plans, Laud afterwards declared, "All that I labored for in this particular, was that the external worship of God might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness." This phrase, "beauty of holiness," was a pet one with Laud. Its meaning as used in the Scriptures is plain. With a slight touch of poetry, Laud picked it out and used it to denote his ideal of the church in all its appointments. He meant it to include uniformity in the observance of times and seasons, of fasts and festivals; in eating fish during Lent and Saints' Days; he used it to involve the restoration of church buildings to the ancient style; and he would have such buildings and all pertaining to them to be regarded as holy objects; and not to be approached or touched without obeisance. He used it to refer to sacerdotal vestments, to church music, formularies of worship, paintings, stained windows, candlesticks, consecrated vessels for the Holy Communion and for Baptism, consecrated knives and napkins. The older clergy, satisfied with simplicity, shook their heads at the ambitious London bishop, but Young Episcopacy was carried away with the new notions. Laud seized upon every possible expedient to advance his peculiar sentiments and plans. As a large dispenser of patronage, he filled vacancies in the clerical ranks with men after his own heart. Having the great and conspicuous diocese of London under his charge, he made it a model of church order and a shining example of the "beauty of holiness." Whenever a church edifice was to be consecrated, he performed the ceremony with many novel and brilliant variations, "after which," as Hume observes, "the walls and floor and roof of the fabric were supposed to be sufficiently holy!"* He kept close watch of the non-conformists under his control, and whenever they violated any canon, old or new, brought them to punishment. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission were only too willing to aid him. Nor did he deem his machinery of influence complete until he had obtained some control of

* Hist. 4: 453.

the universities, which he did by securing his own election to the chancellorship of Oxford.

Such being the state of the church at the time Milton came to his majority, it is not so difficult to see why he hesitated to take clerical orders. It is worthy of note, however, that in this very church, many excellent and learned men of this period found a congenial home. But they were mostly quiet, peace-loving men, who felt incompetent to cope with the powers above them, and, as they could not mend matters, gave up all responsibility for them, and cared only to discharge their private, parochial duties. Such a parish minister Milton might have become, submitting to corruptions and abuses, and waiting in hope for better times. But he was unwilling to countenance wrong doing by silence ; he would not renounce his liberty for the sake of peace and comfortable livelihood. Rather than this, he would spend his days as a simple layman.

It would be interesting, just here, to inquire what sort of a clergyman he *might* have become, had he entered the ministry. Had he the bodily presence, the voice, the style of composition fitting him to excel as a public speaker ? Would his commanding talents have raised him to a bishopric, even though he protested against hierarchial tyranny ? Would he have become the poet of *Paradise Lost* ? But these are vain speculations. "Ten years hence, indeed," says Masson, "Milton will throw his soul into the question of church reform ; will, of all Englishmen, make that question his own ; but then it will be as a layman. For the present, he but moves to the church door, glances from that station into the interior as far as he can, sees through the glass the back of a little man gesticulating briskly at the farther end, does not like the look of him or his occupation, and so turns sadly but decidedly away." * For a time, it appears, Milton thought of entering the profession of law, but soon abandoned the idea, and resolved on a life of retirement and continued study, with the expectation of authorship at some future day. It deserves to be repeated here, that his disinclination to take orders was not owing wholly to his disgust of church politics, but partly also to a growing conviction that he was better fitted to excel in another calling. In one of his letters, in which he refers to his early life, he says : "It was found that whether aught was imposed upon me by them that had the overlooking, in English or other tongue, prosing or versing, but *chiefly this latter*, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to

* p. 811.

live." The obvious meaning of which is that as he approached the end of his university course, he felt, and his friends felt, that he had a manifest vocation to authorship, and especially to poetry. His father, it is said, demurred at his choice. He had given his son a complete education, and hoped to see him shine in the pulpit. But his objections were at length indulgently withdrawn.

At about the time of Milton's leaving the university, his father had retired from business, and was living on his modest fortune, in the village of Horton, seventeen miles west of London. Here Milton repaired to pursue in seclusion those studies which were to fit him for acting his part in life, and filling his place in the walks of literature. The bustle of a great city is exchanged for the quiet of the country. He now studies trees, plants, birds, brooks, hills and meadows; he observes the phenomena of morning, noon and night; watches the seasons, as they come and go; and so lays up a large fund of ideas and associations connected with rural life, on which his memory will draw, long after his eyes are closed to the view of external nature. Much of his time is devoted also to the study of books, especially the classics, poetry and philosophy. He visits London frequently, to keep up his acquaintance with old friends, to buy books and to take lessons in mathematics and music.

During his first two years at Horton, he wrote several new English poems. Earliest in order, stands his "Sonnet to the Nightingale," which begins thus:

"O Nightingale, that on yon blooming spray,
Warblest at eve, when all the woods are still,
Thou with fresh hope the lover's heart dost fill,
While the jolly hours lead on propitious May."

After this comes a pair of short poems, the "L' Allegro" and "Il' Penseroso," in which he weaves together various facts and images drawn from nature and human experience, suggestive, on the one hand, of Cheerfulness, and on the other, of Melancholy. The familiar criticism on these poems seems to be just, viz: that they display more beautiful description than genuine sentiment; that as they attempt no deep reflection, they produce none. Yet in the delicate fantasies, the fine feeling and nice choice of language which they severally exhibit, one can see why they went so far to establish the writer's early reputation. Says Macaulay, in commenting on these poems, "It is impossible to conceive that the mechanism of language can be brought to a more exquisite degree of perfection."

The "Arcades" and "Comus" were both written in his twenty-sixth year, and exhibit his powers on a wider scale than anything he had before attempted. They are a form of literary composition, now obsolete, which was quite common in the 17th century, under the name of the "Masque." In the days of Elizabeth and James I, it furnished favorite material for private theatricals. Some popular poet furnished the play, while the pageant was got up by a club of dramatic performers. Milton undertook such a play at the request of the friends of the countess Dowager of Derby, to be exhibited on her birth-day. Hence came his "Arcades." A play of a higher order was his "Comus," whose ideal conceptions, musical flow, and artistic finish evince the writer's progress in poetical composition. His "Lycidas" was written in the year 1637, in memory of his friend Edward King, lost at sea. Perhaps none of his poems of the same length contain so many lines which are so popular as this. How often are we reminded, in the literature of to-day, that idle persons love

"To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neera's hair."

That

"Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise,
(That last infirmity of noble minds)
To scorn delights and live laborious days."

How seldom does one lose a friend by shipwreck, without exclaiming :

"It was that fatal and perfidious bark,
Built in the eclipse, and rigged with curses dark,
That sank so low that sacred head of thine."

As we read over these several youthful poems, so tranquil and happy in tone, so full of playful allusions and airy conceits, we can not but reflect how different they are from the austere work he was soon to do in church and state, and how different also from those grander poems which he was to write after twenty years of study and stern experience !

In our brief summary of public events thus far, we left William Laud the chief minister of England, both civil and ecclesiastical. King Charles and his Privy council carry on the government without asking the help of parliaments. The people grow restive under their oppression, yet are not prepared to make armed resistance. The archbishop hunts out the Separatists who meet for worship in private houses, and is greatly enraged because "the heretics build new nests as fast as he breaks up their old ones." Distinct from these persons, yet non-conformists within the church, are such men as the

Cottons, the Mathers, and the Davenports, of whom American history takes some account ; who, as they can not accept the rigid laws imposed upon them, are suspended from office and deprived of their livings. Not a few of these free-thinking men emigrate to Holland and to America, where they may enjoy also the inestimable right of free speech.

And this brings us again to the year 1638, in the spring of which Milton was preparing for a tour in southern Europe, a tour he had long desired to take. With a Goldsmithian lack of thrift, he had not yet earned a penny for himself, and was compelled to ask his indulgent father for an outfit and traveling expenses. He kept no diary of his journey, and wrote but few letters ; hence the record of his tour is very brief. Of his stay in Paris, we know only that he visited the learned Hugo Grotius, the Swedish ambassador, who received him graciously. At Nice, his soul was stirred within him on first beholding the Mediterranean, on whose shores so much that is memorable in history had transpired. From Nice, he passed through Genoa to Leghorn and Pisa, and thence to Florence. In this latter city he remained two months, and while he walked the streets in quest of modern objects of curiosity, his imagination re-peopled the place with the great poets, artists, statesmen and philosophers of the past. His stay was made pleasant, also, by the hospitalities of the learned men who invited him to their clubs and their household tables. Of one of his visits among the Florentine celebrities, he afterward made this notable record : " There it was that I found the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought."

From Florence he proceed to Rome. Like a multitude of travelers before and since, he went the rounds of ancient Rome, and then sat down to the study and enjoyment of the modern city. He does not seem to have found as much social entertainment here as at Florence ; yet he was treated with great respect, and his sojourn of two months was made quite agreeable. He was delighted with the superior music which he heard here. It so happened that two of the finest living singers were then on a visit to Rome, and his enjoyment on hearing them was so unbounded that it could find relief only in the composition of several Latin epigrams to the fair songstresses.

Two months in the eternal city sufficed ; and from thence he passed on to Naples. He had intended to visit Sicily and Greece also ; but just at this time, reports came of an impend-

ing rupture between the king and people of England, which induced him to turn his feet homeward ; "for," he says, "I considered it disgraceful that while my fellow countrymen were fighting at home for liberty, I should be traveling about at ease for literary purposes." These reports proved to be exaggerated, and grew out of the excitements produced in Scotland by the attempt of Laud to remodel the Scottish church and to override the Presbyterians. Before Milton had gone far on his return, he learned the true state of affairs in England, and so proceeded more at leisure. He spent two months again in Rome, paused awhile in his favorite Florence, and then, by a more northerly route, passed through Bologna, Venice, Verona, Milan and Geneva, and thence to England, which he reached in July, 1639, after an absence of a year and three months.

This tour through lands so hallowed by poetry and art, was by no means made in vain. It quickened his literary ambition, and confirmed him in his long cherished purpose to attempt some great life-work in poetry. He had not yet fixed upon his theme. The life of Job had occurred to him as a fit subject ; he had also revolved the legends of king Arthur, and of other early British heroes ; but whatever his theme should be, or the form his poem should take, epic or dramatic, he had resolved to spend his strength upon it, and, if possible, make it a production of the highest order. But his literary projects were broken up by the civil commotions of the times and he was compelled to "lay off his singing robes," and put on the armor of political and ecclesiastical controversy. That he turned aside from literary pursuits with great reluctance, his letters abundantly show. To a friend, he writes, detailing his plans of study and his hopes : "I can not well express to you with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes."

The inquiry has been raised whether it might not have been better for Milton and for the world if he had wholly abstained from political affairs, and spent his life in studious retirement. We think not. Those nineteen years of vigorous combat with men knit together the sinews of his mind, and gave it a firmness and power of endurance which eminently fitted him for the grand work of his later years. And as for the world, notwithstanding his imperfections and errors, no friend of the race can doubt that the cause of liberty received a most important impulse from his labors.

But we are transcending the limits of our subject. A sketch of our poet's early life properly terminates at this point; since henceforward he leaves his father's house and enters upon a public career. It now remains for us simply to review the ground we have gone over, and to gather up some of the more marked personal traits of Milton. In doing this, we desire to shut our eyes to what he afterwards became, and to consider simply what he already is, and promises to be.

His physical organization was delicate, from a child. He was not feeble or sickly, but only less rugged and stalwart than most of his companions. While at the university, he was styled "the lady" of his college, in reference partly to his slender form, fair complexion, and light brown hair parted in the middle and falling in ringlets over the white ruff around his neck. Yet there was nothing effeminate about him. His voice was sonorous, his eye clear, his gait erect and manly, and his whole presence indicative of firmness and courage. He was fond of gymnastic sports, and excelled in them. His portrait, taken when he was twenty-one years old, represents a handsome young man, and one not wanting in physical stamina. "In stature," he himself says, when driven to speak on the subject, "I confess I am not tall, but still of what is nearer to middle height, than to little; and what if I were little, of which stature have often been very great men both in peace and war; though why should that be called little which is great enough for virtue?" A writer tells us that in his youth he "did not neglect the daily practice with his sword, and that he was not so very slight but that, armed with it, as he generally was, he was in the habit of thinking himself quite a match for any one, even were he much the more robust, and of being perfectly at ease as to any injury that any one could offer him, man to man."

"In this beautiful and well-proportioned body," says one of his earliest biographers, "there lodged a harmonical and ingenious soul." His parents and teachers early saw that nature had been opulent in her gifts to him, and on their part they afforded him every opportunity for the cultivation of his powers. His superiority was apparent to his associates at the university, and so much so as to occasion at first a degree of envy, though this was afterwards turned to admiration. His compositions, both in Latin and English, in prose and poetry, showed his great abilities. Such poems as his "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," and his disquisitions on the "Scholastic Philosophy," and on the "Music of the Spheres," and his "Speech in Defense of Art," are not wont to be written by inferior or

common minds. Much more is this true of such poems as the *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, composed a little later. The respect shown him during his continental tour was something more than the formal courtesies paid to a stranger coming well introduced. His talents were recognized as of a high order, and were honored by those who had never seen or heard of him before. We do not assume that he had done anything to entitle him to a wide reputation if he had then died; he had not yet done battle for the Liberty of Speech, nor written *Paradise Lost*; but what he had already accomplished was worthy of his future fame, and foreshadowed much that he was destined to do.

In regarding the peculiar traits of his mind, we notice, first of all, its vigor and wide scope. Even his early compositions are thus marked. They are not indeed lacking in grace or beauty, nor are they mere prettinesses, a mere toying with puerile conceits. This is more apparent as he grows older. His style is sinewy, his thoughts are clearly and forcibly expressed. He chooses, for the most part, important subjects, and grasps them with a strong hand. Nor does he touch the outside of them only: he takes them to pieces, and shows their parts and contents, and turns them over and over to examine them on every side. Some of his college essays, written in Latin, as the manner then was, are quite profound, for a young man; they are certainly *very long*; it takes more than an hour to read one of them, and they must have been a little tedious in the hearing, filled as they are with metaphysics and with classical quotations. Yet one can not go through them now, without perceiving that the writer moved with a sort of regal tread, a certain grandeur of swing, which betokened great deeds in time to come.

Along with this trait, was another of lofty ideality. His imagination was of a peculiar stamp. There was nothing low, and seldom anything commonplace in his conceptions. There was a certain breadth of view, and a power to perceive remote analogies, which lifted him above ordinary versifiers. As he walks alone under the elms at Cambridge and at Horton, we see that he aspires to something great. He soars naturally among the stars, the gods, time, space and eternity. In one of his college poems, he tells us in what view he loves to write:

“Such where the deep transported mind may soar,
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity,
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
To the touch of golden wings.”

Coupled with this boldness and grandeur of conception, there is a certain airy gracefulness of fancy, and a nimble delicacy of thought and expression, which give a beautiful charm to his writings. His "words," to use his own language differently applied, "trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places." How sprightly his call to Euphrosyne :

"Haste thee, nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful jollity,
Quips and cranks and wanton smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
And love to live in dimple sleek ;
Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
And Laughter holding both his sides ;
Come, and trip it as you go,
On the light fantastic toe."

He loves to hear

"Sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

He delights

"in soft Lydian airs,
Married to immortal verse ;
Such as the meeting soul may pierce
In notes, with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,
With wanton heed and giddy cunning ;
The melting voice through mazes running,
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony."

No summary of his mental traits, in which also his *character* appears, should omit that of his gravity and earnestness. Not, indeed, that he was wanting in true geniality. His letters to intimate friends glow with animated feeling, detailing his studies, amusements, hopes, fears and ambitions. His verses and prose writings are lighted up, in some parts, with humor and wit and rollicking fun. In one of his college addresses, delivered at a class-feast, when all were exuberant with mirth and noise, he says : "Now, my hearers, bear in mind that the feast of Hilary is at hand, in which divine homage is paid to the god Laughter. Laugh, therefore, and raise a cachination from your saucy spleens ; wear a cheerful front ; hook your nostrils for fun ; but don't turn up your noses ; let all things ring with most abundant laughter, and let a still freer laugh shake out tears of joy, that, these being all exhausted with laughing, grief may not have a single drop left with which to grace her triumph." In others, he runs on from grave to gay, mingles poetry and prose, plays the buffoon and the philosopher, and dashes

along from one thing to another, full to the brim, of boyish high spirits. His *L'Allegro* is fairly "dipped in sunshine." His epitaphs on Hobson the Carrier, abound in puns and other forms of wit. He declares that the old teamster was

"Made of sphere-metal, never to decay
Until his revolution was at stay!"

That

"Too much breathing put him out of breath ;
Nor were it contradiction to affirm
Too long vacation hastened on his term.

* * * * *

Ease was chief disease, and to judge right,
He died for heaviness that his cart went light," &c., &c.

Yet, it must be admitted that our poet's mind did not partake as largely of this element as of seriousness. If he played, for the time, it was in rather a ponderous way. His habitual gravity was noticeable early in his student life. He had little relish for the usual jocosities and frivolities of school and college. He was willing that others should play, if they liked. Many of his associates, at Cambridge, fond of cards, night-suppers and jovial songs, endeavored to draw him into their circle, but after an occasional trial of the sport, he gave it up, declaring that it was not his chosen element. His own words are, "In festivities and jests, I acknowledge my faculty to be very slight." This gravity was not anything put on for effect, nor was it the result of any peculiar religious sentiments, or of disappointment or secret sorrow: it was, rather, a constitutional trait, strengthened by habits of study and reflection. At the early dawn of manhood, he came to feel that God had entrusted him with the stewardship of many talents, which he was bound to use,

"As ever in his great Task-Master's eye."

His earnestness made him industrious. From his boyhood, he was a laborious scholar. One of his biographers testifies that while at St. Paul's school, "he generally sat up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school exercises; so that at the age of fifteen, he was full ripe for academical training." So it was at Cambridge. In Latin, especially, and in Logic, Philosophy, and in Composition, English and Latin, he ranked among the first scholars. He acquired also much general learning, as his common-place books, filled with extracts, notes and digests of a wide range of reading, abundantly show. There was no need for some one to chide him for his indolence, as a classmate did the frivolous Paley, and so save him to British literature. He

was not unconscious of his own superior talents, yet he seems never to have thought that genius had no need to labor. As illustrating his careful industry, it is said that he revised, erased, interlined, and re-wrote several of his college poems with great pains-taking, seeming never fully satisfied with them.

Not least worthy of note, is Milton's purity of mind. The idea widely prevails that the poetical character, like that of the artist, is essentially based upon a certain mobility of nature, or an extreme sensibility, which is hardly consistent with settled principle. He is hardly held responsible to the laws of morality which bind ordinary men. But Milton's life lends no support to this opinion. His university nickname of "the lady" was given with some reference to his moral fastidiousness. He was almost stoical in his scorn of low pleasures and of those who indulged in them. On returning from his continental tour, he made this record: "I again take God to witness that in all those places where so many things are considered lawful, I lived sound and untouched from all profligacy and vice, having this thought perpetually with me that though I might escape the eyes of men, I certainly could not the eyes of God."

It was one of his cardinal ideas, often expressed, that a man to be truly great, must also be good; that to write the best poetry, his life must be a true poem. Sensuality in any of its forms he held as not only polluting to the soul, but also as weakening to the powers of thought and action. In speaking once of the great life-poem which he hoped ere long to begin, he says: It is a work "not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of some rhyming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of *damé* Memory and her syren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." So, the "wild oats" theory of youthful life, of which we often hear, gets no confirmation from Milton's experience. The poet, above all others, he maintained, should live in an atmosphere high and lifted up above all grossness and defilement; his fancy,

"chaste as the icicle
That's curded by the frost from purest snow
And hangs on Dian's temple."

As to his personal religious character in early life we have little definite knowledge. Born within the pale of the estab-

ished church, baptized, instructed and confirmed, according to venerable usage, he was presumed to have accepted the doctrines of Christianity and conformed to its precepts. At the university, the Bible was his daily study, and prayer his daily habit. He openly defended the truths of the Protestant faith in the city of Rome itself. His letters and poems indicate a devout spirit, and his life was blameless. He had not, indeed, yet written *Paradise Lost* or the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*—which, we believe, learned and honest critics interpret as for or against the poet's orthodoxy, according to their own theological bias,—but whatever he had written or spoken was in the interest of Christianity and the highest welfare of men. As we have already seen, his parents had designed him for the clerical profession, and this was his own early choice; and had not his tastes afterwards become so decidedly literary, and had not the established church become, in his view, so secularized and corrupt, he would gladly have entered the sacred ministry.

But, not to pursue our analysis too far, we observe, finally, that Milton was characterized, by a critical and dogmatic spirit. How early in life this developed itself we do not know; only, it appears that while at Cambridge, he thought he discovered serious defects in the system of education there in vogue, and that he criticised them so sharply as to bring upon himself the displeasure of the authorities. There was also at this time a certain haughtiness of manner and obstinacy of temper which made him somewhat unpopular with his associates. Dr. Johnson hints at his "lofty and steady confidence in himself, perhaps not without some contempt for others." And when he looked out beyond academic walls, upon affairs of church and state, he saw much that, to his eye, needed reforming. Many a wordy war did he have with his fellow collegians, on the great questions of the day, himself always taking the side of progress. The mere fact that such and such things had long existed, and that other men accepted them as they found them, was not enough to satisfy his judgment and conscience. That his intellectual independence verged into intolerance. first and last, we will not deny, any more than we will question that he had some good reason for his opinions and his course of life. It was a stirring and tumultuous time when he came upon the stage, and it is no wonder that his character was influenced by it. Yet it is pleasant to note that the young radical does not become sour and crabbed in disposition. There is even much of the aroma of humanity about him. He was tenderly impressed

by nature in all her aspects. Had he been austere and over-precise, he would not have enjoyed his European journey as he did, nor entered with so much zest into the study of music, poetry, painting and sculpture. There was, indeed, much oak and many nodosities in his frame-work, but they were wreathed with pleasant verdure and dewy flowers.

ART. III.—THE DISTINCTIVE NATURE OF HOMILETICS, AND REASONS FOR ITS CULTIVATION.

By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Prof. in Union Theological Seminary.

HOMILETICS is the term that has been chosen to denote the application of the principles of rhetoric to preaching. It is synonymous, consequently, with Sacred Rhetoric. The derivation of the word from the Greek verb *ὁμιλεῖν* proves, conclusively, that the primary purpose of the homily or sermon was *instruction*. The first sermons were, undoubtedly, more didactic than rhetorical in their form and substance. This must have been so for several reasons. In the first place, the assemblies to which the sermon was first addressed were more private and social in their character, than the modern congregation. Christianity was in its infancy, and had not become an acknowledged and public religion; and hence its ordinances and instructions were isolated from those of society at large. It was one of the principal charges brought against Christianity by its first opponents, that it was unsocial, exclusive, and sectarian. The Roman complained that the Christian, so far as religion was concerned, was not an integral part of the state, but was a morose, solitary, and unpatriotic man.

The first Christian congregation being thus small, thus isolated and private, it was natural that the style of address upon the part of the preacher should be more familiar than it can be before a large audience, and upon a strictly public occasion. Hence the sermon in the early history of the church was much more *homiletical*, *i. e.*, *conversational*, than rhetorical in its character. Like those free and familiar lectures which the modern preacher delivers to a limited audience on the evening of a secular day, the first sermons possessed fewer of those oratorical elements which enter so largely into the discourses that are now prepared for the great congregation in the house of public worship, and on the Sabbath, the great public day of Christendom.

In the second place, the first sermons were naturally and properly more didactic than rhetorical, because the principal work to which the first preachers of Christianity were summoned was *instruction*. The cardinal doctrines of Christianity were not, as they are now, matters of general knowledge. The public mind was preoccupied with the views and notions of polytheism, and with altogether false conceptions of the nature and principles of the Christian religion; and hence there was unusual need, during the first centuries of the church, to *indoctrinate* the Greek and Roman world. Expository instruction was, consequently, the first great business of the Christian herald, coupled with an effort to disabuse the human mind of those errors to which it was enslaved by a false religious system. Christianity at first was compelled to address itself to the understandings of men, in order to prepare the way for an address to their hearts and wills; and hence its first discourses were rather didactic than oratorical. And the same remark holds true of missionary preaching in the modern world. The missionary repeats the process of the primitive preacher. His audiences are not public, but private. His addresses are more conversational than oratorical; more for purposes of instruction than of persuasion. From these two causes, the sermon was originally an instructive conversation (*ὁμιλία*) rather than an oration.

But although the relations of the modern preacher are considerably different from those of the ancient; although the Christian preacher is much more a public man than he was at first, because Christianity is the public religion of the modern world, and the Christian Sabbath is its public holy day, and the Christian congregation is its public religious assembly; although Homiletics has necessarily become more strictly rhetorical in its character because the sermon has become more oratorical in its form and style, we must recognize and acknowledge the fact that Sacred Rhetoric is in its own nature more didactic than Secular. With all the change in the relations of Christianity to society and to the state; with all the corresponding change in the circumstances and position of the preacher, it is still true that one very important part of his duty is that of exegetical instruction. Though the modern world is, generally speaking, speculatively acquainted with the Christian system, and does not need that minute instruction and that deliverance from the errors of polytheism which the pagan world requires, still the natural man everywhere and in all ages needs indoctrination. The sermon must

be an instructive discourse, and the information of the mind must be one of the chief ends of Sacred Eloquence.

This brings us to the principal difference between Secular and Sacred Rhetoric. The latter is more didactic than the former. We are speaking comparatively, it will be remembered. We would not be understood as granting the position of some writers upon Homiletics, that there is a distinction in *kind* between Secular and Sacred Rhetoric,—that the didactic element enters so largely into the sermon that the properly rhetorical elements are expelled from it, and it thus loses the oratorical character altogether. The sermon is not an essay or a treatise. It is an address to an audience, like a secular oration. Its purpose, like that of the secular oration, is to influence the will and conduct of the auditor. Like the secular oration, it is a product of *all* the powers of the human mind in the unity of their action, and not of the imagination alone, or of the understanding alone; and like the secular oration, it addresses *all* the faculties of the hearer, ending with a movement of his will. The distinction between Secular and Sacred Rhetoric is not one of kind but of degree. In the sermon, there is less of the purely oratorical element than in secular orations, because of the greater need of exposition and instruction. The sermon calls for more argumentation, more narration, more doctrinal information, than secular discourses contain, and hence, speaking comparatively, Secular Rhetoric is more purely and highly rhetorical than Homiletics.

Hence, as matter of fact, the sermon is more solid and weighty in its contents, more serious and earnest in its tone, and more sober in its coloring, than the deliberative, or judicial, or panegyric oration of Secular Eloquence. It is a graver production, less dazzling in its hues, less striking in its style, less oratorical in its general character. Recurring to the distinction between the formal and the real sciences,* we might say that Secular Eloquence partakes more of the former and Sacred Eloquence more of the latter.

With this brief elucidation of the main difference between Secular and Sacred Rhetoric, we proceed now to consider a few reasons for cultivating Homiletics, or the art of Sermonizing.

1. The first reason is derived from the intrinsic dignity and importance of the Sermon as a species of literature.

If we have regard to the subject matter and the end in view, the sacred oration is the most grave and weighty of all intel-

* THEREMIN'S Rhetoric (Introductory Essay.)

lectual productions. The eternal salvation of the human soul, through the presentation of divine truth, is the end of preaching. The created mind is never employed so loftily and so worthily, as when it is bending all its powers, and co-working with God himself, to the attainment of this great purpose. A discourse that realizes this aim is second to no species of authorship, in intrinsic dignity and importance. Other species of literature will decline in interest and value as the redemption of the human race advances, but this species will steadily tend to its culmination. As the human mind shall come more and more under the influence of those great ideas which relate to God and eternity, public religious discourse will gain in power and impressiveness, because of the immortal ends which it has in view. Like the christian grace of charity, which will outlive prophecies and tongues and knowledge, Sacred Eloquence will outlive, or rather transform into its own likeness all other forms of literature.

Not that philosophy, and poetry, and history will cease to exist as departments of intellectual effort so long as the human race continue in this mode of being, but they will all take on a more solemn character, and assume a more serious and lofty end, whereby they will approximate more and more in spirit and influence, to the literature proper of the Christian Church,—to the parables of our Lord, the epistles of his apostles, the sermons of his ministers. “For it is written: I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.” In this way, the superior dignity and importance of the sermon will appear, inasmuch as though the influence which it will have exerted upon the thinking of the race, the literature of the world will have become spiritualized and sanctified. Though the preaching of the Gospel, and the leavening of the mind with divine truth, we may expect to see the same great end, the glory of God in the eternal well-being of man, set up as the goal of universal letters. Whether then, there be poetry it may fail, whether there be philosophy it may cease, whether there be literature it may vanish away; but the word of God liveth and abideth forever. There will be an ever enduring dignity and value in that species of intellectual productions whose great end is the indoctrination of the human mind in the truths of divine revelation.

We find, therefore, in the gravity and importance of the sacred oration a strong reason why the homiletic art should be most assiduously cultivated. The philosopher is urged up to deep and laborious study, by the weight and solidity of his de-

partment. He feels that it is worthy of his best intellectual efforts, and he is willing to dedicate his whole life to it. The poet adores his art for its intrinsic nobleness and beauty, and like Milton is ambitious to glorify it by some product that shall be the most "consummate act of its author's fidelity and ripeness; the result of all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of palladian oil." The historian spends long years in building up from the solid foundation to the light and airy pinnacle, a structure that shall render his own name historic, and associate it with the dignity of history. And shall the sacred orator be less influenced than these intellectual workmen, by the nobleness and worth of his vocation? Ought he not, like the greatest of the apostolic preachers, to magnify his vocation, and feel all the importance of the department, in which he has been called to labor with his brain and with his heart?

2. A second reason for cultivating Homiletics is derived from the intrinsic difficulty of producing an excellent sermon.

In the first place, there is the difficulty which pertains to the department of Rhetoric generally, arising from the fact, that in order to the production of Eloquence all the faculties of the mind must be in operation together, and concurring to an outward practical end. In the production of a work of Art, the imagination, as a single faculty, is allowed to do its perfect work unembarrassed by other faculties. The idea of the Beautiful is not confused or obscured by a reference to other ideas, such as the True, the Useful, and the Good. The productive agency in this case is single, uncomplex, and exerted in one straight unembarrassed course. In the production of a purely logical or speculative product, again, the theoretic reason, as a single faculty, is allowed to do its rigorous work, unembarrassed by either the imagination or the moral sense. The philosophic essay is a product which contains but one element, and that the speculative; and hence is far easier to produce, than one in which many dissimilar elements,—speculative and practical, imaginative and moral—are mingled, and which must, moreover, be made to amalgamate with each other.

The oration, on the other hand, whether secular or sacred, has a far more difficult origin than either of the above-mentioned productions. All the faculties of understanding, imagination, and feeling, must be in exercise together; while above, and beneath, and about, and through them all, must be the agency of that highest and most important of all the human faculties, the will, the character, the moral force of the man.

In the origination of the oration, there must be not only the co-agency of all the cognitive, imaginative and pathetic powers, but the presence and the presidency in and through them all of that deepest and most central power in which, as the seat of personality and of character, they are all rooted and grounded. The oration, in this view, is not so much a product of the man, as it is the man himself—an *embodiment* of all his faculties and all his processes.* From the general character of the department of Rhetoric, then, and the general nature of its products, the origination of an excellent sacred oration is exceedingly difficult, and hence the need of a profound and philosophic study of Homiletics, or the art of Sermonizing.

In the second place, the production of the sermon is a difficult work, because of the nature and extent of the influence which it aims to exert. The sermon is designed to exert influence upon human character; and this, not upon its mere superficies, but its inmost principles. Unlike secular discourse, the sacred oration is not content with influencing men in regard to some particular or particulars of conduct, but aims at the whole character of the man. The political orator is content if by his effort he secures an individual vote for a single measure. The judicial orator is content if he can obtain a favorable verdict respecting the case in hand. The sacred orator, on the other hand, aims at the formation of a whole character—at laying a foundation for an innumerable series of particular actions—or else he endeavors to mould and develop from the centre a character which is already in existence, as when he addresses the church in distinction from the congregation. If we have regard to the renewal of human nature, the formation within the human soul of an entirely new character, it is plain that the construction of a discourse adapted to produce this great effect involves many and great difficulties. It is true, that the first and efficient cause of this effect must be sought for in the special and direct operation, upon the individual soul, of a higher Being than man. Yet it is equally true, that the secondary instrumental cause of this renewal is divine truth, presented by the preacher. There must, therefore, be an *adaptation* between the cause and the effect in this case as much as in any other. Second causes must be adapted to the effect as much as first causes. There is a mode of presenting divine truth which is suited to produce conversion; and there is a mode which is not suited to this end.

* Le style, c'est l'homme.—BUFFON.

There is a method of sermonizing which is fitted to develop the Christian character, and there is a method which is not at all fitted for this. Now, to produce a discourse which, in all its parts and properties, shall fall in with the operations of the Holy Spirit, and of the human spirit when under divine influence—which shall not blind the mind, nor impede the flow of the feelings, but shall concur with all that higher influence which is bearing upon the sinner in the work of regeneration, or upon the Christian in the hour and process of sanctification—to produce an excellent sermon, is one of the most arduous attempts of the human intellect. To affirm that the attempt can be a successful one without study and training upon the part of the preacher, is to deal differently with the department of Sacred Rhetoric from what we do with other departments of intellectual effort. It is to treat the higher and eternal interests of men with more thoughtlessness and indifference than we do their lower and secular interests. None—unless it be those half-educated persons who do not recognize the distinction between science and practice, between a profession and a trade, and who would annihilate all professional study and training—none, unless it be such as these, deny the importance of a thorough discipline on the part of the jurist and the civilian. It is acknowledged, generally, that learning and training are requisite to the production of successful pleading in court, and successful debating in the senate. And no one who seriously considers the depth and comprehensiveness of the aim of a sermon, and takes into account that sermonizing is not an intermittent effort, but a steady, uniform process, week after week, and year after year, will be disposed to disparage or undervalue homiletic discipline or the Homiletic Art. Says one of the earliest and pithiest English writers upon Homiletics: “Preachers have enough to do, and it will take up their whole time to do it well. This is not an art that is soon learnt, this is not an accomplishment that is easily gained. He that thinks otherwise, is as weak and foolish as the man that married Tully’s widow (saith Dio) to be master of his eloquence.”*

The difficulty, in the third place, of constructing an excellent sermon is clearly apparent when we consider the nature of the impression which is sought to be made. Without taking into account such characteristics as distinctness and depth of impression, and many others that would suggest themselves, let us seize upon a single one—viz : *permanence* of

* JOHN EDWARD’S Preacher, Pt. I, p. 274.

impression—and, by a close examination, perceive the need of understanding, both theoretically and practically, the art of Sermonizing.

The test of excellence in a sermon is continuance of influence. By this it is not meant that an excellent sermon produces no more impression at the time of its first delivery than afterwards. Often the vividness of a discourse is most apparent at the time of its origin, because it was partly the fruit of temporary circumstances, and derived something of its force from time and place. Yet, after this is said, it is still true that no sermon is truly excellent which does not contain something of permanent value for the human head and heart. It must have such an idea or proposition at the bottom of it, and be arranged on such a method, and be filled up with such reflections, and inspired with such a spirit, as will make it an object of interest for any thoughtful mind in all time. It is true, that tried by this test, many sermons would be found wanting—and far more of such sermons as draw miscellaneous crowds, than of such as are preached to small audiences, and are unknown save by the solid christian character which they help to originate, or to cultivate—it is true, that tried by the test of permanency of impression, the sacred, as well as the secular, oration would often be found defective, and yet every such discourse ought to be subjected to it. One of the first questions to be asked, for purposes of criticism, is this question: Is there in this discourse a solidity and thoughtfulness which gives it more or less of permanent value for the human mind?

Now it is impossible that this weighty intellectual character, conjoined as it must be in the oration with a lively and rhetorical tone, should be attained without a very thorough discipline on the part of the preacher. The union of such sterling and yet opposite qualities as thoughtfulness and energy is the fruit of no superficial education, the result of no mere desultory efforts. The sacred orator needs not only a general culture, but a special culture in his own art. It is not enough that he be acquainted with those leading departments in which every educated, and especially every professional man, is interested, he must also be master of that specific art and department, upon which the clerical profession is more immediately founded. He must be well versed in the principles and in the actual practice of Homiletics. Otherwise, his sermonizing will be destitute of both a present and a permanent interest. If he be a man of learning and of reflective habits, but of no rhetorical spirit, although his discourses may be weighty in matter, and as the-

ological disquisitions very meritorious, they will not produce the proper immediate effects of sacred eloquence, neither will they exert the permanent influence of theological treatises. They will fail altogether as intellectual productions. The studious thoughtful mind, especially, needs the influence of homiletical discipline, in order to prepare it for the work of actually addressing and influencing the popular mind. There is a method of so organizing the materials in the mind, of so arranging and expanding and illustrating truth, as to exert the immediate impression of rhetoric, united with the permanent impression of logic and philosophy. This method can be acquired only by the study and the practice of the art of Sermonizing.

A third reason for cultivating Homiletics is found in the increasingly higher demands made by the popular mind upon its public religious teachers.

It is more difficult to make a permanent impression upon the general mind now than it was fifty years ago. The public mind is more distracted than it was then. It is addressed more frequently, and by a greater variety, both of subjects and of speakers. It is more critical and fastidious than formerly. It is possessed (we will not say of a more thorough and useful knowledge on a few subjects, but) of a more extensive and various information on many subjects. The man of the present day knows more of men and things in general than his forefathers did, though probably not more of man and of some things in particular.

There is more call, consequently, in the present age, for a sermonizing that shall cover the whole field of human nature and human acquirements, that shall contain a greater variety and exhibit a greater compass, and that shall be adapted to more grades and capacities. The preacher of the present day needs to be a man of wider culture than his predecessor, because the boundaries of human knowledge have been greatly enlarged, and because his auditors have come to be acquainted, some of them thoroughly and some of them superficially, but all of them in some degree, with this new and constantly widening field. Consider a single section of Rhetoric like that of metaphor and illustration, and see how much greater is the stock of materials now than it was previous to the modern discoveries in natural science, and how even the popular mind has become possessed of sufficient knowledge in these departments, not merely to understand the orator's allusions and representations, but to demand them of him. A modern audience, though it may not possess a very exact knowledge of

what has been accomplished in modern science, is yet possessed of sufficient information to detect any such ignorance in a public speaker, and especially in the preacher, as shows him to be inferior to the educated class to which he belongs, and behind the present condition of human science and knowledge. It was urged not many years since by the classes of a teacher who had been distinguished in his day, and whose instructions still exhibited a solid and real excellence that ought to have overruled the objection in this instance, that he had not kept up with the literary and scientific movement of the modern mind, that his style of presenting, establishing, and illustrating truth had become obsolete, although the truth itself which he presented was unobjectionable. In proof of this, it was affirmed that certain illustrations which were taken from the astronomy that existed a century ago, but which had been rendered not only incorrect but absurd by more recent discoveries, were still allowed to stand. It was complained that rhetoric, in this instance, had been vitiated by the telescope. The popular mind, also, is nice and fastidious, and will immediately detect any appearance of deficiency in literary and scientific culture in the preacher, especially if it affects his style and diction, and will give it far more weight than it is really entitled to.

But to take a more important part of Sacred Rhetoric than style, or diction, or illustration, consider for a moment the *method* and *arrangement* of a sermon, and see what a difficult task the popular mind of the present day imposes upon its public religious teachers.

The greatest difference between the men of the present day and their forefathers consists in the greater distinctness and rapidity of their mental processes. They are not more serious and thoughtful than their ancestors, but they are more vivid, animated, and direct in their thinking than they were. They are more impatient of prolixity, of a loose method of arrangement, and of a heavy dragging movement in the exhibition of truth. Audiences a century ago would patiently listen to discourses of two hours in length, and would follow the sermonizer through a series of divisions and subdivisions that would be intolerable to a modern audience. The human mind seems to have shared in that increased rapidity of motion which has been imparted to matter, by the modern improvements in machinery. The human body is now carried through space at the rate of a mile a minute, and the human mind seems to have learned to keep pace with this increase of speed. Mental operations are on straight lines, like the railroad and telegraph, and are far more rapid than they once were. The

public mind now craves a short method, a distinct sharp statement, and a rapid and accelerating movement, upon the part of its teachers.

Now the preacher can meet this demand successfully, only by and through a *strong methodizing power*. He can not meet it by mere brevity. The popular mind still needs and craves instruction, and impatient as it is of dullness will listen with more pleasure to a discourse that possesses solid excellency, though it be tedious in its method and somewhat dull in style, than to a discourse which has no merit but that of shortness. The task, therefore, which the sacred orator of the present day has to perform is to compress the greatest possible amount of matter into the smallest possible form, and in the most energetic possible manner. *Multum in parvo* is now the popular maxim. *Plurimum in minimo* must now be the preacher's maxim. Hence he must possess the power of seizing instantaneously the strong points of a subject, of fixing them immoveably in a rigorous logical order, and of filling them up into a full rhetorical form by such subordinate thoughts and trains of reflection as will carry the hearer's mind along with the greatest possible rapidity, together with the greatest possible impression.* This power of organizing united with the other principal power of the orator, that of amplifying to the due extent, is imperatively demanded of the preacher by the active, clear, driving mind of the present age; and whoever shall acquire it will wield an influence over the public, either for good or for evil, greater probably than could be exerted by an individual mind in an age characterized by slower mental processes.

But is such an ability as this a thing of spontaneous origin? Will it be likely to be possessed by an indolent, or an uneducated mind? Any one who will reflect a moment will perceive that even a fine poetic or artistic ability would be far more likely to "come by nature,"—to use Dogberry's phrase,—and without culture, than this fundamental ability of the orator. In these latter instances, much depends upon the impulses and gifts of genius. There is much of spontaneity in the poetic and artistic processes. But a powerful methodizing ability implies severe tasking of the intellect, a severe exercise of its

* "Reason and argument must be made use of by the preacher, and the more of these the better. *But the closer this powder is rammed, the greater execution it will do.* The sum of this head is this: that a preacher is to take care that he always speak good sense, and argue *closely*. Nothing that comes from him is to be raw and indigested, but all must be well-ripened by judgment."

—JOHN EDWARD'S Preacher, Pt. 1, p. 127,

faculties, whereby it acquires the power of seizing the main points of a subject with the certainty of an instinct, and then of holding them with the strength of a vice,—and all this too, while the feelings and the imagination, the rhetorical powers of the soul, are filling up, and clothing the structure with the vitality and warmth and beauty of a living thing. This power of quickly and densely methodizing can be acquired only by diligent and persevering discipline ; and hence it should be kept constantly before the eye of the preacher as an aim, from the beginning to the end of his educational and professional career. He can not meet the demands which the public mind will make upon him as its religious teacher, unless he acquires something of this power ; and he may be certain that in proportion as he does acquire and employ it, he will be able to convey the greatest possible amount of instruction in the shortest possible space, and, what is of equal importance for the orator's purpose, he will be able to produce the strongest possible impression in the shortest possible amount of time.

ART. IV.—THE MINISTRY OF BRAINERD.

A Letter of FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D.

MESSRS. EDITORS :

OF ministers of the Gospel in modern times, there is no one whose history I remember, whose piety and success remind one more of apostolic times, than the missionary David Brainerd. The special field of his labor was Crossweeksung, in New Jersey. Here he labored for a year, alone, far from civilized society, in feeble health, among Indians, who, at the time of his coming, were sunk in the deepest degradation ; drunkards, murderers, and addicted to almost every vice. From the commencement of his labors, however, he found them, in an unusual degree, disposed to listen. Soon some of them became seriously interested. They invited the Indians in the neighborhood to come and listen to his preaching. The interest increased until it rested upon every family, and almost upon every individual in the vicinity. Then appeared those remarkable manifestations of the presence of the Spirit, which resembled that at the day of Pentecost. One instance of this I will give in Brainerd's own words :

“*Aug. 8.* In the afternoon I preached to the Indians ; their number was now about sixty-five persons—men, women and children. I discoursed upon Luke xiv : 16–23, (the invitation to the supper,) and was *favoured with uncommon freedom in my discourse*. There was much visible concern among them while I was discoursing publicly ; but afterwards, when I spoke to one and another of them more particularly, whom I perceived under much concern, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly *like a rushing mighty wind*, and with an astonishing energy bore down all before it. I stood amazed at the influence which seized the audience, almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly than the irresistible force of a mighty torrent, or swelling deluge, that with its insupportable weight and pressure bears down and sweeps before it whatever comes in its way. Almost all persons, of all ages, were bowed down with concern together, and scarcely one was able to withstand the shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women, who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children not more than six or seven years of age, appeared in distress for their souls, as well as persons of middle age. It was apparent that these children—some of them, at least—were not merely frightened with seeing the general concern, but were made sensible of their danger, the badness of their hearts, and their misery without Christ, as some of them expressed it. The most stubborn hearts were now obliged to bow. A principal man among the Indians, who before was most serious and self-righteous, and thought his state good because he knew more than the generality of Indians had formerly done, and who, with a great degree of confidence, the day before, told me that he had been a Christian more than ten years, was now brought under solemn concern for his soul, and wept bitterly. Another man, advanced in years, who had been a murderer, a *powow* or conjuror, and a notorious drunkard, was likewise brought now to cry for mercy with many tears, and to complain much that he could be no more concerned, when he saw that his danger was so very great.

“They were almost universally praying and crying for mercy in every part of the house, and many of them out of doors, and numbers of them could neither go nor stand. Their concern was so great, each one for himself, that none seemed to take any notice of those about them, but each prayed freely for himself. I am led to think they were, to their own apprehensions, as much retired as if they had been individually by themselves in the thickest desert, or rather, I believe that

they thought nothing about anything but themselves and their own state, and so were every one praying apart, though all together. It seemed to me that there was now an exact fulfillment of that prophecy, Zech xii: 10, 11, 12; for there was now a great mourning, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon, and each seemed to mourn apart.

“There was one remarkable instance of awakening this day, that I can not fail to notice here. A young Indian woman, who, I believe, never knew before that she had a soul, nor ever thought of any such thing, hearing that there was something strange among the Indians, came, it seems, to see what was the matter. On her way to the Indians, she called at my lodgings, and, when I told her that I designed presently to preach to the Indians, laughed and seemed to mock, but went, however, to them. I had not proceeded far in my public discourse, before she felt effectually that she had a soul, and before I had concluded my discourse was so convinced of her sin and misery, and so distressed with concern for her soul’s salvation, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart, and cried out incessantly. She could neither go nor stand, nor sit on her seat without being held up. After public service was over, she lay flat on the ground praying earnestly, and would take no notice, nor give any answer to any who spoke to her. I hearkened to hear what she said, and perceived the burden of her prayer to be, (translated) *Have mercy on me, and help me to give you my heart.* Thus she continued praying incessantly for many hours together.” This woman shortly received comfort in believing, and became a devout and consistent Christian.

For a long time such manifestations of the Spirit of God attended, in a greater or less degree, almost every sermon that Brainerd delivered—so much so, indeed, that when nothing of the kind was observed, it was looked upon as an evidence that religion was declining among them. This work of grace continued for nearly a year, and the result was, that Brainerd established a church among them of as pure, meek, humble, self-denying, zealous, and praying Christians, as are to be found in the most favored localities in this or any other country. If space allowed, it would be edifying to record many of Brainerd’s experiences among them, but I must proceed.

The question naturally arises, do we now anywhere, in any denomination, witness such displays of divine power? Does preaching anywhere awaken men, dead in sin, to cry out, “What shall I do to be saved?” Does the Spirit ever come down upon us as a rushing mighty wind? Is there commonly

any evidence that the preaching of the Gospel is attended by any attestation of the presence of the Spirit of God? We hear, occasionally, that a sermon is eloquent, oftener that it is well written, or that the minister is a smart man, but no one exclaims, in alarm, What have I done? or, How shall I escape the wrath to come? Does preaching at present bring home to men's hearts the solemn realities of eternity? Are men taught *plainly* that they are in danger of everlasting destruction, and that unless they repent they must all inevitably perish? Is a Saviour from sin manifestly set before men, able and willing to redeem to the uttermost, and are they besought, in Christ's stead, to believe on him, and accept of everlasting life? I ask these questions in all simplicity and sincerity. Let each one answer them for himself.

But let us advance a step farther. The preaching of Brainerd evidently was attended by just such results as we have mentioned. The most ignorant pagans, besotted, sensual, profane, murderous men were awakened, convicted, humbled before God; they believed in the Son of God, became new creatures in Christ Jesus, and in one year, became really an example to civilized Christians. Now it is a most important inquiry, whence the different result between the preaching of Brainerd, and the preaching of the present day? This question can be best answered in the words of Brainerd himself. To these we will then refer (Life, chapter 9).

He observes, "on the Doctrines preached to the Indians:"

"I can not but take notice, that I have in general, ever since my first coming among the Indians in New Jersey, been *avored with that assistance*, which to me is *uncommon*, in preaching *Christ crucified*, and making him the *centre and mark*, to which all my discourses among them were directed."

"It was the principal scope and drift of all my discourses to this people, for several months together, (after having taught them something of the being and perfections of God, his creation of man in a state of rectitude and happiness, and the obligations mankind were thence under to love and honor him;) to lead them into an acquaintance with their deplorable state by nature as *fallen creatures*, their *inability* to extricate and deliver themselves from it, the *utter insufficiency* of any *extreme* reformatations and amendments of life, or of any religious performances of which *they* were capable while in this state, to bring them into the favor of God, and interest them in his eternal mercy; thence to show them their *absolute need of Christ* to redeem and save them from the misery of their fallen state, to open his *all-sufficiency* and willingness to

save the chief of sinners ; the *freeness* and *riches* of divine grace proposed without money and without price, to all that will accept the offer ; thereupon to press them, *without delay*, to betake themselves to him under a sense of their misery and *undone* state, for relief and everlasting salvation ; and to show them the abundant encouragement the gospel proposes to needy perishing and helpless sinners, in order to engage them to do so. These things I largely insisted on from time to time.

“I have oftentimes remarked with admiration, that whatever subject I have been treating upon, after having spent time sufficient to explain and illustrate the truths contained therein, I have been *naturally* and *easily* led to *Christ* as the *substance* of every subject. If I treated of the being and glorious perfections of God, I was thence *naturally* led to discourse of Christ as the only way to the Father. If I attempted to open the deplorable misery of our fallen state, it was natural from thence to show the necessity of Christ to undertake for us, to atone for our sins, and to redeem us from the power of them. If I taught them the commands of God, and showed our violation of them, this brought me, in the most *easy* and *natural* way, to speak of and recommend the Lord Jesus Christ as one who had magnified the law which we had broken, and was become the end of it for righteousness to every one that believeth. Never did I find so much freedom and assistance in making all the various lines of my discourse meet together and centre in Christ as I have frequently done among these Indians.

“Sometimes, when I had thought of offering but a few words upon some particular subject, and saw no occasion nor indeed much room for any particular enlargement, there has appeared unawares such a fountain of gospel grace shining forth in, or *naturally* resulting from, a just explication of it, and Christ has seemed in such a manner to be pointed out as the substance of what I was considering and explaining, that I have *been drawn* in a way not only easy and natural, proper and pertinent, but almost unavoidable, to discourse of him either in regard to his undertaking, incarnation, satisfaction, admirable fitness for the work of man’s redemption ; or the infinite need that sinners stand in of an interest in him, which has opened the way for a continued strain of Gospel invitation to perishing souls, to come *empty* and *naked*, *weary* and *heavy laden*, and cast themselves upon him.”

This was the *matter* of Brainerd’s preaching. While holding forth truths to the minds of these poor pagans he seems

to have been blessed in the *manner* of his preaching. He adds :

“As I have been remarkably *influenced* and *assisted* to dwell upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation by him, in the general current of my discourses here, and have been at times surprisingly furnished with pertinent *matter* relating to him and the design of his incarnation, so I have been no less assisted oftentimes in an advantageous *manner* of opening the mysteries of divine grace, and representing the infinite excellencies and the unsearchable riches of Christ ; as well as of recommending him to the acceptance of perishing sinners. I have frequently been *enabled* to represent the divine glory, the infinite preciousness and transcendent loveliness of the great Redeemer, the suitableness of his person and purchase to supply the wants and answer the utmost desires of immortal souls, to open the infinite riches of his grace and the wonderful encouragement proposed in the Gospel to unworthy helpless sinners ; to call, invite and beseech them to come and give up themselves to him and be reconciled to God through him ; to expostulate with them respecting their neglect of one so infinitely lovely and so freely offered, and this *in such a manner* and with *such freedom, pertinency, pathos and application* to the conscience, as I *am sure I never could have made myself master of by the most arduous application of mind*. Frequently, on such occasions, I have been surprisingly *helped* in adapting my discourses to the capacities of my people, and bringing them down into such easy and familiar methods of expression as has rendered them intelligible even to Pagans.”

I have indicated that the apathy which at present prevails in the various denominations among us, may have some connection with the character of the addresses which we hear from the pulpit ; and that a different style of preaching, both in matter and manner, might lead to a different result. This impression is confirmed by the following remark of Brainerd :

“This was the preaching God made use of for the awakening of sinners, and the propagation of this work of grace among the Indians. It was remarkable from time to time, that when I was favored with any *special freedom in discoursing of the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners and the need* in which they stood of such a Saviour, there was there the greatest appearance of divine power in awakening numbers of secure souls, promoting convictions begun, and comforting the distressed.”

The briefness of the time also in which this work of reformation was carried on, was not the least remarkable of the fea-

tures which distinguished it. In reference to the first communion with his Indians he observes : " I likewise administered the Lord's Supper to a number of persons, who, as I have abundant reason to think, were proper subjects of that ordinance, within the space of ten months and ten days after my first coming among these Indians in New Jersey. From the time when, as I am informed, some of them were attending an idolatrous feast and sacrifice in honor of devils, to the time when they sat down at the Lord's table, I trust, to the honor of God, was not more than a full year. Surely Christ's little flock here, so suddenly gathered from among Pagans, may justly say in the language of the church of old, 'The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.'"

From these brief extracts, taken in the words of Brainerd, from his narrative of the work of grace among the Indians at Crossweeksung, a few reflections naturally arise.

I think it must have occurred to every reader that this awakening which took place under the preaching of Brainerd was, in many respects, analogous to that of which we read as occurring at the day of Pentecost. In both cases there seems to have been a divine influence resting upon the disciples. They were filled with *the Holy Ghost*, and spake with other tongues, *as the Spirit gave them utterance*.* So Brainerd says, when I was *favored with any special freedom in discoursing* of the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners and the need in which they stood of such a Saviour, there was there the greatest appearance of divine power in awakening numbers of secure souls.

The same doctrines were preached in both cases. Peter charged home upon his hearers their guilt in rejecting and crucifying the Messiah, and he called upon them to repent and believe the Gospel. So the burden of Brainerd's preaching was an earnest endeavor to show his hearers their guilt and helplessness, and to urge them to come and accept of the full and free salvation offered to them by the Saviour of sinners.

The effects were the same. In Jerusalem, when they heard these things, *they were pricked in their heart*, and said to Peter and the rest of the apostles, men and brethren, what shall we do? This impression must have been universal, for the same day there were added to the church about three thousand souls. So among the Indians, the presence of the Spirit was as a rushing mighty wind, the whole assembly was over-

* The influence rested on the whole company. It was a fulfillment of the prediction " Upon my servants and my handmaidens," etc.

whelmed with a consciousness of sin deserving the righteous condemnation of God, and each one was mourning apart, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon, and the Spirit from time to time was present, to grant unto them repentance and renewal of soul, and an exultant faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Neither were such scenes confined exclusively to the day of Pentecost. Shortly afterwards, when the apostles Peter and John had been straitly threatened, and forbidden to speak any more in the name of Jesus, they went to their own company and rehearsed the facts to the brethren. The assembly was at once turned into a prayer meeting, and they laid the whole matter before the Lord. They told him of the threatenings of which they had heard, and in holy simplicity cast themselves upon the protection of God, while they went forth to do his will. And when they had prayed the place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were also filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake the word of God with boldness.

So again when Peter was preaching to Cornelius and his friends of the character and atonement of Christ, and assuring them, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins, the Holy Ghost fell on all that heard the word. So that Peter's companions were astonished because that on the Gentiles was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost; for they spake with tongues and magnified God. From facts like these then it would seem that a special supernatural influence was frequently, in apostolic times, poured out upon a company when, either in prayer or preaching, the disciples were enabled to draw near to God with holy boldness, or to preach Christ crucified with the true earnestness of men who feel that they were ambassadors for Christ.

The same may be said of Brainerd. His journals inform us that these visitations of the Spirit were matters of frequent occurrence. When he himself was dull and lifeless, nothing of this kind was observable. When he was *enabled* to declare the truth of God with a heart overflowing with love, something of this sort was almost always visible, so long as he preached among the Indians. Nor does it seem to have been confined to them alone. He occasionally preached for churches in the vicinity, and specially assisted at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He frequently mentions on such occasions a similar effect, to a greater or less degree, visible on the congregations to which he ministered.

Nor were these effusions of the Spirit confined to Brainerd's ministry. The same manifestations attended the labors of

President Edwards. In his narrative of the revivals in Northampton we perceive that the same effects attended his preaching, though he does not bring them prominently to notice, from his dislike to external indications of internal experiences. His preaching was also attended with great effect in other places. Such especially was the case in the delivery of the sermon at Enfield, entitled "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," which was said to be "attended with remarkable impressions on many who heard it." This was also frequently the effect of the preaching of Whitefield, Tennant, and others at that period.

Nor are we without indications of a similar character in more modern times. I do not think that there can be any doubt among those who have candidly attended to this subject, that the Holy Spirit is frequently poured out in a remarkable manner upon congregations and particular localities. When a minister has laid aside forever all desire of ecclesiastical distinction, local position, reputation for learning, or eloquence, increase of salary, or any of the temptations that now so thickly encompass a minister of Christ, and devotes himself at all hazards to the simple preaching of Christ crucified, in such way that his whole audience can understand him, when he asks of God for himself nothing but holiness, and for his hearers nothing but the salvation of their souls, whether of the old or young, the rich or the poor, the most abandoned as much as the devout and respectable, then though the vision may tarry and he have to wait, yet if he wait, it will surely come and not tarry. When the truth of God is thus preached with a yearning desire for the glory of God in the salvation of souls, and with childlike faith in the promise of the Saviour, in due time, without the use of any other means, people begin, nobody can tell why, to come to the house of God, one and another is inquiring what he shall do to be saved; then, as on the day of Pentecost, the multitude come together, a silent awe pervades the assembly, so that a passing stranger, coming in by accident, feels that there is an atmosphere of religious thoughtfulness such as he never witnessed before. The whole congregation becomes sensible that each one is transacting business for eternity. Every one feels himself to be a sinner against God, and in danger of eternal death. But one inquiry pervades the whole people, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Then the servant of Christ points them to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. One and another bows in prostration of soul before God, and accepts the offered salvation. Scores and hundreds are added to the church, and

a thoughtless, destitute and godless neighborhood becomes devout, sober, honest—a people fearing God and living for eternity.

Nor is it to be forgotten that this peculiar influence is frequently not confined to those who hear a particular preacher. It sometimes seems to pervade a given locality. Men in the fields at their labor, or in the workshop, or by the fireside, are at once arrested, they know not why or how, but they are at once conscious that they have a soul to be saved or lost, and without having listened to a conversation with any one, are under the most solemn convictions, and know that they must be saved, and saved now, or they must perish for ever. Facts like these were abundant during the great revivals in this country in the time of President Edwards, in Scotland a few years later, in the Sandwich Islands, among the Nestorians, and in the great revival of religion in the north of Ireland a few years since, and during the revivals which have frequently been granted to many parts of this country.

It is however worthy of remark that these manifestations of the Spirit do not occur under all circumstances. They have to do specially with the *conversion of men* and in answer to fervent and believing prayer. Hence where preaching aims at *another object* we may not expect them. When we preach to establish or promote our literary reputation, to display our skill in logic or rhetoric, to gain the praise of eloquence, to build up the respectability of our denomination, to attract to our place of worship the wealthy, men of rank or station, who will build for us handsome churches, carry on expensive forms of worship, and enable us to live in luxury, we need not expect the visitations of the Spirit. Verily we shall have our reward, but it is not the reward of those who turn many to righteousness, who shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

Perhaps we might go farther. The son of God came to seek and save those that are lost. The Holy Spirit is sent to turn men from sin to righteousness, to make those who are heirs of eternal death, children of God, heirs of that inheritance that is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. This was the object for which the son of God emptied himself of his glory, and became obedient unto death even the death of the cross. We are co-workers with him, just in so far as with all simplicity of heart, being dead to every thing else, we labor for the same result. If we labor for anything else we do not secure *him* but *something else*. Nay, more. If, when the Spirit of God awakens sinners to think seriously of the things of eternity, they hear from the pulpit nothing more than some general

truth which a deist might as well preach as the minister, and hear nothing of sin, its guilt or danger, nor any thing of the way of salvation by Christ, and are never urged *now at once* to be reconciled to God, and they sink back into confirmed stupidity and are lost for ever, are not our skirts stained with the sin of blood guiltiness? It is a solemn thing to be an ambassador of Christ.

But this subject has at the present time a more intense significance. Our country has just completed the fourth year of a most afflictive war. Treasure by hundreds of millions has been spent, and the best blood of every part of our country has flowed like water. We have been suffering intensely under the chastening hand of God. We humbly and penitently accept it. We have deserved it. Our cause was just. To our enemies we had done no wrong. There was no hope for a righteous peace from the beginning, and yet God did not go forth with our armies. Within the past year, however, it has been otherwise. Ever since the taking of Vicksburg, God has seemed to be the leader of our hosts. The election of Mr. Lincoln, on the 8th of November, seems like a miracle. Twenty millions of people declared their choice, and made known their will, without so much disorder as commonly occurs in the election of a single member to the Parliament of Great Britain. And since that time what victories has God given us. Cities and fortresses on whose defence the skill of military engineering had been exhausted, have been taken without the loss of a life. Our victories have been bloodless victories, until now we seem to see the indications that the war is coming to a close, that Slavery, the cause of all this mischief, is to be abolished, and this is to be once more a happy, united and prosperous people.*

But will this satisfy us? Shall we be content to receive from the hand of God nothing but temporal blessings? Men of this world may hope for nothing more than the rewards of this world, but a disciple of Christ looks far beyond all this. We can not be satisfied unless God manifest his saving power over this *whole* nation as he did at the day of Pentecost in a single chamber. We pray that the Spirit of God may be poured out from the east to the west, from the north to the south, as it was on the little assembly at Jerusalem. We can give the Lord no rest until he shall cause this nation to come out of this furnace purified, sanctified, transformed, a holy God-fearing people, so that the civilized world shall be forced to

*It is but just to the author to state that this article was written and in our hands before the final collapse of the rebellion.—EDS.

exclaim, the Lord he is God, the Lord he is God ; so that this shall be the first people of whom it shall be sung in heaven, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ and he shall reign forever and ever ; and the answering peal from earth shall be, Alleluiah ! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

This is a work that no being but God can accomplish. But it is as easy for him to shed abroad his Spirit over this whole nation, as it was to fill the house at Jerusalem, when his people were praying, with the evidence of his presence and in one day to convert three thousand souls. And he will do it, if his people with one accord, in humble, earnest, believing prayer, draw near to him with clean hands, and a pure heart, for he is faithful who hath promised. If ye abide in me, saith he, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you. Let the people of God then arise from their lethargy, let them cast off with shame, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, let them take off their eyes from beholding vanity, and approach the throne of the Most High, by the new and living way that he hath consecrated for us, and we may with confidence believe that he will grant us all that we ask.

But suppose that he should do this, that he should pour out his Spirit over this whole nation and turn men by millions to himself, in what manner shall this great work be carried on ? In the first place, we ask, shall the ministry have their part in it ? I hope I do not speak unadvisedly when I say, that in order to take part in such a work there must be a great change in a large part of our so-called proceedings. Ministers of the Gospel who would *convert men* must make conversion the great end of their ministry. Men must be taught their danger, their need of a Saviour, the awful consequences of neglect or delay ; the Saviour in all his fullness and love must be presented before them, and they must be *urged* as men dying and shortly to appear before the judgment seat, to come to Christ and as perishing sinners receive the offered salvation. Nor is this all. Ministers must preach this out of a full heart, a heart melted with love for souls, willing to do any thing, to bear any thing, to be cast out as evil by all men, to endure the contradiction of professing saints as well as of sinners, if they may only save dying men from everlasting death. Does any one doubt that if ministers of the Gospel of every denomination were thus to arise and shake from themselves the dust of worldliness, and stand forth simply as ambassadors of Christ, crying mightily unto God, that such a blessing as we have spoken of would descend upon our whole country ?

But should it not be so ; if ministers heed not the call of the word of God, and the indications of his providence, and preach for everything but the direct and immediate conversion of souls, the Lord's hand is not shortened that he can not save. If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall enlargement and deliverance come from another place, but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed. If God designs to glorify himself by a universal outpouring of his Spirit upon this people, and the ministry decline to labor in this work, he will carry it on without them. He will call men from every department of life, and endow them with special grace to do his work, and the ministry will be cast out as an unprofitable branch. Who of us will stand when the Lord doeth this ?

There are indications already that God is preparing for such a work as this. We hear from various parts of our country that laymen and men not formally introduced into the ministry are laboring with special success in the conversion of souls. But the most signal illustration of this has been witnessed in the heavenly work of the Christian Commission. Here hundreds of pious men, laymen and clergymen, without distinction, animated by the love of souls, have gone among our camps and hospitals, preaching Christ to every one who will hear. The Lord has attended their labors with his blessing. I am inclined to believe that during the past year the number of those who, so far as we can learn, have turned to God in our army will be found to form a very large portion of all those who have experienced this blessed change throughout the length and breadth of our land. These men, with the love of Christ in their hearts, and with the fearless decision of soldiers will, we hope, go home to their several neighborhoods and telling what the Lord has done for their souls will awaken multitudes to ask in earnestness, what shall I do to be saved. If the Spirit of God shall accompany their labor, the work will be done, and this whole nation will be aroused to a new spiritual life.

Let us then all, both laymen and clergymen, awaken and cry mightily unto God. He has already glorified himself in our country so that the most thoughtless acknowledge his hand. Let us pray that He will glorify himself again in a way that this world has never yet seen. God be merciful to *us* and bless *us*, and cause his face to shine upon us, *that thy way may be known upon earth and thy saving health among all nations.*

Yours very truly,

FRANCIS WAYLAND.

ART. V.—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

By GEORGE SIDNEY CAMP, Esq.

[Concluded from page 200.]

ALREADY, thus, as we have seen, even so early as the period of Ignatius, if the epistles ascribed to him are genuine. the primitive type of church government had undergone some modification, and, at least, one prominent feature disclosed itself that had no counterpart in the Scriptures ; but, the new official thus brought into view was not, as has been so often taken for granted, an Episcopal bishop, but a Presbyterian pastor with the title of bishop. The age of these epistles is very far from being of vital moment ; since, irrespective of their testimony, we find in Justin Martyr, who wrote not much more than twenty years later, pretty decisive evidence, that a change had already been effected, in his time, by which one presbyter in each congregation was assigned to a peculiar preëminence. He describes the public worship of Christians at this period as led, on the first day of the week, by one whom he designates as “the president,” (ὁ προεστώς,) who, after the reading of the Scriptures, was in the habit of delivering an exhortation to the people, and who likewise became the depositary of their alms.* In the view of Neander, this change grew out of the necessity that must have been early felt, in a deliberative body like the elders, of choosing one of their number to preside over their common deliberations.† Such a change, as it was clearly subsequent to the time of Clement of Rome, must have been introduced at some time between the commencement and the middle of the second century. When its real nature and just limits are truly appreciated, it will be found that it but reduced the apostolic economy to the present presbyterian form.

The essential characteristic, however, of a purely presbyte-

* Justin Apol. I. c. 67.

† Neander's Church History, Vol. I. p. 190. It is not easy to see, if there was any pretence, at this time, that this leader was a primitive official, why he was not called by a primitive title ; nor how the title of ὁ ἐπίσκοπος came so early to be exchanged for that of ὁ προεστώς. But all seems plain, if this leader was not yet recognized as an official of a distinct grade, but simply as the president of the primitive council of elders or bishops, and hence, also, of the congregation. In this way, we can account for the title of president, (præsidents, præsides, προεστώς προεδρος Tertullian. Apol. ed. Oehler note k to ch. 39,) so often used during the second and third centuries, but disused afterwards.

rian church, is the government of each congregation by a council of presbyters, or elders, as distinguished from the government by a single presbyter, or priest. To this may be added, the absence of a diocesan bishop. Tested by these criteria, the ancient church continued to be, from its origin, fundamentally and essentially a presbyterian church, for the period of nearly three centuries.

Whilst the functions thus, so anciently assigned to the pastor, did not impair a presbyterian organization, yet, if even such a modification could be, as it was, introduced so early as Ignatius, or Justin Martyr, and if it must be, as it is, universally conceded, that even the church of these writers could not safely be cited as exhibiting a *purely* primitive form, in vain, if we have consistency or discretion, will every effort be to delude us into taking, as a model of the institutions of the apostles, the church of any subsequent age. One could have decided, *a priori*, that the human motives which were sufficiently strong to have already produced a departure from primitive usage, whilst the memory of apostles and apostolic men was yet fresh, must, afterwards, as they operated continuously, increase that divergence; just as surely as it could be predicted, that the force of the current which had produced a leak in the levee, would eventually determine in a crevasse.

And, yet, when we come to the next author that discloses much of the interior of the church, we are made conscious, not so much of a change of government, as of a greater prominence given to the modification which we have already characterized as being of an earlier origin; and it is rather from the greater force given to the unity of the churches, and to all ecclesiastical power, than from any organic changes in the government of the separate communities, that we seem to be already on our way to Rome. It is certain, that we may derive from Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who wrote about A. D. 170, a stronger argument for the papacy than for episcopacy. What greater force, for example, as a precedent of antiquity, has the fact, that each church had at this time its single bishop, a fact, of itself, testifying as much against, as for, the episcopacy of our day, than the other fact, of the claim at the same time, on the part of the bishop of Rome, to be a bishop of bishops?—a claim then fitfully asserted, it is true, but already more or less generally allowed. It is an undeniable matter of history, that he already assumed the prerogative of excommunicating the distant churches of Asia Minor. More than this. There is distinctly put forth, in Irenæus, a preten-

tion, on the part of the church of Rome, to at least, some species of pre-eminence or supremacy, on account of which, every other church must necessarily agree with it.* This supremacy has as much to recommend it, as an ecclesiastical institution of the age, as the ever so slight traces to be found in him in favor of episcopacy. Whatever the proper interpretation of the words of Irenæus, and the nature of this pretention may have been, it is certain, that an executive power, and ideas of relative precedence and subordination, had already begun to intrude themselves into the churches, wholly at variance with their primitive organization; and, hence, that the form of church government in use at that time, whatever it was, ceases to be authoritative evidence of its primitive form. To show how alien any such claim to supremacy was to primitive ideas and usages, we need not go back so far as the times of the apostles. The bishops of Ignatius had no ecclesiastical superior. The churches addressed by him were entirely independent. His epistle to the church of Rome, which, of all that remains under his name, bears the best intrinsic marks of authenticity, and has the best external evidence in its support, yet exhibits no sign of a supremacy that, if it existed, would have been so likely to have been there disclosed; nor does it even so much as betray any sign of the existence of a bishop of Rome. But, whoever would urge the testimony of Irenæus to the episcopal constitution of the church, and the apostolic succession, must, also, if logically consistent, allow at least a qualified supremacy of Rome. He should, moreover, be prepared to abandon entirely the peculiar ground of protestants. For Irenæus appeals to tradition, as of an authority almost, if not quite, equal to that of the written word, and as furnishing the only authoritative exposition of the written word; to that tradition "which is from the apostles, and is preserved in the churches by the succession of presbyters;"† and, especially, to that tradition

* Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentiam vel vanam gloriam vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentioris principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio *Contra Omnes Hæreses*, Lib. III. c. 8 §2. For Gieseler's version of this passage, see Prof. Henry B. Smith's edition of Gieseler's History, Vol. 1. pp. 150-1 Note 10.

† Ad eam traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur *Cont Hæreses*, Lib. III. ch. 2 §2.

preserved in the Roman church. the greatest, the most ancient, and best known to all, founded by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, and which had been continued, by an unfailing succession of bishops, down to his time.* “By this succession, he says, that tradition which is from the apostles in the church, and the preaching of the truth, have reached down to us.”† “For the truth ought not to be sought elsewhere, which it is so easy to get from the church; since the apostles have deposited, most amply, in the church, as in a rich store house, all things that are of the truth; so that every one who wishes may draw from it the draught of life.”‡ “Those presbyters should be obeyed who hold the succession from the apostles; who have received, with the succession to the episcopate, the sure gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father.”§ “The truth should be learned where the gifts of the Lord are placed; from those with whom is preserved the succession of the church which is from the apostles.||

Here we have the doctrine of the apostolic succession, pure and simple, in its first conception; for earlier links in the chain of title are totally wanting. No earlier author speaks of it. No evidence exists, in its favor, nearer to the times of the apostles, where, if they really had any successors, the evidence ought most to abound.

The apostolic succession, as it appears in Irenæus, is not so much an inheritance of the right to exercise what are now considered exclusively clerical functions, and to constitute a church, as an inheritance of the truth, amounting to a miraculous and infallible gift, accompanied by a right to an authoritative and exclusive teaching of it. In brief, the episcopal or apostolical succession, according to Irenæus, was but a security for the tradition of the truth; so that, whoever rejects his doctrine of tradition, rejects, in like manner, his doctrine of the succession. Both culminate in Rome; and the church of Rome holds all these claims by as good a title, at this day,

* See extract at foot of previous page.

† Hac ordinatione et successione ea quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesia traditio et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Lib. III. ch. 3 §3.

‡ Non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesia sumere; quum apostoli, quasi in depositarium dives plenissime in eam contulerint omnia quæ sunt veritatis; uti omnis quicumque velit,umat ex ea potum vitæ. Lib. III. ch. 4, §1.

§ Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet his qui successionem ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt. Lib. IV. ch. 26, §2.

|| Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ ab apostolis ecclesiæ est successio. Cont. Hæer. Lib. IV. ch. 26, §5.

as in the times of Irenæus. For, agreeably to him, we need only an undisputed succession of bishops at Rome, which, at least, from his day to ours, no one would pretend to question. The miraculous gift of an infallible tradition follows, as an inherent quality of an unimpeachable succession; and, having settled the point of the succession, we are not allowed to look elsewhere than to Rome, for the truth. The same author exemplifies the correctness of his own theory, by setting forth, in the strongest terms, the doctrine of transubstantiation.*

If Irenæus, therefore, could be found to testify in favor of episcopacy, we should regard that testimony simply as little, or no evidence, of its apostolic origin; since he testifies, also, to other things as concurrently existing, that we know to be alike at variance with primitive practice, and scriptural authority. He, even, with apparent unconsciousness, perverts the scriptures themselves, to make them support the church organization of his own time; for, in alluding to the event related in Acts xx. 17, instead of conforming to the account there given, he says, that Paul sent and summoned the "*bishops and elders from Ephesus, and the other neighboring cities.*"† Upon which, Alford remarks: "So early did interested and disingenuous interpretations begin to cloud the light which Scripture might have thrown on ecclesiastical questions."

More than a century had now elapsed since St. Paul founded the principal churches of the world, and authors of this and subsequent periods, in endeavoring to trace back a succession of individual bishops to him, and other apostles, are greatly at variance among themselves, and seem to be embarrassed by a superabundance of presbyters, or bishops, of apostolic ordination, at the commencement of the series; just as we should anticipate, if a plurality, a council of presbyters, were ordained by the apostles, for each church, at the commence-

* Qui a terra est panis, percipientem invocationem Dei jam non communem panem esse, sed eucharistiam, ex duabus rebus constantem, terrena, et caelesti. Iren. Lib. iv. c. 18, § 5. Quando ergo et mixtus calix et factus panis percipit verbum Dei et fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostrae substantia: quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei, quae est vita aeterna quae sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur et membrum ejus est. Lib. v. ch. 2, § 3.

Tertullian, however, allows that all churches in which the genuine doctrines of the apostles are taught may justly claim to be the successors of the apostles: Ad hanc itaque formam probabuntur ab illis ecclesiis, quae licet nullum ex apostolis vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quae denique cottidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes non minus apostolicae deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinae. Tertul. de Praescrip. Haer. ch. xxxii.

† In mileto, enim convocatis episcopis et presbyteris qui ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus, etc. Iren. Lib. iii, c. 14, § 2.

ment, instead of a single one. Irenæus makes Linus the first bishop of Rome, to whom succeeds Anacletus; after him, he makes Clement bishop, and Evaristus his successor. While other accounts make Clement the first; others, Clement the second, and Cletus his successor; and still others, Linus the first, Cletus the second, and Clement the third. The succession of the church of Antioch is in the like case; and so it is indeed, with nearly, or quite all, of the ancient churches. No one disputes, that the apostles ordained bishops, otherwise called elders, in all of the early churches. We do not need the evidence of tradition for that; for we have the testimony of the Scriptures. Episcopal authors refer to tradition, to show that *one* such was ordained; but, when tradition is interrogated as to what one, several names, supported by various authorities, contend for that honor; a phenomenon which is exactly in conformity to, and supports, the testimony of the Scriptures, in opposition to a corrupted and withered tradition, and to episcopacy, that a *plurality* of bishops were ordained in every church.*

The principal testimony of Irenæus to episcopacy is derived solely, or mainly, by inference, from the prominence thus assigned by him to individual bishops, in tracing the apostolic succession. We still find no traces of a diocesan or metropolitan organization, except so far as the claim then arrogated by the bishop of Rome may be so considered. For aught that appears, the ordinary bishop is still, as in the so-called epistles of Ignatius, the principal official of a congregation merely, or of a single local community; but he is no longer seen in that invariable and intimate association with his presbyters in which he is exhibited in the Ignatian epistles. We are left in doubt as to what were, at this time, the specific functions of the presbytery. Although the distinctive significance of the title of presbyter, as used in modern times, to indicate an order inferior to the bishop, is by no means invariably observed, yet the occasionally indiscriminate use of these terms seems to be the relic and reminiscence of an age already then passed.

As we should naturally expect, when we proceed to the third

* Even Cardinal Perrone is driven to a kind of half way concession, that certainly does not aid the pre-eminence which episcopacy strives to assign, on apostolic authority, to its single bishop: "Certe nihil prohibet, quominus dicamus *plures* per id temporis, vigente persecutione et postulantibus ecclesiae adjunctis consecratos in episcopos fuisse." De Ec. Not., Part I, ch. 3, ob. 2, note 1. If nothing prohibits us from saying, that, in the times of the apostles, the government of the church was administered by a plurality of bishops, or elders, where is the apostolic precedent, or authority, for the substitution of a single one in place of the council?

century, this distinction of bishop and presbyter is both well defined and steadily observed ; and, at the same time, the total departure of the former official from all likeness to any prototype in the scriptures, is sincerely deplored. Origen, who wrote in the early part of this century, characterizes the bishops of his time as more properly princes than disciples ; as proud and haughty ; inaccessible to poor, but exemplary disciples ; intent on making money out of their official position, and wholly alienated from the spirit and practice of Christianity ;* all must allow, but indifferent testimony to the claims of the order, to be the successors of the apostles. This was not much more than a century after Saint John, the last of the apostles, had gone to his rest. Cyprian says, likewise, of the bishops of half a century later : " Very many bishops who ought to have devoted themselves to the exhortation of, and shown themselves an example to, others, despising their holy trust, became curators of secular things ; leaving their church, deserting their people, and wandering abroad, they watched eagerly the markets where money was to be made by traffic ; and, whilst the brethren in the church were suffering from hunger, they sought to accumulate large fortunes ; to wrest lands from others by fraud, and to increase their property by multiplying the rates of interest."†

Although the church had thus acquired a form in the time of Tertullian, (A. D. 200,) in which the distinction of bishop and presbyter was perfectly well marked, its organization is best disclosed in the epistles of Cyprian, the author just cited, who wrote about the middle of the third century. In the African churches, to which these epistles principally relate, each separate congregation had still its own bishop, who was as yet hardly, if at all, distinguishable in his relative position and functions, from the modern pastor of a Presbyterian church ; having but a little more power, and not a whit more extended local jurisdiction. Of course, he bore no resemblance whatever to a modern prelate. The distinction between the bishop and his presbyters seems not to have been generically different from that which existed in the former century, only somewhat more prominent. Thus, in the passage just cited, the bishops referred to had but one church, and one congregation,

* Commentary on Matt. xx. 17 ; xxi. 12 ; Origenis Comm. ed Huetius, Vol. I, p. 420, 441, 442 and '3.

† *Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuratione contemta procuratores rerum saecularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes negotiationis quaestuosae niundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere* Cyprian de Lapsis, ch. vi.

to look after ; and when we read the names of the localities from which came the bishops of the councils of this period, we find that the places were too inconsiderable, and the bishops themselves, in the different provinces, too numerous, to have been, for the most part, at least, other than the pastors of single congregations. The bishop was the sole preacher of the congregation, and the presbyter never preached except by special delegation.* This shows how clearly the bishop was a merely local official, and how precisely he filled the place of a local pastor, as well as how far the priest of this day is from representing the presbyter of that. If there was any exception, (which is doubtful), it was in the instance of the very few large cities, like Carthage ; as the rule seems to have been, to have but one bishop in each place, since the church in each place was regarded as but one.†

Cyprian himself had no jurisdiction, as bishop, beyond the limits of Carthage. He writes of those over whom he presided as a single church, not as a plurality of churches ; of his charge as consisting not of priests, nor of clergy, but of people—*plebs*—dwelling in his immediate locality, with whom he is in constant communication, and from whom he could not well be separated.‡ That the bishops even of the principal cities of provinces had as yet acquired no jurisdiction over the pastors or bishops of other localities, conclusively appears, in his address, on occasion of the opening of an important council of African bishops, from the different towns of the province, where he says :§ “ No one of us has constituted himself a bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by a tyrannical terror to an enforced obedience ; since every bishop has no other

* Bingham's Antiq. c. c. Book II. ch. iv, § 4.

† Monet ipse in evangelio suo et docet, dicens : Et erit unus grex et unus pastor (John x. 16), et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimat aut multos pastores aut plures greges ? Cyprian de Unitate Ec. § 8. Unns in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus iudex vice Christi. Epist. lix. § 7.

‡ De plebe ista nostra quæ apud nos est et nobis de dignatione Dei commissæ est. Epist. lxxvi. § 7. So he writes of himself as collegis omnibus fideliter junctus, plebi suæ in episcopatu quadriennio jam probatus. Epist. lix. § 8. Longe istinc excurrere et diu a plebe cui de divina indulgentia præsumus abesse non datur facultas Epist. lxxviii.

§ Neque erim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi iudicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi.

See, also, Epist. lxxii. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum, quando unusquisque præpositus.

restraint upon his power and his liberty, than what is imposed by his own will ; and, as one of us can not judge another, so neither can he be judged by another. But let us all look forward to the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who solely and alone has the power of setting us up over the government of his church, or of passing judgment on our acts."

The church, however, was divided into certain provinces, the exact limits of which were so imperfectly defined, and so little known, that Cyprian had to inform the bishop of Rome of the extent of that in which he resided, and which comprised as well Africa Propria, as Numidia, and Mauritania.* This province he calls his, in the same sense that we call the county, state, or country in which we reside, and in whose organization we participate, ours. The bishops, or pastors, of this province, with the presbyters or elders assembled together in council, were the only authority that assumed any jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical affairs of the province. This council alone governed and controlled, as the only superior power, the church of each locality within it.† The only prerogative which Cyprian, as bishop of the metropolitan, or chief city of the province, seemed to enjoy, was that of opening the deliberations of this provincial synod, by an address, and the far more important one, of being the organ of its correspondence—all its decrees being promulgated, apparently, through him. One radical fault of this provincial synod, or council, as thus organized, at this period, and which led, by the easiest possible gradations, to the usurpation of all its powers by the bishop of the metropolitan city, was, that nothing seems to have been defined as to the manner in which it could be lawfully convoked, or as to the numbers necessary to constitute a quorum.‡ The consequence was, that we find Cyprian addressing letters, as having the authority of the council, sometimes, in the name of himself, and three or four bishops, with a number of presbyters ; sometimes, with utter indefiniteness, in the name of Cyprian and his colleagues ; and, sometimes, a letter is addressed, in his own name, which assumes to speak by authority of some unspecified council. The ultimate result of so well recognized an organ of so indefinite a council, it ought not to have been difficult to foresee ; and it was, doubtless, through this gap, that modern episcopacy entered, and took possession.

* Epist. xlviii.

† That the like government prevailed elsewhere is shown by the Epistle of Firmilianus. Epist. Cypr. lxxv.

‡ This defect we find carefully remedied, at a subsequent period, when episcopacy was once firmly established.

There is, yet, this further fundamental difference between the episcopacy of the time of Cyprian and its modern representative; that the primitive council of elders was still retained; while all trace of this indispensable feature of a primitive organization, and which rendered the primitive form essentially presbyterian, has long since been obliterated from the church that now claims to be derived, by succession, from the apostles. In the time of Cyprian, as in the apostolic age, each congregation was still provided with its own elders and deacons, as well as with its own bishop. "As late as the third century," says Neander, "the presbyters still maintained their footing, as a college of counsellors, at the side of the bishops; and the latter could undertake nothing of importance without calling to their assistance the deliberative assembly of presbyters. When Cyprian, bishop of the church in Carthage, was separated from his community by his flight from persecution, if he had business to transact relating to the interests of the church, he immediately communicated it to his presbyters remaining behind in Carthage, and excused himself, when he was obliged to decide any matter without their assistance. He declares it to be his invariable principle, to do nothing on his own responsibility, and without their advice. Alluding to the original relation of the bishops to the presbyters, he call them his 'compresbyteros,' "* (co-presbyters).

It is idle, to liken this form of episcopacy to that of the present day. Whatever ground there may be for referring back the original change in the government of the church, by which a peculiar prominence was assigned to one of the elders,

* Neander's Church History, vol. I., p. 192. *Aprimordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine concilio vestro et consensu plebis mea privatim sententia gerere. Sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus* Epist. 14. See also, Bingham's Antiq. C. C. Book II. ch. 19. § 8.

How easily, however, could a bishop who was the mouth-piece of the provincial council, usurp all authority within his own church? At first, Cyprian apologized, that, in an absence from his people enforced by persecution he assumed of his own authority to appoint even a reader;—but, as this provoked no dissent, he proceeded to the appointment of a presbyter; all of which was contrary to the general rule most distinctly recognized by himself (Epist. xxix, xxxviii, xxxix xl.) But, in these cases, the appointees were capable men, who had endured as martyrs, the extreme rigors of the persecution of the heathen emperors, and had survived as by miracle; so that, he insisted, they were more properly designated to office by God, than by himself. Who could have the courage to object, against preferment so well and worthily bestowed, the bare infringement of an abstract rule of government, the sole object of which was, after all, but to secure competent and suitable appointments? When, still later, Cyprian assumed to dispose by his own absolute authority of the charitable funds of the church, this further usurpation provoked the schism of Felicissimus Neander's Ch. Hist. vol. i. 232, 3.

under the title of bishop, to a period so early that this change *may* have received the sanction of Saint John, there is no pretence of authority whatever, either in scripture, or tradition, for saying that the other and far more important change, by which the church cast off its local presbyters, or elders, and deacons, and assumed the present episcopal form, had any apostolic sanction, or was within a hundred and fifty years of the period of the longest-lived apostle. So long as the bishop was left, with his primitive presbytery, in charge of a single congregation, church government remained essentially presbyterian. It was a large usurpation, not effected without much strenuous opposition, and which essentially and radically changed the whole organization and government of the church, when the functions of this presbytery were nearly or entirely superceded, and, in lieu of a college of presbyters to each church, a single presbyter usurped the functions of all, under the name of bishop first, and then of priest; and when the only representative of a presbytery thus left, was a convention to deliberate on the affairs of the churches at large, composed of those presbyters who had, each in his own person, usurped the functions of the primitive presbytery.* It is by this latter revolution which had but commenced in the time of Cyprian, that the present Episcopal church acquired its distinctive form. And, thus, prelatic episcopacy, as it now exists in the Episcopal and Catholic churches, is, as a form of government, a purely human institution, in every one of its features.

* So marked was the departure of the church in the fourth century when it ultimately assumed the leading characteristics of modern episcopacy, from the post-apostolic form of government disclosed in the epistles of Ignatius, and to which episcopaleans are so fond of appealing, that Bishop Pearson bases one of his most cogent arguments in favor of the genuineness of those epistles upon this great revolution by which the presbytery was sacrificed to prelacy. "All his epistles," says Bingham "are so full of great eulogiums of the presbytery as acting in the nature of an ecclesiastical senate together with the bishop, that our late learned defender of those epistles thence concludes, that the power and privileges of presbyteries was greater in the second century, when Ignatius lived, than in the fourth age of the church, when, he thinks, the powers and authority of the presbyteries was a little" (! the bishop says *tantopere*, so greatly,) "sunk and diminished over all the world, and even at Alexandria itself, where it had most of all flourished. And this he makes an argument of the antiquity of those epistles, that they were the genuine product of Ignatius, because no one of the fourth age would have given such encomiums of the presbytery, or armed them with so great authority and power." *Antiq. of the Church. Book II. ch. xix., § 9.* *Nemo tam seris ecclesiae temporibus, presbyterium tot laudibus cumulasset, tanta auctoritate armasset, cujus postatus ea tempestate etiam Alexandriae ubi maxime flourerat tantopere imminuata est.* Pearson *Vindic Ignat. Par. 2. c. 16, p. 428.* What more distinct acknowledgement could be made by a most learned Prelate, that the episcopal form is not the most ancient form of the church?

This position is fully supported by the authority of St. Jerome, the most learned of all the church fathers, who wrote in the latter part of the fourth century, and who had access to many sources of the ancient history of the church which have now perished. He was, as is well known, the author of the vulgate translation of the Scriptures, now universally used by the Catholic church, and is continually cited, by all the learned authorities of that church, as one of its four greatest and most reliable saints and teachers. No episcopalean ought to cavil, in a matter relating to church government, at testimony which is so largely referred to, and highly esteemed, both by catholic and anglican. His words, in commenting on Titus i. 5, are as follows: "Presbyter, therefore, is the same as bishop; and, before rivalries had sprung up in religious matters, due to the promptings of the devil, so that people began to say 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, but I of Cephas,' *the churches were governed by a common council of Presbyters*. But, when it came to pass, that every one thought those he baptized belonged to him, and not to Christ, it was universally determined, that a single person chosen from among the presbyters, should be placed over the rest, and that he should have the care of the church, in order that the causes of schism might be taken away." The same author, after citing numerous proofs from the Scriptures of the original equality of bishops and elders, concludes as follows: "We have adduced these things, for the purpose of showing that, originally, bishops and presbyters were the same, but that, by degrees, and in order that the germs of strife might be removed, the whole charge was devolved on one. As the presbyters, therefore, know, that they are subjected to a superior *by ecclesiastical usage alone*, so let bishops understand, that they hold a rank superior to presbyters more from established custom, than because it was so determined by the infallible direction of the Lord, and that they ought to govern the church in common with the presbyters.*

* Idem est ergo presbyter qui et episcopus; et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ (1 Cor. I. 12,) *communi presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur*: Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis Ecclesiæ cura pertineret et schismatum semina tollerentur.

Hæc propterea, at ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos: paulatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum solitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt, se ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine ei sibi præpositus fuerit, esse subjectos; ita episcopi noverint, se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores et in commune debere Ecclesiam regere. See also, Epistle 146, ad Evangelum.

When, in the course of the half century that followed Cyprian, it suited the clergy to annihilate the remains of the presbyterian form of government bequeathed to the church by the apostles, the title of presbyter was allowed to survive the extinction of the order, and the official on whom the title was devolved, was elevated to all the functions of the post-apostolic bishop; whilst it was found necessary, in order to secure the present form of episcopacy, which thus rose upon the ruin of apostolic institutions, that councils should forbid the creation of any more of such primitive bishops as we read of in the epistles of Ignatius.*

If the testimony of Tertullian and Cyprian could be invoked to sustain an episcopal rather than a presbyterian organization, we might well except to their evidence; though, as it is, this is by no means necessary for the purposes of our argument.† Their testimony, in all its latitude, would carry us beyond episcopacy, to a form of government as distasteful to the episcopalean, as to the presbyterean. It would carry us, by the most irresistible logical consistency, to Rome. Whether the weight of that testimony depend upon the actual practice, and the current ideas and usages of the church of their times, or, upon their personal evidence to tradition and antiquity, their writings would avail as much to sustain a pope as a bishop. If we follow these authors, implicitly, we must recognize with them, the bishop of Rome as the bishop of bishops,‡ and the Roman church as the mother of churches,§ as the chair of Saint Peter, the principal church from which sacerdotal unity has proceeded.|| We must preserve unbroken the unity

* Bingham's Antiq. of the church Vol I. p. 154.

† A sufficient reason why we should not accept of the church of their day as conformable to apostolic usage and of the primitive type, is found in the numerous church officers, known as subdeacons, readers, acolytes, and ostarii, who are brought to view in their writings, and all dignified with the title of "cleri," or clergy, but the nature of whose functions one ever so familiar with Scriptural, or post-apostolic literature, must learn from other sources. With painful consistency, the council of Trent averred all these offices to have been in the church from the very beginning. Sess. XXIII. c. 2.

‡ Memento claves hic Dominum Petro et per eum Ecclesiæ reliquisse Tertullian. Scorp. c. 10. Audio edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium: pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum edicit. Tertullian de Pudicitia ch. 1. Stephanus, (bishop of Rome,) qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri tenere contendit super quem fundamenta ecclesiæ collocata sunt etc Stephanus qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat. Cyprian Epist. 65, §17.

§ Inflexibilis pertinaciæ non tantum radicis et matris sinum atque complexum recusavit Epist. XLV. Nos hortatos eos esse, ut ecclesiæ catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent ac tenerent Epist. XLVIII.

|| Navigare audent et ad Petri Cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est. Epist. LIX. LXXI. and LXXIII.

of that church, and admit that salvation is impossible outside of its limits.* The most that can be said, to abate from this testimony to the primacy of Saint Peter, and the succession to it is, that Cyprian himself did not adhere very consistently to his own teaching; for his doctrine, on this head, was quite explicit, whilst his conduct and example were very contumacious. But protestants employ the same casuistry, to obviate the testimony of the fathers to the antiquity of the errors of the Catholic church, that the Catholics themselves use, to pervert the Scriptures to the support of them.

Cyprian, moreover, would be as good an authority for the practice of priestly absolution, as he could be for the episcopacy.† He is just as good an authority for the primitive and apostolic teaching of one, as he could be for the primitive and apostolic institution of the other. To say nothing of another established practice of the church of his time, and of the witness he also bears to the fact, that prayers for the dead were already inaugurated.‡ The opinions of the fathers, even the earliest of them, must thus be received with grains of allowance; and the organization and institutions of the church of the third century, are very far from being undoubted and exact models of those of the first.

As we descend towards modern times, with the addition of every half a century, we unearth more and more of the abominations of popery. The moment we leave the divine original, human impurities begin to mingle with the stream of tradition. The corruption commences at the very departure from the fountain; and, if we should come still half a century, or a century, further down the current of time, from the writers where we have now stopped, we should find more specific authorities in favor of episcopacy, as it now exists, and scarcely any Roman superstition and error unsupported by the same authorities, the worship of the Virgin, and of all manner of angels, saints, and relics included.

The usual habit of those who argue in favor of episcopacy is, to confound all dates, and to cite, indiscriminately, the tes-

* *Nemini salus esse nisi in ecclesia possit.* Epist. IV.

† *Unde intelligimus non nisi in ecclesia præpositis et in evangelica lege ac domini-
nica ordinatione fundatis licere baptizare et remissam peccatorum dare* Epist. LXII.

‡ *Quod episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes et salubriter providentes censuerunt ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece qui ab altari sacerdotes et ministros voluit avocare. Et ideo Victor cum contra formam nuper in concilio a sacerdotibus datam Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.* Epist. I.

timony of councils and fathers which are spread apart, often, by several centuries, and without regard to their several periods, as being all alike the voice of primitive antiquity.* And, while the period to which they testify, is thus kept out of view, the ecclesiastical usages of that period are but partially revealed, and all allusion to certain other church institutions, as well established as the episcopacy, is carefully avoided, lest it might greatly impair, or entirely destroy, the weight of the authority. We cheerfully allow these councils and fathers, as witnesses to the facts of their own age; but we will not allow one age to have been, in every case, an exact representative and counterpart of a preceding age. Nor is it consistent to adopt this species of testimony, as conclusive, on one point of church practice, and reject it arbitrarily on other points; to carve out, from the practice of a period, what suits preconceived notions and prejudices, for modern conformity, and arbitrarily to insist, that all else is a corruption of primitive usage. If the church organization of any period is adopted as a type, let all the church usages and institutions of that period be, in like manner, accepted, as consistency demands, on the same evidence; but, if the usages and institutions of no other period than that of the scriptures can thus be safely followed out, then away with all *other* ecclesiastical precedents of antiquity.

ART. VI.—HOUSEHOLD BAPTISM.†

By REV. W. R. POWERS, Wilton, Conn.

IF baptism, unlike circumcision, required conscious faith in every subject of it; that is, required individual responsibility and choice, it would seem unreasonable, that in giving an account of its administration, in many instances, a peculiar term should have been employed that implies the contrary. The terms *οἶκος*, and *οἰκία*, are employed undeniably, in a collective sense, to include all the members of a family, or house-

* One is confounded in Bingham's *Antiquities of the Church*, when he reads of "bishops," treated in the same manner as if they were great modern prelates, when, for the most part, at least, prior to the council of Nice, these so-called bishops were, in reality, nothing but country, or village parsons.—the preachers of a single congregation, bearing no similarity nor relation whatever in their position, functions, powers or duties to the modern bishop; the whole parallel ending with the name.

† Dr. Bushnell's *Arguments for Infant Baptism*. [By Rev. Irah Chase, D. D., Newton, Mass.] *Christian Review*, October 1863.

hold, having no reference whatever to their age or capacity. To speak of baptizing a HOUSEHOLD, is to speak of baptizing the infant children that may be included under such a designation. It is a Jewish word, conveying a Jewish idea, and is the first and simplest organic unity of God's ancient church. This peculiarity was perpetuated, and carried forward into the new dispensation of the Gospel, as one of its fittest and most appropriate agencies for establishing the kingdom of Christ in the world.

When our Lord was about sending out his chosen disciples, he said : "And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house" [τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦτοῦ]. "And if the son of peace be there your peace shall rest upon it : if not, it shall turn to you again."* Here, peculiar blessings were to come upon a whole household, infants not excepted, "unconscious babes," as they might some of them be, on account of the disposition of its head. If he were a "son of peace," God's peace was to visit each one of the family, infants included, if any belonged to it. And in the case of Zaccheus, Jesus said to him : "This day is salvation come to this house, for as much as he is a son of Abraham."† In these instances, the benefit bestowed upon the *head* of the household, flows to each individual member of it, whether infant, or adult. And the language of Jesus exemplifies the Jewish usage of the word.

But our Baptist critics have their own method with this subject, and Dr. Chase has done much to develop and give it force. We propose to notice the arguments adduced by him, in his long and exhaustive article, reviewing Dr. Bushnell, in the *Christian Review*.

In order to show, that the grace of God bestowed upon the heads of *families* or *households*, descends to each member of them respectively, and that the children are partakers of whatever good things fall to their parents, or guardians, Dr. Bushnell has observed : "Do we not all know that what is given to the father includes the children, and that his faith is the faith of the house?" Dr. Chase does not "know" this, or, at least, does not view it in the same light. To the first question he responds : "That is, what is given to the father is given to the children." This is not quite a fair statement. The words are plain enough. The writer means that blessings of spiritual birth and everlasting life conferred upon the parents, embrace the offspring also, as by a natural law. Such we believe is, according to the promise, the design of God ;

* Luke, x : 5.

† Luke, xix : 9.

and these blessings are made operative through the organic unity of the family. Our author, in opposing Dr. Bushnell, further says: "We can not answer in the affirmative without limitation."* We here give his "limitation," *ab ovo usque ad mala*. Thus: "The pastorate of a church, or membership in a scientific society, or in some association of artists, or of mechanics, or of merchants, may be given to a father, while it is not given to his children." If this were true, which it is not, nothing is gained by the writer. A benefit conferred on the parents of a family, even in a temporal matter, may be of great influence upon the welfare and happiness of the offspring. Much more, however, may be justly calculated on spiritual favors in this relation. It can not be that so excellent a man as Dr. Chase will deny this. To the second question, the following is the reply: "If his faith is to be accounted the faith of the house, so that they are to be baptized in virtue of it, why did not the apostle Paul think of this great principle, when he wrote to the Corinthians, 'If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.' Why did he not add, but let her without delay be baptized? for, though unbelieving, she is sanctified by her husband; she is kindly disposed toward him, and, do we not all know that his faith is the faith of the house?"† Dr. Chase frequently appeals to "common sense," and to "common candor," why should he so forget both here? The principle spoken of in Corinthians has another reference, and a different ground to rest upon, than the one for which we are contending in the present instance. The relation of the mother to the husband and father of the children, is far unlike that of the children to the parent. Our author must have very confused views of these things, as well as of infant baptism, to indulge in such strange language. The principle is easy to understand. The head, or heads of a household, being blessed by faith and repentance towards God, the children are entitled to be blessed with them, in all the mercies of the New Covenant, the same as were the children of the faithful under the dispensation of Moses. The faith of Abraham, was the faith of his household, and so was the faith of Crispus and Stephanas. God established the connection between the faith of the head of the family, or household, and the sign and seal of it, to be applied to the offspring, when he gave circumcision as the seal of Abraham's "righteousness of faith." For, on what principle can its application to the infant child be explained, if

* *Christian Review*, Oct. 1863. p. 533.

† *Ibid.* p. 533.

not on that for which we contend? If baptism is too sacred to be applied to those whom Christ pronounced types of the kingdom of heaven, will Dr. Chase tell us why the "seal of the righteousness of faith" was administered to Abraham's infant seed? Let there be no dispute as to the *nature* of circumcision and baptism; that is unnecessary. The former was a seal of the righteousness of Abraham's faith. Now, on the principles on which baptism is denied to children of Christian parents, how is it, that so sacred a thing was enjoined by Jehovah to be applied to infants? Was it not precisely on the principle of extending the condition and blessing of the parental head to the seed? In the present case, the argument is, that the apostles continue the same *ideas* and *terms* applicable to Israel under the law of circumcision, to Christian experiences, rites and duties. The faith of the household secured the covenant blessings to the offspring under the Mosaic dispensation; and the language, modes of thought and expressions in the apostolic records, show us that the same law of influence and blessing continues, and ever must continue, as long as the race shall need Christianity. Circumcision was administered to households—baptism was administered to households. The faith of Jacob was the faith of his household, as well when there were infants, and children in it, as at other times, when there were none; nor were these ever excepted, any more than was Rachel, when her behavior appeared somewhat exceptionable.* The faith of Cornelius, of Zaccheus and of Crispus, was the faith of their households, the same as that of Moses, of Jacob, and of Joshua. Surely Dr. Chase, who has thought and written so much on these subjects, ought to understand this principle, even if his school does not.

EXAMPLES OF HOUSEHOLD BAPTISM.

I. *Household of the Jailer.*†

(a) When the keeper of the prison asked,—“What must I do to be saved?” The reply was: “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and *thy house*.” *καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου*. Here we have the very ideas for which we are contending, brought out prominently. The house of this Roman Jailer was to be blessed with life and salvation, on his own faith. Could not the seal of the righteousness of his faith be given to his children, as well as to the children of Abraham? The organic unity and covenant relation of the

* Gen. xxxi: 19-35.

† Acts, xvi: 29-33.

family are clearly laid down. The apostle, by this declaration, silences every argument of Dr. Chase. On his principles, it is incapable of explanation. "The faith of the parent is the faith of the house."

(b) The announcement in the 33d verse, that the Jailor "was baptized, he and all his" (*καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες*), "straightway," is in perfect accordance with the promise of the apostle. The phrase, "all his," comprehends the household, whether infant children existed in it or otherwise. A circumstance which shows this only more plainly, is, that the Syriac version, which deserves especial consideration, both for its great antiquity, and the accordance of its idiom with that spoken by Christ and the apostles, emphatically proclaims the nature of the household. The usual phrase is,—*kulhun b' nay bytheh*, "all the sons of his house." It is not contended, that this version implies the existence of children in these families, any more explicitly than the Greek original, only that the Jewish idea is more graphically brought out. The proposition, therefore, is, that the use of this term, HOUSEHOLD, in such a connection, is equivalent to a declaration, that children of the family were baptized with their parents. Would any one deny, if circumcision had been predicted of a heathen household converted to Judaism, that the rite was administered to the children by virtue of the faith of the parents? Why, then, deny baptism? Do you say, circumcision was known to apply to infants, but we have no evidence in regard to baptism? But this family-baptism is introduced to prove that very thing. A *family* is baptized. The Antipedobaptist begs the point in dispute, and then calls for other proof! He assumes that there is no baptizing of children, and immediately undertakes the impossible task of eliminating them from these households. Success will crown his efforts when he can show, that the word *family* has the force to *include* only the parents, and to *exclude* the children.

(c) Dr. Chase argues thus: "We have only to read the preceding verse,—'They spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to *all that were in his house*.' 'All his,' who, as stated in the thirty-third verse, were baptized, are manifestly the same as 'all that were in his house,' to whom, as stated in the thirty-second, the word of the Lord was spoken. Besides, in the thirty-fourth verse, we are informed, that "he rejoiced, with all his house, having believed in God. He, with his, or, with all that were in his house, having believed the word of the Lord spoken to them, rejoiced. They all rejoiced, having believed."*

* *Christian Review*, 1863, p. 5, 338.

But this criticism, and the argument with it, must fail. For, 1. The criticism, as we shall soon see, is unsound; and, 2. Granting the whole household is included in the rejoicing, it will not follow, that every person in it, was old enough to have actual belief as the cause of his rejoicing. A few facts, to which Antipedobaptist writers never refer, as we can find, are necessary to be brought to their attention.

The apostles were illiterate Jews, and they thought in Aramean phraseology, and what they thought they wrote as the Holy Spirit directed. All these modes of thinking and writing, are indebted, in a very great degree, to their Sacred Books, their ancient religion and habits of life. Let us see, then, how their fathers thought and spoke. In 2 Kings, xxiii: 1, 2, 3, we find, that king Josiah having gathered "all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem;" "all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests and the prophets, and all the people, both *small* and great," and "read in their ears all the words of the books of the Covenant," etc. "And the king made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart, and all their soul," etc. This gathering for entering into a covenant, included the children, in whose ears the law was read. In the book of Joshua, viii: 35, all the words of the law are said to have been "read before all the congregation of Israel, with the women, and the *little ones*," (הַקְטָנִים). If, then, covenants were made with the people of Israel, with the "little ones"; if the "law was read in their ears," there is a large precedent for the language here in Acts, xvi. With this fact evident in history, this mode of speech everywhere appearing in the ancient sacred books, will Dr. Chase's negation prove that there were no children in the family of the Jailor?

But we are told that the rejoicing was on the part of those who believed, and all were believers, or must, in consequence, have been believers. And here comes in the point of criticism. Dr. Bushnell had said, in order to show, that no evidence existed on the face of the language, of any believing, but the Jailor; "But the participle believing, is singular and not plural in the original, and the phrase, 'with all his house,' plainly belongs to the verb, and not to the participle. Rigidly translated, the passage would read, 'he rejoiced with all his house, himself believing.' The original is, καὶ ἡ γαλλιάσατο πανοιχὶ πεπιστευχῶς τῷ Θεῷ. The original undeniably sustains Dr. Bushnell, for πεπιστευχᾶς is certainly singular. Dr. Chase argues thus: "If he and they re-

joiced together (and this is the obvious and undeniable meaning), surely we must admit, that not only he but they also could and did believe. The rejoicing was a consequence of believing; and how could they participate in the joy of believing, if they had not believed?"* Thus far, then, the argument is against the text of the original, and on an assumption that the household could not have rejoiced, or could not have been said to have rejoiced, without every individual of it being a believer, which it is easy to show, is an entire mistake. Dr. Chase has lost his labor, as we will soon prove. Before that, however, let us for the sake of exhibiting the peculiar spirit of Baptist writers (and Dr. Chase is, indeed, among the most amiable of them all), look at this language a little further. He continues the above, thus: "The effort to make it supposed that *they* did not believe by inserting the word *himself* before the word believing—himself believing is a very grave error. We are sorry to see it; especially in so excellent a man as Dr. Bushnell." The impression is now thoroughly made upon his readers, that his author was so zealous as to become unscrupulous in order to carry his argument through. Now let all scholars and critics worthy of the name judge, whether the text here does indicate, that all the household became believers. Dr. Chase strives, by special and specious statements of this passage, to make it speak what it can not, and, at the close, turns on his opponent with a reproach!

But let us further notice the argument, that the household could not have been said to have rejoiced, unless they had been believers. In the very nature of the Jewish family, as we have already noticed, the happiness of the pious and godly parents is transferred to the little ones, to the children who may well be said to rejoice in the blessedness of their state. It will not be pretended, that the children who shouted hosannas to Jesus, in the temple, were believers, although we may fairly assume that their parents were. Dr. Chase ought to inform us, whether it were necessary that those "babes" and "sucklings," out of whose mouths God perfects praise, should be believers. It becomes an interesting question, whether the parents of those young infants that received the blessing of the Lord, and of whom it was affirmed, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," could not be said to rejoice with their whole household. If a family, whose heads and adult members have been converted, and whose little ones have been blessed and consecrated to Christ in baptism, may not rejoice in God, with united voices,

* *Christ. Review*, 1863, p. 538.

where shall we look for praise? And do we not, in the familiar language of life, often speak of happy families, Christian families, Baptist families, Methodist and Congregational families, Episcopalian or Presbyterian families, without once supposing it necessary to except the infant children, the "unconscious babes," in such designations? When Joshua said: "But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord,"* there can be no doubt that it was without any reference to infant members of his household. He would have said the same had there been many "little ones" in his family. And we do not believe that Dr. Chase will deny this. But he must deny all these plain and palpable considerations, or his argumentation falls to the ground.

II. *Baptism of the Household of Stephanas.*

Paul to the Corinthians says: "And I baptized also the household of Stephanas." Dr. Chase, in noticing the argument on this passage, which of course is common to this class of cases, says: "The argument is easily answered. In the first case, that of Stephanas in 1 Cor. i. 16 (I baptized also the household of Stephanas), we need only compare this with what is said near the close of the epistle (xvi. 15): "Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints. Here the household is described as converts, who exerted themselves to supply the wants of their poor and afflicted fellow-disciples."† This expresses the argument common to all Antipedobaptists, and occasionally some German commentator sides with them.‡ But if there be any weight in what has already been said, the "ministering" of this family will not be considered satisfactory, as proof that the household of Stephanas were all adult believers. If we observe our own mode of speech, we shall be convinced that such language is continually applied to families in our own day. We often hear it said of such a family, that it does much by way of benevolent enterprise; that such a family contributes to the Sunday-school cause; to the missionary cause; that such a family is noted for its kindness to the poor. In all these cases, no thought arises in the mind that we exclude infants from them by the application of these qualities. But there are examples capable of settling this question. Jacob said to his household, when God commanded him to go up to Bethel, "Put away the strange

* Joshua xxiv. 15.

† *Christ. Review*, 1863, p. 537.

‡ Neander, *Hist. Christ. Relig.*, v. I, p. 360, and *Apost. Age*, v. I. p. 140, is cited.

gods that are among you, and be clean and change your garments."* Such an injunction implies adult persons full as much as the "ministry" of Stephanas; yet, we learn by the narrative a little previous† that there were many children in his household, and that they were "*tender*." There appears to be an unwillingness on the part of Baptist writers to meet the facts in relation to these instances. They do not appear in their books on baptism. Dr. Chase does not attempt to meet the argument from the use of this term "*household*," baptizing by the whole *family*, and not naming *individuals*. Nor does he intimate that there are any facts or circumstances showing that his own objections are, or may be, invalidated. He does not seem to feel conscious that the old church of Israel affords some light on the language and ordinances of the new dispensation. Let us take an instance. Moses was commanded of God to make a covenant with the people. He accordingly "called unto all Israel," and recounted in their hearing all God's blessings on them, and says: "Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God; your captains of your tribes, your elders, and your officers, with the men of Israel, your *little ones*, your wives," &c., "that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath, which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day. That he may establish thee to-day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob."‡ Here was a spiritual covenant made with all Israel, with the men, women and children—"little ones." And in this very transaction we are reminded of this "family organic unity." "Lest there should be among you man, or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart turneth away this day from the Lord our God." It sounds very strange to hear Dr. Chase so often introduce, with something kindred to sneering, the phrase *unconscious babes*, after reading God's manner of carrying forward his plan of blessing men, in the writings of Moses. Our author is, in one place of his extended article, obliged to admit, in order to save his theory, of no baptism without conscious belief, that some children not more than two years and a quarter old "have begun to think and to speak" so as to "touch the heart of the parent;" that "the dear little one says he loves the Lord Jesus Christ, that died for him, and he can repeat the creed and make the responses required of the candidate for

* Gen. xxxv. 2.

† Gen. xxiii. 2, 5, 6, 13.

‡ Deut. xxix. 10, 13.

baptism.”* All this is admitted to save his cause, and his brethren must see that it is a remarkable “*letting down*.” When, however, our author desires to show that Cyprian and the North-African church introduced “Infant Communion” with Infant Baptism, the case appears slightly changed. He cites the well known passage in Cyprian’s book, *De Lapsis*,† to show that infants in his jurisdiction as pastor and bishop were given the communion. When it is evident from the facts in the case that the little girl, in this only case on record, upon which he builds so startling an argument, must have been, as Dr. Wall observes,‡ some *four or five* years old when the bread and wine were offered to her! But this is not all. The words which Cyprian employs in these places are—*parvulam filiam*;§ *puella*, twice; *parvula*; and *infantem*: Rendered “infant daughter;” “the infant;” “the child;” the little child;” “an infant;” respectively. In one sentence, the words *annis rudir anima*, are rendered—“and the babe’s soul, yet in tender days.”|| Tertullian uses *parvulus*, but in the course of his thought develops the sense in which it is to be understood; for he uses the modifying words, “*innocens ætas*,” *innocent age*. Yet Dr. Chase says of the passage: “Here let it be distinctly noted that Tertullian was speaking not of infants properly so called, but of little ones (*parvuli*) who had sufficient maturity to be taught lessons of Christianity, truth and duty.”¶ But we must return after this digression. Dr. Chase accuses Dr. Bushnell of “dreaming.” Here is something worse than dreaming. As an addition to the facts above, concerning “little ones” entering into covenant with God, it is easy to see that Moses under the direct guidance of Jehovah, entertained widely different views in respect to the “unconscious babes” of families in covenant with God from those of Dr. Chase. In the Wilderness of Sinai Moses was required to number the children of Levi “by families,” “every male from a month old and upward.” And the whole number of such was “eight thousand and six hundred keeping charge of the sanctuary.”** A little study into the divine legation of Moses, and the connection between the old and new dispensation of God’s church on earth, would not be out of place with Antipedobaptists. The “easy explanation” of Dr. Chase entirely fails. He can not show that “household” does in any instance, and much less in these cases of baptism, exclude infant children. The house-

* *Christ. Review*, 1863, p. 550.

† See Wall, pt. II, ch. 9, near the close.

‡ *Christ. Review*, 1863, pp. 557, 578.

§ *De Lapsis*, cap. 7 (9), 20 (xxv).

§ *Infans*, cap. xxvi. at the beginning.

¶ *Christ. Review*, 1863, p. 546.

** Numb. iii. 7, 15, 28.

hold of the poor widow of Zarephath had only one little son, yet he is called her "house," unless we can *suppose* others, not at all named in the narrative.† Cornelius' household had many servants and soldiers in it, and yet we must *suppose* to accommodate Antipedobaptists that they were all childless.

III. *Baptism of Lydia's Household.*

Paul found this woman "which worshipped God," at the city of Thyatira. It is stated simply, that she was "a seller of purple," whose heart the Lord opened, that ~~she~~ attended unto the things which were spoken by Paul. "And when she was baptized and her household, she besought us, etc. [ὡς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη, καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς.] The Syriac version here, has the expression—"and the sons of her house;" which means, "and the members of her family."

Dr. Chase says: "We have only to look on to the end of the chapter, where it is stated, respecting Paul and Silas, when about to leave the city, after being released from prison, that they entered into the house of Lydia; and when they had seen the brethren, they comforted them and departed. The "brethren," he supposes, were Lydia's household. He imagines her to have maintained a "mercantile establishment;" and, "of course, she would need persons to assist her; and who can doubt that her household who had been baptized were, in part at least, the brethren who were seen and comforted?"*

But the writer does not touch the very pith of the whole matter. Why does the Holy Spirit employ this phrase in so peculiar a case? Why does he not individualize here, and give us the names of these brethren who were baptized? Lydia, indeed, is named, why not the others, if they were all independent adults? Why this collective term? Dr. Chase does not touch this consideration. He does the best he can; he *supposes*, with a confident ingenuity, that might be applauded, if it were not calculated to subvert truth. He seems willing to take almost any belief on inference, on "a doubtless," on suppositions; but not that infant children were baptized in these families, although he must acknowledge that some persons were baptized, whose identification was a subordinate consideration, and so were named collectively—"household."

IV. But there are certain difficulties in our way. There are instances of "*believing*" households, it is alleged. There are

* 1 Kings, xvii. 12, 15, 19.

† *Christ. Review*, 1863, p. 533.

some five cases; we will give them: 1. Crispus, the chief ruler of the Synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house." [σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ]. Syriac version the same as in the Jailor's case.* 2. Cornelius "a devout man, and one who feared God with all his house." Syr. "he and all his house."† 3. It is said of a nobleman in John—"and himself believed and his whole house."‡ Syr. "And he believed and all his house." The other cases are that of the rejoicing household of the Jailor, and the "ministry" of Stephanas' household.

These passages, as has already been remarked, have been understood to very essentially weaken the argument for household baptism. Dr. Macknight observes "that the family of Stephanas seem all to have been adults when they were baptized"—and then refers to the language in 1 Cor. xvi. 15. These objections do not reach the point, at all. The thing predicated of a family is always more or less figuratively applied. Thus, in the case of Jacob. The injunction could apply *literally*, only to adults. We should reason wildly to say, that the mere fact, that such a command, capable of being obeyed only by adults, proves that no children existed in his family. We do not deny, that there were, and might be everywhere, households without any child in them; nor do we deny, that modifications may be applied to show this. But we do affirm, that the alleged circumstances are not sufficient to certify us, in these cases, that there were none but adults in these families. The principle of explanation has been abundant, to satisfy any unbiased mind. After all, the main argument remains untouched. The Holy Spirit has employed a *generic, collective TERM*, in direct opposition to the *individualism*, contended for by our opponents. If baptism requires conscious belief, understanding and choice, in every subject, unlike circumcision, we can but repeat, why has such an expression been employed?

In this connection, it is well to remember a thing which serves to explain this usage. As baptism was in many respects like circumcision, it applied individually to all in the household but with the same modification, viz: Belief and choice, on the part of all who are capable of them, to infant children, as the seed of the faithful, believing parent, in the New Kingdom. The Jewish church had been accustomed to wash the convert from the heathen nations, and circumcise them, the children with the parent, or sponsor. This is as

* Acts. xviii: 8.

† Acts. x. 2.

‡ John iv. 53.

well established as any other fact of ecclesiastical history. Subsequently, however, nothing was necessary, for the descendants of proselytes but circumcision. In the New dispensation, our Lord, in his sovereign condescension, adopted for his supper, in place of the Passover, the bread, and the heathen adenda, the cup of blessing; rejecting the lamb, and the bitter herbs. So for his *initiation* with the same sovereignty, he rejected the bloody and onerous rite of circumcision, and adopted the simple, symbolical washing, denoting the desire and effort of every true convert for inward purity. To these simple principles attest the language of Christ and his apostles everywhere. They demonstrate that Jewish ideas of the family relations—the organic unity of the household, which has been ably, and, for the most part, correctly developed by Dr. Bushnell—was to be continued, cherished, and acted upon by Christians under the gospel dispensation. Hence, we have it said—*households* were baptized; *i.e.*, whole families were baptized in the same way as proselytes to Judaism had been received. Baptism agrees to circumcision far more closely than does the Lord's Supper to the Passover. And that they both come to us in the place of those ancient institutions, is the language of the early Fathers, and the teachings of God's word.

ART. VII.—AUGUSTINE ON “THE CITY OF GOD.”*

By E. H. GILLET, D. D., New York.

“OF all Christian writers since the apostles,” says Milman, “Augustine has maintained the most extensive and permanent influence.” “To remarkable acuteness and depth of intellect,” adds Neander, “he united a heart filled and thoroughly penetrated with Christianity, and a life of the most manifold Christian experience.” His peculiar experience fitted him especially for the task which, in the providence of God he was called to discharge. That experience is recorded in his ever memorable “confessions,” valuable as well as instructive in themselves, but valuable also for the light which they throw on the training of one who occupies so prominent a place in the sphere of Christian history.

But while his name is associated with the system of doctrine

* S. Aurelii Augustine, Hipponensis Episcopi, D. Civitate Dei. Libri xxii,

which he taught, his merits as a Christian Apologist must not be overlooked. His rare acquaintance with Roman learning, his devotion for many years to the study of the Platonic philosophy, and his familiarity with the more common as well as the more subtle objections to Christianity, by which for a time, he had himself been perplexed, all combined with his religious experience, his glowing faith, and his vigor of thought and style, to designate him as the champion of Christian truth, and the exponent of its claims.

The age in which he lived demanded such a man. The Roman Empire was crumbling to decay. The adherents of the old paganism charged the bitter calamities of the times to the anger of the forsaken gods. Incited by their hostility, the enemies of the gospel were ever devising plausible and subtle objections against it, and it was to refute these, and confound the project from which they sprang, that Augustine devoted thirteen years (A. D. 413-26) of his life to the production of his able, learned, and eloquent treatise, "De Civitate Dei."

"The City of God" is the kingdom of grace on earth—the church sojourning here now, amid hardships and struggles, but ultimately destined to a glorious triumph. It consists of all God's elect, and is preserved and guarded amid all dangers and vicissitudes by his watchful providence. Through all time its history runs parallel to that of the world, "the city" with which it is in constant and inevitable antagonism. It is governed by God himself; its laws are of his ordaining; its ceremonies are of his appointment; and its ultimate triumph is assured by his covenant promise.

In order properly to set forth the nature, principles and progress of the "City of God," Augustine found it necessary to meet certain objections at the outset. Rome had just been overwhelmed by the Gothic invasion, and this misfortune was charged to the indignation of the old Roman gods, who thus inflicted vengeance for their neglected temples and deserted altars. Augustine devotes five out of the twenty-two books to the refutation of this charge. He shows that in no war ever waged, had the victors spared the vanquished on account of their gods, that it was but a vain confidence on the part of the Romans, that the Trojan Penates, who could not rescue Troy from her doom, would preserve their capital—yet that fugitives had found an asylum even from the Goths in Christian churches while the temple of Juno furnished no refuge for the Trojans.

In the vicissitudes of war moreover, he who makes his sun

to rise upon the evil and the good, for wise reasons sometimes overwhelms both by a common calamity. But the real treasure of the saints, though all earthly good be lost, can not perish. Their calamities are not to be ascribed to the weakness or neglect of the God they worship. The argument of the worshiper of Roman deities is refuted by the experience of Regulus, who faithful to his oath returned to Carthage, yet was suffered by the gods he worshiped, to be put to death with cruel tortures.

Roman virtue, illustrated in the life of Cato, approved of suicide in order to escape the bitterness of calamity. Augustine shows that this indicated cowardice, rather than greatness of mind. Regulus should hold a moral rank far above Cato, but even in that kind of virtue which he displayed, the Christians, patient to the end, were far more eminent. One sin ought not to be avoided by the commission of another. Fear of violence to the person could not justify one in violence toward himself. God's providence in allowing holy women to be given up to the lusts of licentious soldiery was mysterious, but where there was no consent to the sin, the violation of the body could not stain the soul, and the grace of God might sanctify the humiliation and thereby mortify pride. Let the heathen say then if they chose, "Where is thy God?" The Christian can reply—Where are the gods of those who worship them in order to avoid such calamities, and yet meet the fate they had hoped to avoid?

But the very prosperity which many accounted due to the favor of God, was, even by the testimony of the old Romans, like Scipio, a grievous calamity. It introduced luxury, profligacy, vice, and moral corruption; moreover the very worship of heathen gods was debasing. Scipio was morally their superior, and more worthy of divine honors, and in his anxiety for the welfare of his country, would have suppressed theatrical shows which familiarized the minds of the spectators with the infamy of their gods.

In his second book, Augustine examines the moral character of the old Roman worship. He cites the scenes which he had himself witnessed in his youth, scenes characterized by obscenity and lust, and necessarily exerting a most deleterious influence upon the mind of the spectator. The worship of Juno, mother of the gods, was scandalous. Heathen deities never had prohibited wickedness, or lent sanction to holy living. Their deeds, more effective by example than the precepts of the philosophers, were utterly disgraceful. Their worshipers would be more moved by what Jupiter did, than what Plato taught, or Cato

thought. The more sober thinkers among the old Romans, men like Scipio and Cicero, condemned such exhibitions.

But would any one say that the base deeds ascribed to the gods were fictitious? This only made the matter worse. Demoniactal malice was thus more effective to deceive and mislead. But surely gods of such a character were utterly unworthy of divine honors. The Greeks said, "if such gods are to be worshiped, men like them are to be honored. The Romans maintain that men like them are not to be honored: Christians consequently infer that in no way are such gods to be worshiped."

Plato's morality would not allow poets with their licentious representations of the gods in his republic. How much superior was he in goodness to the gods themselves that are worshiped with such obscenity! The very fact that laws which Lycurgus feigned to have instituted by the authority of Apollo, were changed and improved by men, shows how little regard the gods had for the cause of a perfected justice.

Augustine then proceeds to examine into the moral condition of Rome under its heathen religion. He instances the rape of the Sabines and other crimes which were committed in the early and much praised periods of Roman history. He quoted the testimony of Sallust concerning the discord, avarice and ambition which sprang up after the fall of Carthage. Referring to the denunciations of luxury and corruption in the sacred writings, uttered by prophets and apostles, he notes that these very vices had culminated in the Roman empire before the advent of Christ, and yet these were not ascribed, as they should be, to their gods. Roman aspiration was for dominion and strength, not purity and virtue. It demanded selfish and licentious indulgence, splendid palaces, rich feasts, incentives to appetite, lascivious exhibitions, base and cruel pleasures. A republic, according to its taste, would be like the palace of Sardanapalus. The poet Ennuis said:

"Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque,"

yet the Roman gods had taken no care that the republic might not perish by corrupt morals.

While recognizing the great fact that the vicissitudes of earthly affairs are ordained by God's providence, Augustine notes the lamentable influence of heathen rites on the minds of wicked men. Sylla's cruel purposes of proscription were sanctioned by the divinations of the haruspices. In poetic fictions of the gods one might find debasing examples for almost every vicious affection. Long before Christ's advent the Ro-

man republic was rotten to the core, and the worship of its false deities had eaten out manliness and virtue. Augustine closes the book with an eloquent appeal to the descendents of the Reguluses, Scipios, etc., to distinguish between the debasing character of their old religion, and the beautiful influence of Christianity, and avoiding their former worship, seek the citizenship of the saints and the treasures of Christian purity.

The third book is devoted to a rapid survey of the misfortunes which befel the Roman Empire under the old religion during the centuries that preceded the coming of Christ. Why was Troy overthrown? Was the adultery of Paris more criminal than what is storied of the gods themselves? But we reject these fables. Still it is said that it is well that brave men should think themselves descended from the gods. What a field for inventive falsehood is here opened! But if Paris was punished, why was Romulus, though he slew his brother, suffered to escape? Did Rome enjoy peace under Numa, who instituted the worship of gods, and for the centuries that followed, was the observance of that worship of no avail? Was the large multiplication of divinities and temples equally in vain? Look at the iniquity of the Roman wars, the life and death of the Roman kings! The first consuls were unable to agree. The Brutus who ordered the execution of his sons, drove out his colleague. History recounts the seditions that followed for a long period—the altercations and strifes which the gods did not interpose to quiet. Famine, fire, slaughter, pestilence, invasion, conspiracy, repeated defeats—all came upon the nation, and no gods hastened to the rescue. Supplications and sacrifices were of no avail. The national strength was exhausted in the conflict with Carthage. The Saguntines, though true to their vows of loyalty, were left to perish. Scipio's merits were repaid by ingratitude. An edict of Mithridates doomed every Roman found in his kingdom to slaughter.

Meanwhile civil discord prevailed at home. Sedition followed sedition, and could be appeased by no piety that erected a temple to Concord. The civil war of Sylla and Marius rent the nation and cost it its noblest blood; cruelty and violence prevailed. The invasion of the Gauls and their slaughter of the Roman senators, could not be averted by any worship of the gods. How senseless then to impute later calamities to the prevalence of the Christian faith, or the desertion of the heathen shrines!

After considering the question whether large imperial domain, if it can only be acquired by war, is desirable, and how

essential justice is to preserve a nation from being merely an organized band of robbers, Augustine proceeds in his fourth book to consider the connection between the prosperity of empire and the favor of the gods. The ambition of Ninus led him first to establish, by means of war and invasion, a powerful kingdom which continued for more than twelve hundred years. His success by historians is ascribed to no aid from the gods. Why then must Rome, which had not yet endured so long, ascribe its dominion to their favor? Nineveh perished long before the name of Christ was preached. Did it perish because it deserted its own religion?

But by the aid of *what* gods do the Romans suppose that the empire was augmented and established? Was it by that of any one of their great crowd of deities? But each of these has his own distinct and subordinate sphere. Must it then be ascribed to Jupiter as supreme? Why then is Juno conjoined with him as his spouse? If "all things are full of Jove," why does Juno have domain of the air, Neptune of the sea, and Pluto of the earth? What sphere will be left for Minerva? Why, as springing from the head of Jove, is she not above him? Is it because the daughter must not be preferred to the father? Why then did not Jove regard this relation to *his* father Saturn? Was it because the latter was overcome by him? They fought then! No, they say, that is fabulous nonsense. Better ideas then are cherished of the gods. Why therefore does not Saturn have his proper precedence? Because, they say, Saturn is simply duration. They worship him then who worship Saturn, and the king of gods is born of time.

But some make Jupiter the soul of the world. He is Juno in the air, Neptune in the sea, Pluto in the earth, Saturn in time, Mars in war, etc. But if so, what would they lose who by more prudent husbanding of their resources, worshiped the one God only? What part of him would be contemned, if he himself was adored? Or if there is danger that his different parts be provoked, and every star or animal is a part, how many must remain unworshiped and without temples, altars or sacrifice!

Or, if God is the soul of the world, and the world is his body, what indignity is offered him, when the world is trampled upon by the foot, or when any animal is slain! Will it be said that only rational creatures are parts of God? Then the whole world is not God, and the human parts of him are stained with all kinds of vice and depravity. And how can he be angry at his own parts, by which he is not worshiped? Nothing remains

but to fall back on the individuality of the different gods, and to worship those of them who can be known, for to know all is impossible. But of them all, who but Jupiter could have established and prospered the Roman Empire? Yet if he did it, what place is there for the goddess Victory? And if his power is supreme, why should she be accounted a goddess? But what does it mean that Felicity and Fortune are deified? Are both the same? Then why diverse altars? Why again are Virtue and Faith deified? Why does the last have temple and altar, when every one should make himself her dwelling? Why then should not Temperance, Courage and Prudence be deified? Are they included in virtue? And are not faith and chastity as well?

But these goddesses are the creations not of truth (*veritas*) but vanity (*vanitas*). They are gifts of God, not deities. If virtue and happiness is secured, what more are wanted? If Jupiter is worshiped for these, why are they not understood to be his gifts? If they are counted goddesses, what need of more? What can be wanted of the great crowd of Olympus?

Varro presumes to teach the science of worshiping the divinities. He would have men avoid the blunder of misdirecting their supplications. A useful aim indeed! Who would not thank him if he pointed out the truth, and taught men to worship the Source of all Good! But if Felicity is a goddess, why is it not enough to apply to her as the source of all happiness? Why did not Romulus, anxious to found a prosperous city, rear her a temple? Without her, he had not become a king, much less a god. Why then did he give his people such gods as Janus, Jupiter, Mars and Hercules, and why were such as Saturn, Ops, Diana, afterwards added, and why even Cloacina included when Felicity was omitted? Was she invisible in the great crowd?

Or how came it about that the Roman Empire prospered while Felicity was not worshiped? How, that civil wars intervened, after her worship was introduced? Was she angry that homage to her had been so tardily offered? If Felicity is a goddess, what need of any other; if a gift of God, the God that bestows her is alone to be worshiped.

The Pontifex Scœvola is said to have ranked the gods in three classes—those devised by the poets, those reasoned out by the philosophers, and those recognized by the princes of the state. The first he calls fictitious; the second are not suited to state policy, while of the others, Hercules, Æsculapius, and others are merely deified men. But he would not have the people know this. He condemns the scandals of the poets;

he has no faith in the fables of their mythology. Why does he not end the scenic worship of such divinities?

What Cicero thought of Auguries is manifest from his writings. Varro's opinion is no less unequivocal. The utility of the state has often, especially among subject nations, determined the policy of the victor with respect to religion. But the true God above is the author of felicity and the disposer of national fortunes. The history of his own chosen people reveals what his Providence could effect without any aid from the crowd of heathen deities.

Thus keenly and unspairingly does Augustine expose the old Roman worship, the scandals of its mythology, the obscenity of its rites and their deleterious influence. Master of his theme, he holds up to contempt and derision the already senile and decrepit antagonist of the Christian religion. Its champions must have blushed, as they traced its features under the limning of his pencil. Their arguments were all anticipated and annihilated, and nothing was left them but the hideous nakedness and vice of a system which heathen philosophers themselves renounced and condemned.

In his fifth book, Augustine directs his arguments against Astrology and Fate. He shows the absurdity of vaticinations founded on the position of the stars, and how little they could have had to do with the prosperity of the Roman empire. He objects to Cicero's refutation of fate as denying the foreknowledge and providence of God. Nothing happens. Nothing left unordained by him "from whom are all the powers, though not the volitions of all." We are free to act, and yet God knows beforehand all that will come to pass. Our will is not annihilated because God knows what it will be. His laws and reproofs, designed to influence us, are not vain, for they will accomplish all that he designed they should accomplish.

But all things are subject to his providence. In his sovereign wisdom and for wise reasons, he gave the Romans empire. It was not by arms alone that they triumphed. Their love of glory drove out meaner passions. "They received their reward." It was not the reward of the saints, but that due to valor. The subject nations also might receive benefits from the supremacy of Roman law and administration. The valor and endurance of the Romans moreover present a lesson to the disciples of Christ, who without vain glory should be willing to suffer for their better country. The acts of Torquatus, Camillus, Mutius, Curtius, Regulus and others, are cited as illustrating the spirit of devotion to country which was worthy of emulation on the part of those who love the Christian name.

Yet their motive should be neither lust of dominion, the love of human glory, or sensual delight.

Augustine's sixth book is designed to refute those who pleaded for the worship of the Roman gods under the pretence of securing future and eternal blessedness. He takes up the voluminous work of Varro, the ablest authority on the worship of the gods, and the most elaborate production of the kind then extant. He dissects with a merciless severity his three kinds of theology, the fabulous or poetic, the philosophical, and the civil. He notes Varro's inconsistency in inveighing against the first, and out of timidity sparing the last. The two were by no means dissimilar, for that which from the poets had been introduced to the theatres, had met popular acceptance and was recognized by the State. The infamy and obscenity of it were patent to every spectator. Augustine passes in review the crimes as well as the separate offices ascribed to each of the deities, and made familiar to the people. In depicting the grotesque hideousness of the prevalent mythology, he quotes the language of Seneca, and intimates that Varro, had he dared, would have spoken with a similar freedom. How absurd to seek spiritual and eternal blessings at such a source!

The seventh book commences with an inquiry into the number and offices of the select gods, and the reasons for their selection. Their infamy was in some cases far greater than that of others who were less known, while their offices were less important. The interpretation of those who would veil deeper doctrines under the fables of mythology, but who even thus did not come to the apprehension of the true God, is next considered. The incongruity of having two gods with similar offices—as Janus and Terminus—is adverted to, and the power of Jupiter is compared with that of Janus. Properly considered, there is no place for both. If—as they understand—Janus is the world, and Jupiter is the world, why do they have diverse temples and altars? If the other deities have their distinct spheres, why are titles given to Jupiter which show that he intrudes upon them? Is he called Pecunia, that the lover of money may seem to love, not some one God, but the Supreme? Why is there need of the God Genius, when his attributes are ascribed to Jupiter? Is Mercury speech, and Mars war? If Felicity could give lasting peace, what would Mars have to do?

In his eighth book, Augustine, dismissing the further consideration of the Roman mythology enters upon the subject of natural theology, and examines the opinions of the old

philosophers. He notices briefly the views of the earliest Greek philosophers, and at length takes up the sentiments of Socrates and Plato. The first of these, he suggests, perceived that men were unfitted for the contemplation of truth pertaining to the one true and supreme God, till their minds were purged from lusts, and prepared clearly to discern the matters on which they reasoned, and hence his philosophy was developed in an ethical direction, to the provocation of his countrymen, who, after putting him to death, repented of their wrong, and revered his memory. But among his successors, Plato was most eminent, and the followers of Plato come nearest to the standard of Christianity. They not only held to the unity of God, but that he is incorporeal and immutable, that all things are made by him, while he is himself uncreated, and that the visible things of his creation declare his invisible power and divinity. So also in intellectual and moral philosophy the Platonists held the foremost rank, and on many points they approximated to Christian truth. Whether Plato was indebted to revelation, Augustine hesitates to decide. If he visited Egypt, it was after the days of Jeremiah, and before the translation of the Septuagint. Yet in his *Timæus*, he speaks somewhat after the manner of Moses in Genesis.

In his tenth book, Augustine comes in more direct collision with the latter Platonists. They admitted that true happiness, whether in men or angels, was from the one God, and yet held—yielding perhaps to popular error—that many Gods were to be worshipped. They held, like us, that the created soul must be illuminated by the Creator. We maintain, therefore, that God is to be loved supremely; that he alone is to be worshiped, and that the true good is to adhere to him. To him alone sacrifice is to be offered, and this sacrifice is not to be of animals or victims, but the sacrifice of service, to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God. Each holy deed, done with reference to God is sacrifice, and is directly related to that end of God, by attaining which we are blessed, and which the Platonists professed to seek. Angels in their seats of blessedness desire not their own worship, but that of their God and ours. For together with them we are that one "city of God" of which "glorious things are spoken."

And this worship of the one God has been sanctioned by miracles and by angelic ministries. The history of the people of Israel from the days of Abraham to Moses shows how this worship has been enforced by warnings and by judgments. And here Augustine notes the vacillation of the Platonist Porphyry, undecided what to approve or what to condemn,

yet presenting views which seem to intimate the benefit accruing to the soul from the invocation of demons, and writing to Anebo the Egyptian, to be informed of the diverse classes of demons, and what way to blessedness was prescribed by the wisdom of Egypt.

Augustine holds that all miracles are wrought by God, for all miracles are less than the creation of the world, as man is a greater miracle than all his works. They are wrought sometimes by the ministry of holy angels, for God is himself invisible, or when manifesting himself, shows himself not according to what he is, but according to what those who behold him can bear. He then alone is to be worshiped, not merely for eternal but for temporal blessings, for all things are subject to the control of his providence. Besides, should we give credence to angels who seek divine homage for themselves; or rather to those who disclaim it in behalf of the one true God? And here the contrast between the miracles which the heathen related, and those recorded in the Scriptures is not overlooked. The former are rightly ascribed to beings whom we dare not trust.

But will any one question the miracles recorded in the Scriptures? He may then as well say that we can trust no letters, or that there are no gods to care for mortal interests. For only by miracle shall they satisfy us that they are to be worshiped.

Or will any one say that visible sacrifices to an invisible God are incongruous? They are the symbols of inward offerings. In these, angels worship with us, rejecting, as did Paul and Barnabas, all divine worship for themselves. So Christ chose himself to be, rather than to receive, a sacrifice, assuming as man the form of a servant, lest any one should suppose that sacrifice might be offered to any creature. Thus he is both priest and oblation, and with this true and highest sacrifice all false sacrifices have ceased.

Porphyry admits the necessity of purgation, the attainment of which,—in accordance with the responses of the oracles—he denies to be through religious rites paid to the sun and moon, and consequently to any of the gods. He was not at liberty, and therefore was unwilling, to admit, that it is through Christ's incarnation that we are purged. For Christ thus showed that sin, and not the substance or nature of the flesh, or death itself, though the penalty of sin, is evil. By his mediation, he reached forth his hand to the fallen and helpless, and through him, all the saints of the Old Testament were justified. How senseless the notion that demons, who may

rather be supposed to contaminate than purify, should take the place of Christ! But pride forbids the Platonists to discern the infinite grace of the incarnation.

The Christian religion reveals then the catholic way of freeing the soul from bondage, the way to that eternal kingdom which shall never be shaken. Porphyry denies that there is such a way. No sect, he says, possesses it. It is not to be found in the ethics and teaching of India, or the method of the Chaldeans, or in anything else that ever came to his knowledge. He thus admits either that his own philosophy is not the most reliable, or that this way is not revealed in it. Yet we can not believe that Providence would leave the human race without this way of deliverance. So says Porphyry; but he holds that the help has not yet been received; it has not yet come to his knowledge. He saw the Christian religion appeared, through the acts of demon-worshippers and earthly kings, multiplying the number of the martyrs, who testify that all bodily evils are to be endured for the faith of piety and the commendation of the truth, and he thought therefore that it must soon perish, not conscious that his own fears kept him from apprehending and embracing it. But this way of deliverance is revealed throughout the Old Testament, and by miracle and prophecy is commended to us. Christ was to come in the flesh, and of the great things connected with his work—repentance of men, conversion to God, remission of sin, grace of justification, faith of believers, overthrow of image worship, trials and discipline, sanctification, resurrection and final judgment—so much of what has been foretold has been fulfilled that we are warranted to believe that all recorded in the Scriptures concerning this "way," will be.

In his eleventh book, Augustine takes up the work of creation. Of this, we can know only what is revealed by those who witnessed it, or have been inspired of God to inform us. As through Christ only, we come to the knowledge of God, so through the Canonical Scriptures only, framed by the Divine Spirit, do we know the original work of creation. This had a "beginning." The objector who asks why the work of creation was delayed so long, might as appropriately ask the question if it had taken place uncounted ages earlier. Of the creation days, the three first were without the limits afterward fixed by the rising and setting of the sun. God's rest from his work signifies not previous weariness, but the rest of those who rest in him.

Nothing was originally created evil. This point is emphasized by Augustine, who seeks to reconcile it with what is said

of Satan, that he "sinned from the beginning." Evil is not in any created nature, but in the corruption of that nature by perversity of will. God was pleased, but not surprised at his own work. He saw it good, but foreknew it also, and this was the reason of creation, a reason which Plato pronounces wise and best.

Here Augustine comes in conflict with the error of Origen, maintaining that souls, previously apostate, were doomed to reside in their present bodies. This he conceives to be opposed to Scripture, while he exposes the absurdity which it involves.

Symbols or hints of the Trinity Augustine discovers in the works of God, and especially in man. God utters his *Fiat*, and here the Father is understood. The operation is through the Word, while the goodness made visible in creation is to be referred to the Spirit. Here we have the origin, arrangement and blessedness of the Holy City which is above, constituted of the holy angels. For if it be asked, whence is it? God made it; if whence its wisdom? it is illuminated by God; if whence its happiness? it enjoys God. In God's eternity, it flourishes; in God's truth it shines; in God's goodness it rejoices. So philosophy has its three parts: physics, logic, ethics, although it is not a trinity analogous to that of the Godhead. So in regard to us, we are; we know we are; we love to be and know. The arguments of the Academies have no weight here, urging that I may be deceived as to these things. For, if *I am* deceived, *I am*. He who is not, can not be deceived. Then, as to knowing that *I am*, I can not be deceived in this. *I know*. And while I love to be and to know, love is added to my being and to my knowledge. This love of being manifests itself in all animate nature. The brute and even the plant cling as it were to existence. But man is created in the image of God, and to return to him, like the prodigal, is our highest end.

The twelfth book is intended mainly to refute certain objections which might be made by the heathen caviler. It might be said that as there are good and bad angels, as well as good and bad men, there must be four States or "Cities" instead of two. In replying to this, Augustine enters upon a wider range of discussion than the matter might seem to demand. The sin of evil men and of evil angels is the same—departing from the living God. No nature is of itself evil. It is vice that depraves it. Else God would, as the creator of the fallen angels, be the creator of evil. But all things glorify him. *All in their nature are good.* The difference between good and

evil angels is that the former cleave to God, their highest good, while the others depart from him. But the efficient cause of the corrupt or evil will is not to be sought out. There is no *efficient* but rather a *deficient* cause. Thus the distinction is seen between good and evil angels. They were alike created good. If the good made themselves what they are, or better than what they were, by what will did they do it? If by an evil will, evil is made to produce good; if by a good will, the will already existed in them. Thus angels and men belong to the same "city," subject to the same Lord, as man.

And as to man, Augustine asserts the unity of the race. All sprang from one, for the woman was formed from the man.

But another objection called in question the age of the world. Some contended that it was incredible that it should have been so recently created. Egypt claimed for her history tens of thousands of years. Augustine offsets this assumption by the more sober computations of Greek history, and the higher authority of the Sacred writings. He asks moreover whether the same objection might not be urged if the world had actually existed for a much longer period. What are 60,000 or even 600,000 years to eternity? If this period had elapsed, it would be, compared with infinite ages, as diminutive as 6000 years.

But some urged the doctrine of successive cycles or revolutions of things. But if any one admits that man is destined to continue to exist and progress in blessedness, why not admit that the world need not return to a new beginning? God's plan is changeless and eternal. We may say that there was never a time when God was not Lord, or that without the mutable state of man by which duration can be measured, time could not be. But we must beware of the difficulties into which we shall thus be plunged. God's promises and purposes are eternal. The argument so much vaunted, that nothing infinite can be comprehended by any knowledge, Augustine declares does not affect him. Faith may smile at what reason can not refute.

God is unchangeable. There is no sloth in his rest, no weariness in his labor, and the repentance predicated of him, is no unexpected change. He is also omniscient. All things to come are apprehended by him. Cycle does not succeed cycle, traversing the same round, like the wheel of fate. Plato thought that the souls of wicked men were punished by being made to inhabit brutes. Porphyry rejected this notion, but supposed that they might be sent back to be tortured in human bodies. If he would not follow his master on that track,

much more may we scout the notion that by cycles there is a return of the high to the low, of the excellent to the base.

In the creation of man, his nature was known, his fall foreseen, and grace for his salvation fore-ordained. All things are created by God, not by angels, and all are controlled by him. From his hands is matter itself and all the powers and agencies by which it is fashioned. If Plato employs his angel-gods in fashioning bodies for men, he sets them to making prisons and shackles for the soul, since to these it is brought back.

In his thirteenth book, Augustine treats of death as the penalty of transgression. Death came by sin. But there is a twofold death, that of the body and that of the soul. The curse of the first is transmitted in the propagation of the race. But if infants are saved by the grace of Christ, then, though they suffer the first, they are saved from the second death. That the first death is an evil is not to be questioned. It is the penalty of sin. Yet under God's gracious dispensation it is robbed of its sting. Once it was said, "sin and you shall die." Now to the martyr it is said, "die that you may not sin." Death is to him a door of escape. He does not sin because he died. The very penalty of vice is transformed, and becomes the defence of virtue. As wicked men made a bad use of the law which is good, and are incited to lust, so good men make a good use of death which is evil, and triumph over it.

But the penalty of sin includes all kinds of death, the alienation of the soul from God who is its life, and the death eternal, from which by grace we may be saved. Death began with transgression, not from the nature which God created, but from the wicked use of free-will. Our first parents might have partaken of the tree of life and been made thus immortal. Some indeed, but unwarrantably, had allegorized the story of Paradise, and we might indeed admit its figurative and spiritual significance, but not to the prejudice of its historic truth. In the resurrection, bodies will not be transformed to spirits, but spirits will be provided with bodies incorruptible.

In his fourteenth book, Augustine takes up the nature of the two different *civitates* into which the world is divided. There would have been no distinction between them—since all alike would have been lost by Adam's sin—but for the grace of Christ. But now there are two classes, and notwithstanding all the diversities of the human race, there are two only; those who walk according to the flesh, and those who live according to the spirit. But the carnal life springs not

from any sin that is in the flesh itself. It is the spirit that lusteth, and the corruption that springs from sin is a penalty of sin. To live after the flesh is to yield to its lusts, but to live to God is to do that which is pleasing in his sight. All moral acts depend on the will, and are right or wrong according as that is right or wrong. The Stoics disputing about the affections of the soul may cavil about words, but all the motives of unfallen man in Paradise were pure. His will was right, but he fell through having that perverted. The perverse will precedes the evil deed.

The guilty pair were conscious of their nakedness. Before this, all their intercourse was without lust. But with sin, this came. Of all passions this is the most corrupting. The Cynics, in the open indulgence of it, only blazoned their own shame and sank into contempt. Men do not hide their anger as they do their lust. In Paradise, the command, increase and multiply, was obeyed with the holy control of all the members of the body, and with no unbecoming or lawless affection.

But the sin of man did not derange the counsels of God. He knew that man would fall, that he would be overcome by Satan, but he knew also that by his grace Satan would be subdued. No one can question that it was in his power to keep angels and men from falling, but he chose not to take from them the power, and thus to show at once the wickedness of their pride and the grace of his goodness.

Thus the two diverse affections give occasion for the two *States*—the earthly, from love of self even to contempt of God; and the heavenly, from love of God even to contempt of self. The first glories in itself, the last in God. That exults in its own glory, this declares "Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of my head."

In his three following books, Augustine traces the parallel progress of the "earthly and of the heavenly city" from the time of Adam to the advent of Christ. The type of one is the son of the bondwoman, Ishmael; that of the other, the son of the freewoman, Isaac. A survey of the one shows it continually agitated by wars and strifes. The founder of Rome was a fratricide, and so was Cain, the first builder of a city in the world. From him we trace onward the progress of "the earthly city." Here Augustine takes up several collateral questions more particularly relating to the Scripture record.

The subject of Hebrew chronology is then considered, and its divergence from that of the Samaritan Pentateuch noted. Augustine compares the two, and shows the art with which the change must have been made from the original to answer

certain ends which he points out. This he thinks was done by some copyist, who wished to render the plausibility of the writings more credible on the supposition that ten antediluvian years were equivalent to only one of ours. The age of the patriarchs before they begat children is consequently increased in several instances where it seemed necessary, one hundred years each. The other changes made, are shown to conform to the requirements of this theory, which Augustine, nevertheless, rejects as altogether unfounded. The period of the flood, he remarks, can not be reduced to the measure which the theory would require. Nor is there any other reduction of the time specified in the Scripture record which is admissible.

In Seth and the line of his descendants we trace the progress of the "City of God." In Cain and his line we have the parallel progress of the earthly city or state. After dwelling on some genealogical difficulties, Augustine explains the intermarriage of the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men," as the commingling by wedlock of the two lines, and of this, the result was the rapid corruption of the race. Here he expresses his view of the apocryphal scriptures as distinguished from the canonical. He regards them as fabulous, inasmuch as the fathers on whose authority we receive the true Scriptures, were in darkness as to their origin. Yet though not canonical, some truth might exist in them, intermingled with fable, nor could we reasonably doubt the statements which they give of giants before the flood, and the intermarriage of the descendants of Cain and Seth.

In the story of the ark, which is also to be accepted as history, Augustine finds an allegory of Christ and of the church. It was indeed a type of the "City of God." The capacity of the ark for the uses for which it was designed is then considered, and the cavils of objectors are refuted. God was not fickle, nor moved by passion, in bringing the flood upon the earth. His "repentance" was not like that of men. His thought is that of immutable reason.

After the flood till the days of Abraham, the knowledge of the true God was preserved, and the progress of the "City of God" may still be traced. In the sentence of Noah, we note the line of the blessing. In the line of Shem those only are noted in Scripture, who were the ancestors of Abraham. In the days of one of this line, Peleg, "the earth was divided," that is, by the confusion of languages, for the plan of the Scripture record is, after having pointed out the "earthly city" of Babylon, to return to the line of Shem. As the world

is divided into the seventy nations, the patriarchs of which are named, it may be asked where we are to seek for the "City of God." But there was nevertheless, although perhaps hidden, all through this period, a people of God. We may suppose that the Hebrew was the original language, and that it was still retained in the line of Heber.

The calling of Abraham is next considered. He and his household are "the City of God," while Assyria is the "earthly city." The family of Terah, we may infer from what is narrated in the book of Judith, suffered persecution from the Chaldeans on account of their piety, and because of the worship of the one only and true God. After his death, Abraham was called of God to leave his country, yet according to Stephen, there was a previous call given to him while he was yet in Mesopotamia, and before he dwelt in Charran. In the promise made him, two blessings, an earthly and a spiritual, were combined. The last was the greatest and most excellent. It was that in him all the nations of the earth should be blessed. In his seed, Ishmael and Isaac, the two "cities" are again contrasted, although Assyria was a mighty empire when Abraham was born. The rite of circumcision is appointed. It indicates that infants need the grace of remission of sins, and it is itself a sign of regeneration, as much as to say, "that soul which is not regenerated shall perish from my people, for he hath broken my covenant, since he also, sinned with all in Adam." It signifies the renewal of the old nature, as the eighth day on which it is to be performed, is a type of Christ's resurrection. So also the proposed sacrifice of Isaac was a type of the sacrifice of Christ.

In Jacob and Esau, the contrast between the two "cities" is again visible. The experience of Jacob is instructive, and the allegorical significance of the ladder which he saw in his vision is noted. The change of his name, his migration to Egypt, and his benediction pronounced upon Judah, in which a prophecy of Christ is embodied, are next considered.

God's people in Egypt were protected by him, and brought forth under Moses, according to his promise. The sacrifices of the tabernacle, as well as the passover, prefigured the great sacrifice, the Paschal Lamb. Joshua, who succeeds Moses, bears the name and is a type of Jesus.

Passing hastily over the period of the Judges, Augustine commences his seventeenth book with the time of the prophets. The part of the covenant promise which had respect to the temporal blessing, the possession of Canaan, had been fulfilled. The language of the prophets also may be supposed

to refer, at one time to the earthly, at another to the heavenly Jerusalem, and again to both! The rejection of Eli from the priesthood, and the rejection of Saul from being king, were alike figurative. The language of Hannah has a deeper significance than is due to her joy over the prospective birth of a son. The Aaronic priesthood was to be done away. A greater king than David is to succeed to his throne. The eternal stability promised by the prophets to the kingdom of Israel can not otherwise have been secured. The disruption of the people into two kingdoms prefigured the separation of the spiritual and the carnal Israel. The promises made to David, though not fulfilled in Solomon, are fulfilled in Christ, his greater Son.

In his eighteenth book, Augustine turns back to trace the parallel progress of the "earthly city." He finds two great successive empires, engaged in wars and invasions, aggrandized by victories or weakened by defeats, which extend over the whole period under review. These are the empires of Assyria and of Rome. Greece, far more limited in extent and grandeur, had acquired fame mainly through the genius of her historians. We have therefore a synchronic view of the Jewish state and the heathen world, in which the facts of profane history are chronologically arranged, and placed alongside events contemporaneous in Jewish history. This extended parallel is drawn, not merely for historical purposes, but to show the superior credibility of the Scripture narrative. The rest of the world was almost unknown; much of its history was enveloped in legend and fable, while the Bible record moves along in a line of definite and reliable facts. And beside all this, the utterances of the prophets antedate all gentile philosophy. Some indeed of the ancient writings of the Jews have not been received into the canon, not because they are historically false, but perhaps because they were not written by inspiration for the purposes of religion.

In gentile philosophy, moreover, the greatest discord prevailed. Teacher was ranged against teacher and sect against sect. But among the prophets of the "City of God" who were never confounded with false prophets, the most perfect concord prevailed. They taught only that which was true and good. Their writings also, in the dispensation of God's providence were translated into the Greek language, that thus they might become known to all nations. Under the patronage of Ptolemy, and by seventy-two men—at his request deputed for this purpose—the translation was made—a translation which, with no disrespect to the Hebrew original, is to

be preferred to all others, since the very spirit of the prophets which was in them while they spoke, was in the seventy when they interpreted.

After the line of prophets ceased, the people degenerated, and were subjected to adversity and calamity, that they might be led more ardently to desire the fulfillment of the promise of a temple more glorious than the first. This glory pertained to it by the coming of Christ, and after his death, the Jews were dispersed, as had been foretold, among all nations.

Yet with the people of God, false disciples were also commingled. The net drew together the good and bad. Christ called out of the people those who were to preach his word. Their testimony was not more effective by the persecution which they endured. Yet to defeat the truth Satan incited errorists and heretics to trouble the church. In spite of these however, it continued to advance, and its strength was indeed increased through their dissensions. The ten persecutions have already passed by, but we can not doubt that anti-Christ and his persecutions are yet to come.

In his nineteenth book, Augustine discusses the ends respectively of the "earthly" and of the "heavenly city." According to Varro, the views of Philosophers were so diverse concerning the chief good or chief evil, that they might be distinguished into two hundred and eighty-eight sects. Not that this number actually existed. But by dissent from particular parts of the different systems, or by a combination of different parts, it could be inferred that this number was possible.

But reducing all to three generic classes, as Varro does, it is asked, what is man's chief good. But here the inquiry rises—is man to be considered in respect to his body, or his soul, or both? While gentile philosophy gives diverse answers, the "City of God" answers that eternal life is the chief good, and eternal death the chief evil. Not that there are not ills from which in this life nature shrinks. Every excellence, every felicity has its opposite. Virtue moreover must maintain a perpetual war with vice. It is in vain that philosophers assert a happy life. Why then does Cato commit suicide? Could he not endure Cæsar's victory? Where then was his fortitude? Was his life wretched then? There must be evils therefore which make life wretched and to be avoided—evils which are in fact intolerable according to the confession of their own acts. It is piety alone that can endure and triumph in hope of final blessedness,—a blessedness in which these philosophers, because they can not see it, will not believe.

Peace indeed is the object of the soul's incessant longings. Peace is the object for which wars are waged. At home we seek peace, and labor itself is toil for peace. But the evil heart desires its own perverse peace, not the peace of God, while all true peace, whether of body or soul, is referable only to the peace which God gives.

There is no peace except in the freedom of the soul, yet sin is servitude. It brings the will of man, made after God's image, into bondage. Every one who doeth sin, is the servant of sin. But in the City of God, all are equal. There is no desire for a peace which consists in subjecting others to our will. Among the "earthly," sensible things and comforts are sought, but they who live by faith look forward to eternal possessions, using the seen and temporal only as sojourners. They desire, indeed, while on earth, the peace of the earthly city, and here is the point of concord now between them and those who are "earthly." The "City of God" calls into itself from all classes those who are engaged in lawful pursuits, however diverse, only requiring of them the worship of the one and only true God. It makes this earthly peace subservient to the attainment of the heavenly.

How diverse from the steadfastness and unity of the Christian faith is the ambiguity of the new academy! We abide by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which we call canonical, whence that faith is derived by which the just lives, and by which we walk while pilgrims here. We are not to seek elevated station, but occupy it, if called, through the necessity of love. The love of truth leads us to desire holy rest, but the necessity of love compels us to honest employ. Thus, although the end of final blessedness is not now attained, we may be blessed in hope.

Returning now to the teachings of the philosophers in regard to the gods, Augustine maintains that according to Scipio's definition, laid down by Cicero, there never was a Roman *republic*. Justice is essential to its existence. But justice requires that God should rule his creatures, and that the reason of man should govern his lusts. But the Gentiles did not obey God. They did not sacrifice to him. Varro spoke of him, as it were unwittingly, when he, the most learned of the Romans, accounted Jove supreme. Porphyry represented the heathen oracles as giving preference to the Jews above the Christians because as the rather receiving God. But the God of the Jews said "the soul that sacrifices to other gods, save to Jehovah only, shall be destroyed from among his people," thus condemning heathen worship. Yet Porphyry speaks eulogis-

tically of Christ, as if waking from his dream, he had forgotten what he said before. How inconsistent with his representing Christ as giving himself to his people to be worshiped that he might lead them into fatal error! Such oracles as he produces we may well regard as false. But we say on the other hand that where there is no true religion, there can be no true virtue, and where justice is wanting there can be no *res-publica*. Peace can be only when—as in the "City of God"—God rules man, and the soul rules the body. Otherwise all must tend to ruin.

In his twentieth book, Augustine discusses the subject of the final judgment. It is true that God judges the world now, meting out to men according to his sovereign pleasure his awards. But his judgments are inscrutable. There is a manifest incongruity when, as now, the guilty sometimes escape, and the innocent are condemned, the wicked exult and the righteous are oppressed. It shows indeed how lightly worldly blessings are to be regarded, when God sees fit thus to lavish or withhold them. It accords with the experience of Solomon who pronounced over them, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." But the Scriptures explicitly teach a final judgment at the end of the world. The New Testament revelations with respect to this truth, as latest and most definite, are to be preferred. Christ's language on the subject, in his parables, etc., is then cited, and the kindred theme of the resurrection, invites remark. Augustine holds that the first resurrection is that spoken of in John v. 25. It is a spiritual resurrection. "They that hear shall live." The second is that subsequently mentioned, John v. 28, "all that are in the graves shall hear his voice." With the two resurrections, the "thousand years" of the Apocalypse are next considered, and Augustine takes occasion to object to that theory, which he confesses that he once held, that the first resurrection was corporeal. This might be entertained if such a resurrection was to be accompanied with spiritual delights for the saints in the personal presence of their Lord, but when the Chiliast, or Millenarian, rejecting this, taught that the time would be spent in banquetings and carnal pleasures, his views were to be utterly reprobated. The thousand years may be intended to be understood simply as a long and indefinite period, extending on to the end of the world, or as "the sixth day" which is to be followed by the perpetual Sabbath. During this period, Satan is to be cast into the pit. He shall not seduce the nations as before. Nor should we be moved, that now the Devil does seduce those, who, regenerated in Christ, enter

the ways of God. For God "knoweth those that are his." The binding and loosing of Satan are then considered, and the distinction is next drawn between Christ's kingdom now, and his reign during the millennial period.

Returning to the subject of the resurrection, Augustine refutes those who say there can be none but that of the body. He cites the language of Paul, "If ye then be risen with Christ," etc. As to "Gog and Magog," he thinks they designate no worldly powers in particular, but the nations generally. By the beast is to be understood "the impious city." "Death and hell" giving up their dead, and "cast in the lake of fire" signify the yielding up by the infernal powers of the souls held by them, and their own doom to final penalty. "The book of life" is God's prescience, in which those fore-ordained to life are written. At the same time, there will be new heavens and new earth, and the church will enter upon its state of unending glory.

In his twenty-first book, Augustine considers the awards of the final judgment. Some curious questions are discussed; as whether bodies can endure forever fiery burnings, whether it follows that the flesh must perish at last through corporeal pain; and his positions, taken with reference to the punishment of the finally impenitent, are sustained by arguments drawn from the wonderful facts of natural history or philosophy, some of which he had himself witnessed. Who could explain how fire, light in itself, could turn what it burned black? and yet whiten the dark stones cast into it? Why should charcoal be so brittle as to be crushed by a blow, and yet so enduring that no time could crumble it? Why should lime burn when water is poured upon it? He confesses that when he first saw the magnet attract the iron he was horrified. Other things like these, there were, which he had seen or heard of, which would have appeared incredible, if they had not been established beyond all dispute. Some of these—and he gives an extended list of such as had come to his knowledge—may have been brought about by demoniacal art, or modified by human ingenuity, but they could not all be explained, and who then would limit the omnipotence of the Creator, or say what it could not accomplish? New phenomena may supersede those to which we were accustomed; nor is it impossible for God to change the very natures of things.

The way is thus prepared to consider the methods and duration of future punishment. Perhaps the "fire" and the "worm" refer to the respective pains of soul and body. Nor,

if the fire of hell is corporeal, must we suppose that wicked spirits, that is, incorporeal demons, will necessarily be insensible to it. Like the rich man in the parable, whose body had been buried, they may say, "I am tormented in this flame." Augustine then proceeds to meet objections ; as that it would be unjust to inflict lasting penalties for sins committed in a point of time ; or that the suffering to be inflicted after death were simply purgatorial. He shows the vast and calamitous results that have followed from the primal sin, and what lavish munificence of grace has been manifested to save us from the curse. He reproves Origen for his views against the eternity of future punishment, and the final restoration of the Devil and his angels. He replies to those who think that the intercessions of the saints will suffice to save all from final condemnation ; to such as promised even to heretics impunity for all their sins, if they had but partaken of the body of Christ ; to those who had maintained that indulgence would be extended to those who had once been regenerated in the Catholic church, though they should fall into many crimes and errors, or who, abiding in the church, should indulge in a wicked course. He would not allow that works of charity could offset wickedness and save from condemnation. The punishment of the Devil and of wicked men would be endless. The prayers of the saints would be of no avail for them. Even now, we do not pray for wicked angels, and though we pray for wicked men, if living, we do not pray for the dead, if impious and unbelieving. Not that we deny that sin *may* be forgiven in the world to come, as intimated when Christ speaks of the sin against the Holy Ghost, but when the sentence "Depart," has been pronounced, it would be excessive presumption to say that the punishment of those who are thus sent away, will not be eternal. No participation in the Sacraments will of itself secure remission to the guilty.

Yet there is a fire—not penal but purgatorial—which shall try those who have built upon the foundation, that is, Christ. This may be between death and the final judgment, or it may refer to death itself, or to the persecutions—"the fiery trial" which the martyrs endured, and which other Christians suffer.

Augustine devotes his closing book to a consideration of the proper end of the "City of God," the full and final triumph of the kingdom which shall never end. God's changeless and eternal purposes shall be fulfilled, in accordance with his promises, in the eternal blessedness of saints and the endless punishment of wicked men. The wisdom of the world may

discredit the idea that the earthly bodies of men can be transferred to celestial habitations. Yet the world has believed that the earthly body of Christ has been raised from the grave, and has ascended to the upper seats. It has believed what was incredible. It was incredible that it should thus have believed. To the two incredible things we add the third, that unlettered men should persuade the world, and even learned men, to believe the resurrection and ascension. What is there more incredible in the resurrection of the body? The fables in regard to the founder of Rome, were believed, we are taught by Cicero, because the age that produced them had then become more enlightened than in the days of Homeric fictions; but Christ came many hundreds of years later, when the light had vastly increased, and for *his* sake many and eminent martyrs have suffered, while *none* was found to attest the deity of Romulus. Only by miracle, and through a divine power, could the world have been brought to believe in Christ. These miracles have not ceased. Augustine himself testifies to some which had come under his own eye, and adding to the list, such as he had been credibly assured of, he extends it through a chapter of ten pages. Several of them were intended to show the healing power of relics or the shrines of the martyrs. All these were to the end that men might be brought to accept that faith in Christ for which the martyrs suffered.

But the Platonists also urged that from the natural weight of the elements an earthly body could not be in heaven. Augustine replies to them by citing indisputable facts of the natural world. Why, if fire is the lightest of all things, is it not only beneath the air, but beneath the earth; and why is water, while beneath, also above the air? But why should man prescribe limits to God's omnipotence?

After noting the abuse heaped on Christians for believing in the resurrection, Augustine considers certain questions with respect to the future body, probably not unlike those which Paul had in mind when he replied, "Thou fool," etc. Infants will have such bodies as the great Maker, who can add as he pleases to what he has made, shall provide. If raised in the stature of the fullness of Christ, we shall be constituted in eternal youth. But if any one contends that we shall rise with that form of body in which we die, we shall not sharply contend with him. Each sex will still exist, for sex is not a vice, but a nature, and yet it will not exist for the purposes of lust. The spiritual body will be perfected in every part. Nothing essential to its integrity shall be wanting. "Not a hair of your head shall perish."

After noticing the miseries and evils of this life, the results of the primal sin, from which we are delivered only by the grace of Christ, Augustine sets forth the blessings of the divine bounty showered upon man by a constant Providence. What may we then infer with regard to that life to come, when misery and evil shall be no more, and where every spiritual want shall be supplied?

After replying to some objections of Porphyry, and showing their incongruity, with the views of Plato, Augustine proceeds to consider the kind of vision by which saints in the world to come shall behold God. Here he says that he states not what he sees, but what he believes, and his ideas are in the main derived directly from the Scriptures, which he largely cites, although he indulges somewhat in speculation. He closes his work with the consideration of the everlasting happiness of the "City of God" and the eternal Sabbath.

But no summary—though far more extended than we have given—can do justice to the learning, eloquence, or controversial power of this great work of the African bishop. It glows throughout with the ardor of Christian devotion. It contains many a passage which may truly be characterized as sublime. We trace in some places views which seem, as read in the light of history, to foreshadow the errors of a later period, but we discern throughout a deep reverence for the authority of the word of God, and a vivid apprehension of the leading truths of revelation, which command our respect, and invite our confidence. The work itself has a history which is of deepening interest, the more clearly it is traced. We find it, to a great extent, the text book of later ages, a volume which carries with it, all along the line of the centuries, to the times of the reformers, the great fundamental truths of the Gospel. It was read in schools and monasteries, by priests and students. Alcuin introduced it at the court of Charlemagne and it was read aloud at the emperor's table. Such a work, apart from its intrinsic value, has no little historical importance.

ART. VIII.—THE COLLEGE AND THE NEW COUNTRY.

By **JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D. D., President of Wabash College.**

THE simple point we wish to discuss in this article is the Relation of the Christian College to the institutions of a new Country.

As compared with England or France, our country is new. They go back to the beginning of the Christian era ; we are in the comparison but of yesterday. We do not use the term "new country" in this sense, but rather as signifying that distinction by which we call Connecticut and New Jersey an old country, Indiana and Iowa a new country. All these states and territories organized since the formation of the constitution, whether at the South or West, are new, but in these remarks we refer to the Western country, including, not merely the valley of the Mississippi, but those commonwealths which lie west of the Rocky Mountains.

Civilization is the opposite of barbarism. The people who aided Romulus in founding Rome, were barbarians ; those who owned the spell cast by Virgil and the eloquence of Cicero, were civilized. The Egyptians, the Jews and the Greeks, all rose out of barbarism as the antecedent into civilization as the consequent. In this discussion we do not use the term civilization in this sense, since it would be untrue and unreasonable. What is the fact ? The German, the Frenchman, the Hollander, the Swiss, the Englishman, the Scotchman, the Irishman, each comes to the West from some form of civilization prevalent in the Old world. The New Englander, the Jerseyman, the Pennsylvanian, the New Yorker, the Carolinian, the Virginian, the Kentuckian, comes to the Great Valley from those forms of civilization which are prevalent in those states, and which are marked by many characteristic differences. Society in the United States is very different from society in older countries, and to make the statement more discriminating, society at the West is, in some respects, very different from society in the older states, especially the Eastern. This is not owing to the absence of civilization in the races and individuals who compose society here, but to the want of homogeneousness. A new form of civilization is here to spring up from the elements which have been drawn together from such widely distant centers, a civilization which we trust will include in itself all that

is worthy and noble in each of those from which it grows, and rejecting all the rest.

In brief, our social relations to the arts, including the fine arts, and the sciences, to morals and religion, to law and government, to popular education and the higher mental culture, in fact, the arrangements and facilities for the social and personal well-being of the people, who now dwell here and the generations to follow them, constitute the civilization and the institutions of which we speak. It is impossible to exaggerate their importance, since their form and power shall determine whether our new country with its magnificent possibilities shall be another Mexico, built on the sand and rocked with earthquakes, or a New England, vastly magnified, and as abiding as the everlasting hills.

But what shall be the prevalent element in this new civilization? the controlling power in these institutions of the future?

If we examine the civilization of ancient Egypt as described by Herodotus and Moses, we must admit its superiority to any that preceded it. As the outgrowth of it there were some arts in which our own boasted genius is compelled to admit its inferiority. The Egyptians made great progress in learning, and attained to very considerable excellence in the arts and sciences, and refinement of manners. But as a civilization for mankind it was utterly deficient, because its predominant idea was the happiness of the few at the expense of the many. Even its refinement was superficial, affecting the manners without rectifying the heart. It undoubtedly conferred important benefits, but even these were partial and temporary. Like her pyramids the civilization of Egypt was imposing, even sublime, but futile ; a civilization which no one desires to be reproduced here or anywhere else in these days.

In a more emphatic sense the last remark holds good of the civilization which had its centre successively in Nineveh, Babylon, and Susa. The less we have of the civilization which ministered so successfully to the enormous selfishness of Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus, or even that which attended the more refined despotism of Cyrus the Great, the better will humanity be pleased.

There is a sort of sentimentalism prevalent among certain scholarly recluses which delights in celebrating the glories of the Greek and Roman civilization as the most desirable, beautiful and vigorous the world has ever seen. We are not slow to admit the glories which blossomed and matured on this stock. If we look at it in the light of those works which it produced in these famous cities, we see that Athens had her

temples of unequalled beauty, Rome her temples of unequalled grandeur; Athens had her peerless statues and paintings, Rome her peerless Justinian code and armies; Athens had her Miltiades, her Homer, her Socrates, her Demosthenes, her Praxiteles, and Rome her Fabius, her Virgil, her Cicero. Athens excelled in the beautiful, Rome in the strong; the refinement of Athens was displayed in the exquisite taste of her people for the highest beauty of art and the highest display of genius in the structure and use of language, the rugged energy and the refinement of Rome were displayed in her matchless legions, and also the matchless melodies of her language as it flowed from the pen of Virgil and dropped from the tongue of Cicero; Athens was the mistress of ancient civilization, Rome its champion; Athens defined it by her artists, her authors, and philosophers, Rome gave to the nations she subjugated and enforced its claims by her sword. The dignity of this civilization is illustrated in its architecture, literature and social refinement, and perhaps its glories would never have waved and paled but for another and higher civilization, which, having eclipsed it, aspires to universal dominion.

Like the civilization of Egypt and Assyria this of Athens and Rome was hostile to man as man, and mainly busied itself in providing for the *titled* man. The masses, the common people, were regarded chiefly as the means of forwarding the selfish schemes of those in power. Its art was peerless but its morality degrading; its literature has become the wonder of all ages, but as a power to regenerate and elevate peoples and races it was not merely a failure but an active agency in plunging them into the lowest depths of vileness.

The chief defects in these forms of civilization are to be found in their false estimate of the individual man, its failure to recognize man's chief end as a subject of the Great King, in its want of eternal verities as its central motive force, even the power of the world to come. Hence, while it did much for society, and while as an experiment of what a civilization purely human in its origin and agencies can do, we can never regard it with too much interest, we do not hesitate to say it is not what mankind in general or our new countries at the West in particular need.

The Christian civilization comes from a very different origin. It names no Cadmus, or Aristotle, or Lycurgus as the father of letters, philosophy or law. It goes back of these comparatively recent men to the days of Job, nay farther, to the time when of Wisdom, "Destruction and Death said we have heard

the fame thereof." In Eden God laid the corner-stone of this civilization. The ages rolled slowly away while Enoch and Noah added each well polished stones to the foundations. Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, laid other massive blocks on the walls which were rising too slowly for the impatient haste of man. David, Isaiah and Daniel, kings, martyrs and saints, toiled each in his town and place to break out of God's truth-quarry the stones for the advancing temple ; each one wrought his work and died. Law, sacrifice, atonement typical, atonement real, love, prophecy, reward, penalty, the growth of nations, the decay of nations, life, death, things present, things to come, all things did but add the lively stones to this temple which God was building ; and at last it stood before the world like Solomon's temple at sunset,

" A mount of snow fretted with golden pinnacles."

From its corner-stone to its head-stone this civilization was worthy of God. Yet glorious to behold as it was, it waited the advent of Jesus to people it with all the graces and principles of Christianity, purity, love, gentleness, goodness, mercy, forgiveness, charity, humanity.

Here *man* is great, for he is the immortal subject of God's government, and here all things are designed to work out the highest glory of God and the greatest good of man. Time and eternity, all the tremendous motives drawn from the world of probation, the world of perdition, and the world of glory are concentrated to effect the elevation of man, and by the Almighty Spirit to restore him to that Divine image which he had lost in the fall.

This is the civilization which man needs, and this especially is what we need for this new country. Let such a civilization brood like an atmosphere over this great valley, and all its forms of life, its civil and religious institutions, its social laws and manners will combine to advance and secure the well-being of the millions who are in due time to dwell here.

Let us not be misunderstood as speaking of the Christian college as the *only* power which is to produce the happy result just referred to, but as *a* grand power which we may not safely neglect. That the college is a mighty power is abundantly verified by history. The scholars of the Reformation were trained at the university ; Luther at Erfurth, Melancthon at Heidelberg, Calvin at Paris, Zwingli at Basle, Wickliff at Oxford, Knox at St. Andrews. They who translated the original Scriptures into English, German, French, Latin and other languages, were trained at the college. The controlling minds

of the different ages and lands have been for the most part trained in the same place. It is no exaggeration to say that the universities of Germany are mainly responsible for the baleful revolutions in religious sentiment which have of late years swept over the land of Luther, and that at this moment the university of Oxford is the chief power which is seeking to destroy faith in the Bible among the masses of England. It is well known that the accession of the small Unitarian faction to the control of Harvard college in the time of the Mathers was the beginning of a religious defection which at one time threatened the extinction of evangelical religion in Massachusetts. On the other hand Tholuck, Hengstenberg and their pious co-workers in the enterprise of restoring a pure gospel to Germany, were trained at the university. On the orthodoxy of those who had Williams, Yale and Princeton colleges in their keeping depended the religious operations of the churches in a large part of New England and the whole country besides. The college has not always been a beneficent power, but a multitude of facts proves it to be a *great* power, which may be like the waters of Mara, or like the river the streams whereof make glad the city of God—a power which, bad or good, bitter or sweet, they who pray for the peace of zion may not willingly surrender to the enemy.

That such a power as the college must have very important relations to the civilization and institutions of a new country is evident from two considerations.

In the first place it educates the minds which educate the people. The assertion is not that all social educators are actually trained in the college. Many a man of power was never a member of college. In the conventions which framed the constitutions of Ohio and Indiana were some men of great intelligence and force who were never favored with liberal culture in the university. Where then were such men trained? Perhaps you point to the *Common School*. But whence the common school? Does it exist in countries which have no college? If not, which is the order of production? did the college produce the common school, or the common school the college? What was the order in Scotland? How came to pass the grand fact, that Parochial schools were founded so extensively as to train every Scotch child to read the Bible, David's Psalms, and the Scot's Worthies by Howie? The answer is not difficult. The universities trained Knox, Hamilton, Henderson, Rutherford, and the other mighty spirits who wrought out the destiny of Scotland, and these men devised and executed the plan for the Parochial schools. The com-

mon school is traced by Bancroft to Calvin ; but in no country has it taken such root as in these United States, especially those States not cursed with African slavery. Who founded these schools in every neighborhood, providing for the education of the poor as well as the rich ? How did this sublime idea work itself through institutions of the Free States ? The learned laymen and clergymen of New England, educated at the institutions of the Old World, founded Harvard and Yale, and these colleges trained men who wrought out the idea of the common school, destined to exert its power from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And thus it is that all those influential social leaders, who were educated mainly in the common school, owe their training to the college, which is the parent of the common school. In fact there is not a popular school, from Portland to the Golden Gate, which is not a conclusive argument to show how vitally the college is connected with popular education.

But occasionally we meet with men of rare genius who were educated not in the common schools, but in the chimney corner. Certainly the college had no agency in their education ! Are you sure of this ? Suppose your graduate from this very humble school is a preacher ; was he educated without the English Bible ? Oh, no. Will you state who translated the Scriptures into English ? Were they graduates of the lowly school in question ? By no means. The college trained the translators, so that the plainest preacher after all is indebted to the college for *the* one Book of power which is the Alpha and Omega of his influence. Or, suppose these self-educated men, as we sometimes call them, become lawyers, or physicians, or editors, or statesman ; were they trained without books ? By no means. They must have had at least two books, a spelling book and a dictionary. Who wrote the spelling book that has been studied more extensively than any other text book ever published in this country ? Was he a graduate of the common school or the chimney corner ? Noah Webster was educated at Yale college. Who prepared the dictionary that is found in most of the houses in this land ? Noah Webster. Who are John Walker, and Samuel Johnson, and Joseph E. Worcester, whose labors have given to common people the key to their own language ? They are graduates of the college ; so that in fact no man can get an education in any place or way which does not lay him under a debt of obligation to the college. All popular education is the outgrowth of the college.

It will not be denied that the learned professors exert a vast influence on society. Leaving the ministry to be consid-

ered separately, we may speak of such professions as the law, medicine, teaching, war, book-making, civil engineering, the fine arts, and all these pursuits connected with practical and theoretic science. Aggregate the persons who follow these professions and you have one of the most sublime conceptions of power possible, and these men owe their power mainly to the college.

The *book* had much to do in educating these professional men ; who furnished the book ? Brains trained in college. It is impossible to exaggerate the power of the college in producing and sustaining the institutions of a new country.

But there is a special view which illustrates that just named. Take any period of our own history as a nation, and it will be evident at a glance that to suppose these great actors in that period who were trained in college to be abstracted from that period is to conceive of its history as entirely changed. What would the period of our revolution be without Jefferson, Adams, Jay, Hamilton, and other educated men who were their cotemporaries ? Take the period from the war of 1812 to the compromise measures of 1850, and what would it be without Webster, Clay, Jackson, Calhoun, Southard, Silas Wright, and that class of men ? Or looking at the great Rebellion, what would it have been without John C. Calhoun, Robert G. Hayne, Jefferson Davis, Doctors Thornwell and Palmer, and that class of men whose mental powers had been thoroughly disciplined in college ?

And the same is true of every department of learning. Our lawyers, physicians, inventors, book-makers, discoverers, editors, engineers, and others of the same kind, constitute an argument proving both the intimacy and potency of the relation of the college to civilization. The rule is this, where there is no college there is no vision, for by a thousand direct and indirect means it floods a people with light and imparts to them life. Add to this the element of Christianity and we have in the Christian college one of the most sublime instrumentalities, both producing and sustaining such a civilization as will make our new country a truly regal gift for Christ, whose it is by covenant, and whose it shall be by conquest.

The greatest of preachers was not afraid to magnify his office by a frank and truthful statement of its actual effect on individuals and society, and we can see no good reason for the display of any false modesty in regard to another fact which illustrates the power of the Christian college to produce vast changes in the civilization of a new country ; we refer to the fact that the college educates the Christian ministry.

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There are communities in which the advocate of the college might awaken prejudice by such an argument as this which alleges the education of the ministry as one of the chief results of the college. There are many who talk not merely flippantly but malignantly about priests and priestcraft as the most dreaded and almost the only enemies of liberty. An unprincipled and licentious priesthood, like that of Rome before the Reformation, is admitted to be the deadliest enemy of civil and religious freedom ; but we boldly aver that history has no proof that a refined, intelligent, and truly pious ministry, such as the Lord Jesus sent to preach the gospel to every creature, is the enemy of popular liberty. So far from this, history declares that such a ministry exerts a regenerating power in old and corrupt nations, and a power in the highest degree beneficent on nations just springing into life, the happy effects of which grow more and more apparent as time develops the experiment. Why is England among the first as a commercial, literary and commercial nation? Is it owing mainly to her insular position? Why then is not Ireland her rival instead of her vassal? Is it owing to the superior blood of those who settled England? No nation can name an ancestry of fiercer, bolder, wilder, more reckless barbarians than the English? What is the great fact which accounts philosophically for the supremacy of England among the nations? The Bible in English and in the hands of the English. Strike that fact out of England's history and you take from her the lock of her strength. And who gave her this power? Did kings and cabinet ministers? She never had a king or a politician capable of rising to such a conception. Did her men of science make her the gift? Did English merchants and millionaires put this regal gift in the hands of the common people? History makes no such statement. Who then? Wyckliffe and Tyndale, both preachers of the gospel made the gift, in full view of the suspended sword, and the lighted fires of martyrdom. How affecting the labors of Wyckliffe, and how every generous heart swells with emotion to record the work, the success, and the martyrdom of Tyndale, the price at which he won for England that which has done more for her than any other instrumentality! In one word, the glory, the wealth, the learning, the power, and the civilization of the British empire must be traced back mainly to the Protestant ministry who translated, circulated and expounded God's word for their countrymen. They put new life into the nation's blood, which had been thinned and corrupted by the Romish church.

The history of New England is a brighter illustration of the

same principle. It has been fashionable in some circles and sections to sneer at New England. We are not of the number. No doubt New England has sent out many dishonest peddlers, more intent on profit than honesty, but it will require the perversion of a thousand brilliant facts to prove that knavery is more common in Connecticut than in Virginia, or in Massachusetts than in Mississippi. No doubt New England keels fitted out by New England capital for the slave trade, and commanded by New England men, have brought millions of gold into New England at the expense of honor which no words can adequately describe. We do not pretend that she is guiltless of the slave trade, but what nation has not the same stain? Yet these men, though they be ten, or ten thousand, are not New England. Where in the world are more princely men than the merchants and manufacturers of New England as a class? Where as if in spite of nature do we find so large a share of home comfort and honorable wealth? Where so many churches crowning evergreen hills and nestling as their most comely ornament in sequestered vales? Where so many schools for the common people, and so many and such noble seminaries and colleges? Where so few abjectly ignorant and vicious? What equal section of our own or any other land has poured out such deep and broad streams of beneficence upon our newer sections and upon heathen lands? We mean no disparagement of the Dutch or the Scotch-Irish. They were noble races, and did a work of incalculable importance for the civilization of this Western continent. But the Yankees, the Dutch and the Scotch-Irish became what they are in every noble characteristic by agencies devised and executed by a godly ministry. No fact shines forth more illustriously on the pages of Bancroft than this, that our nation is what it is in all that is noble, chiefly by the quiet, mighty, and widely pervasive influences of the ministers, who indirectly, but none the less actually, settled those policies in church and state, which at this hour make the Northern states of the Union the unsolved wonder of the world. The beneficent and great power of the Protestant clergy, during the colonial and revolutionary periods of our history, is fully recognized. It was the clear sound of the trumpet which these men gave that united and inspirited the colonies in their struggle for freedom against overwhelming odds. Even Mr. Jefferson declares that they could not arouse our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen as to passing events, until the clergy were asked to meet assemblies of the people to address to them discourses suited to the occasion.*

* Jefferson's Com. Works 1. 6, 7.

But whence came these men? How came they to be what they were? Where were they educated? What instrumentality chiefly trained them for such immortal deeds? We have only to examine "the Annals of the American Pulpit," and the Triennials of the older American colleges, to answer the question. The first ministers of New England and the Middle states, were educated at the universities of the Old World. These men founded Harvard, Yale, and Nassau Hall, and in due time, Brown, Dartmouth, Jefferson, and the illustrious sisterhood of colleges north and south, east and west. These colleges have felt the breath of God's Spirit, sanctifying their learning and converting their sons, who in their order have gone forth as light-bearers to all parts of the nation, to shed abroad the light which God had entrusted to their keeping. The Christian college is the fountain-head of our civilization, and it is the outgrowth of that force which our Lord organized when he chose certain men and commissioned them to preach the gospel to every creature. Abstract from American civilization and institutions those parts which were directly or indirectly contributed by the Christian ministry trained in the Christian college and very little worth retaining would remain. And thus the one grand fact rises up to our view as conspicuous as the sun in heaven, that the Christian ministry built the Christian college, and it in turn educates the Christian ministry, and together they constitute one of the most potential elements in that civilization which has wrought so gloriously in some of the older parts of the nation, and which we desire to see exerting a similar influence on those young commonwealths which are now springing up with such immense vitality in the Great West.

Such then is the relation of the Christian college to the civilization and the institutions in our new country, a relation, the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate; as it educates in general the minds who are to educate the masses, and especially that potential class, the Christian ministry.

And were we able to address a general assembly of those good men who have wrought as pioneers in this valley or along the Pacific slopes, we would appeal to them whether their observation does not confirm this argument. They have known the history of society in this goodly land with its vast areas of fertility; they have seen its population increasing at a fearful ratio, and society organized after every conceivable pattern; and also society in some cases growing with no more restraint than the herds of buffalo which once fed on the prairies. Let these intelligent witnesses inform us where are

the *Egypt*s and where the *Goshens*, the land of "darkness that can be felt," and the land "full of light." Is it not true that when a society, or community, or region is planted without the intelligent and pious ministry, there we have moral Egypt, and that the fertility of the soil, and even the general morality and intelligence of the original pioneers, can not prevent the inevitable result, except by correcting the cause? And is it not true that the darkness deepens and the degradation waxes worse the older such a community grows without this essential element of Christian civilization? Vice is rampant, ignorance popular, schools dead, and society barbarous. The very words *Texas*, *Sodom* and *Egypt* are proverbs in the valley of the Mississippi and west of the Rocky mountains.

On the other hand, many a waste place has been redeemed, many a solitary place made glad, many a wilderness made to blossom, many a dark place made light by the presence of the faithful, earnest, intelligent Christian minister, bringing with him the institutions of religion, the refinements and the energies of civilization. Some of the most benighted and hopeless localities have thus been blessed with religious awakenings, and social reformations of the most astonishing character, through this divinely appointed agency, compelling beholders to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth."

Could the intelligent men who saw the social transformations wrought in New England, the Middle States and at the West testify, they would declare in the most emphatic terms that this is God's method of regenerating society, and that every oasis of moral beauty in the midst of surrounding moral deserts, is a new testimony, not only to the necessity of an evangelical ministry, but also of the Christian college. The history of the church affirmed in a voice of thunder this fact, and pointing to the past, declares that the relations, the force, the influence of the Christian college, the education of those who educate the masses and educate the Christian ministry, will mainly determine the destiny of this glorious new country. It is a vastly important matter to secure the soundness of our currency, to develop our mineral wealth, to husband our agricultural resources, to band our domain with railways, to stimulate the energy and enterprise of our people in every laudable occupation; but not one of these is, for a moment, to be compared with an instrumentality, which is like the Nile, fertilizing broad expanses into the incalculable wealth of a great people, indoctrinated into the truths of religion, edu-

cated into high intelligence, trained into an exalted morality, grown up into a civilization and institutions which mark the nation as one which has God's favor, and the most enduring felicity.

ART. IX—CRITICISMS ON BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

Commentaire sur l'évangile de Saint Jean, par F. GODET, Pasteur. 2 Tomes. Paris: Librairie Française et Etrangère. 1864. 1865. pp. 522, 779. M. Godet is pastor of a church at Neuchâtel, and also a lecturer in the academy of that place. He was formerly the tutor of the present crown-prince of Prussia. His theological studies were pursued to a large extent in Germany, though he ever retained that warm piety and simple faith, which characterize so many of the best and most cultivated of the evangelical parts of Switzerland. But his faith has not kept him from a thorough study of exegesis, nor from grappling with the main questions and difficulties raised by modern criticism. And some of the fruits of this study are given us in this extended and critical commentary on the Gospel of John, the present central point of criticism in respect to the New Testament. We were attracted to portions of this work, as published two or three years since in the *Revue Chrétienne*, though we did not then know their author. In fact, we were at a loss to conjecture who, among the French Protestant clergy, was able to produce such a work. It is undoubtedly the most important work in exegetical theology which the French evangelical church has yet given to the world; and it will also take its place among the standard and most valuable expositions of the sublime gospel of John. The author modestly disclaims any unusual learning or originality; yet he is fully on a line with the most recent investigations and criticisms, and often brings forward new and striking points of view, not only for particular passages, but in respect to the general character, plan and aim of the gospel itself. All the recent difficulties and criticisms, suggested by Baur and his followers are fairly met, and the authenticity and authority of the gospel are fully vindicated. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Lücke, Meier and Lange; but he is still an independent investigator. His style is clear and simple, and his arrangement of the exposition is both novel and instructive. It is not a mere philological and critical exposition, though it is sufficiently so; nor does it aim directly at edification alone; but its object is to bring out the heart and life of the gospel, especially as seen in the person and word of our Lord, and make these seem more real and vivid. And there is very much in the author's own mind and heart, which fits him in a high degree for this work. His studies have also fitted him for it. In his dedication, he says: "Theology has no more faithful friend, no surer ally, than a strong and solid exegesis, by which the finest shades of expression become at every word, the revelation of the heart of the matter," "The book which I undertake to explain," he says in the introduction, "is in my eyes the most precious jewel which humanity has. It is the portrait of a unique being traced by a unique painter." "If this short

document had not existed, the course of history would have been profoundly modified."

In the introduction, after some preliminary remarks, M. Godet discusses the authenticity of the gospel, the life and character of John, the composition of the gospel including its plan and integrity, and the preservation of the text. Then he passes to its title and to the Prologue, of which he gives a full and excellent account. The division of the exposition is into five parts: 1. The first part is entitled, *The First Manifestation of the Word: Birth and first developments of faith; first symptoms of Incredulity*. This part extends from ch. i, 19, to iv, 54, and fills up the first volume, pp. 266 to 520. 2. The second part is entitled, *The Incredulity of Israel*, from ch. v, 1 to xii, 50, pp. 1 to 424 of the second volume. 3. The third part, xiii, 1 to xvii, 26, is headed, *the Development of Faith among the Disciples*, pp. 425 to 568. 4. The fourth part is on the Passion, ch. xviii, 1 to xix, 42. 5. The fifth part, the Resurrection, ch. xx, 1 to 29. Then comes the Epilogue, ch. xx, 30, 31, and the remainder of the Epistle (xxi, 1 to 25) in an appendix. The conclusion of the second volume, pp. 697-776, sums up results about (1) the facts established; (2) the authenticity; (3) the credibility of the discourses; (4) the circumstances of the composition; (5) the preservation of the text. The heart of the gospel he finds in three main themes; Jesus, faith, unbelief; or more precisely, the manifestations of Jesus as the Messiah and the Son of God; the growth and consummation of faith in the disciples; and the parallel development of the national unbelief (i. 119.)

The most important part of his work, for immediate interest and use, is perhaps to be found in his discussion of the question of the authorship and authenticity of the gospel in reply to the criticisms of Baur, Strauss, Renan, Nicolas (in the *Revue Germanique*) and others. He agrees with the conviction expressed by Lücke, "that this gospel is a work that will wear out the hammer of criticism before it crumbles under its blows." He puts to Renan this dilemma: "Either you write the life of Jesus without having any perception of his sanctity—that sanctity which is the very essence of Jesus—and you are like a man standing before a picture of Raphael with no sense of the beautiful; your book can only be a parody: Or, you have the organ by which sanctity is discerned, and you are forced to see in Jesus a being who is something else than '*flesh born of flesh*,' and to break the iron circle of naturalism."

The last (April) number of the *Westminster Review* has an elaborate attack on the authenticity of John, repeating the arguments of Baur and Strauss, but adding nothing new or important to them. Godet in the concluding chapters of his work takes up all these objections in order and detail, and shows that they wholly fail in shaking the convincing evidence as to the authorship, time and aim of the fourth gospel. One of his strong points is, that the Gospel is not congruous with the time, A. D. 140 to 150, in which these critics suppose it to have been composed. The stress of the solution of the difficulty raised by Baur about the Eastern celebration of the paschal supper, he puts upon the fact, that the Asiatic churches commemorated, on the 14th Nisan, the death of the Lord, and not the institution of the supper. He also vindicates in a satisfactory way the authenticity of the discourses of Christ, as given by John, and shows that only an eye-witness could have written the fourth gospel.

Tract Number Ninety. Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine

Articles. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D. D. New York : H. F. Durand. 1865. pp. 134. A fresh interest has been awakened in this noted Tract by Dr. Newman's recent *Arologia pro Vita Sua*, and by the decision of the Court of Arches in the case of the Essays and Reviews. The Tract itself is an ingenious attempt to show how a man with Romanizing tendencies might still subscribe the Thirty-Ninth Articles. The latitude which he then claimed for Romanists is now claimed for Rationalists : while at the same time it is incontestible, that the Articles were meant to exclude both.

The Oriental Church and the Latin. By JONAS KING. pp. 134. *Terms of Union with the Greek Church.* Translated by WILLIAM C. KING. pp. 110. New York : 1865. These two works have now a special interest in consequence of the projects of union between the Greek and Anglican churches. They are important as exhibiting the spirit and temper, as well as the faith of the Greek communion. The former contains Dr. King's Farewell Letter ; his answer to Bishop Karystia, and the decrees against him. The latter has a translation of the Letter of Peter I. to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and of the Exposition of the Orthodox Faith.

Our Companions in Glory : or, Society in Heaven Contemplated. By the Rev. J. M. KILLEN, M. A. New York : A. D. F. Randolph. pp. 354. This work discusses, in five parts, the Vision of God ; Personal Intercourse with Christ forever ; the Society of the Redeemed in Heaven ; Our Children who are in Heaven ; the Companionship of Angels ; the Cherubim ; the ministry of Heaven. The spirit of the author is devout and reverential ; nor does he seek too eagerly, on themes where the Scriptures maintain a wise reserve, to substitute fictions for facts. While not agreeing with all his speculations and arguments, we have been interested and profited by his meditations. The chapters on the Cherubim exhibit the results of much study and investigation. The sense of the realities and glories of the future world will be made more vivid and impressive by the perusal of these thoughtful pages.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of Julius Cæsar. Vol. I. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1865. pp. xv. 463. With an Atlas. From the character and position of its imperial author, this work is the chief literary product of the year. Apart from its being the work of the most remarkable ruler in Europe, it would at once take high rank among the leading historical productions of the times. It is elaborately composed ; the details are wrought out with care. Its account of the Roman history before Cæsar (pp. 1 to 281), occupying more than half of the volume, is clear and able, such as only a good thinker and statesman could have produced. Its estimate of the character and influence of Cæsar is not exaggerated ; many eulogists have written loftier panegyrics upon him. Merivale's account of the main points in his position and career is very nearly the same. The tone of the work is moderate, impartial, objective. Few traces of the author's bias or aim occur in the actual narrative. Thorough study has evidently presided over the preparation of all the details ; all the facts and points of interest have been critically weighed. It is on the face of it a lucid, temperate and fair history.

And yet no historical work was ever written with a more conscious and avowed aim. It is all controlled by the general theory which Napo-

leon III. announced in his earlier and striking work, *Napoleonic Idens*, and which he reiterates in the preface to this volume, and in several occasional summaries. His aim, he says, is to "prove that, when Providence raises up such men as Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, it is to trace out to peoples the path they ought to follow; to stamp with the seal of their genius a new era; and to accomplish in a few years the labor of many centuries. Happy the peoples who comprehend and follow them! Woe to those who misunderstand and combat them! They do as the Jews did, they crucify their Messiah; they are blind and culpable; blind, for they do not see the impotence of their efforts to suspend the definitive triumph of good; culpable, for they only retard progress by impeding its prompt and fruitful application." "Certainly," he says at the close, "Cæsar had faith in his destiny, and confidence in his genius; but faith is an instinct, not a calculation, and genius foresees the future without understanding its mysterious progress."

The general theory is, that such sagacity as Cæsar possessed, and such power as he usurped, were necessary to rescue Rome from the evils of faction and anarchy; that a republic must needs be exchanged for an empire; that the mere form of legality must yield to the higher law of necessity; and that subsequent success and prosperity demonstrate the wisdom and rightfulness of such arbitrary methods of obtaining power. This theory, evidently, is to justify the present as well as the past Napoleon. There is something of truth in it, too; it is a fair induction from many of the facts. But it seems to be represented as a final and absolute theory; and so it might be used by any usurper or dictator to justify his course. It neglects the moral element, and makes success the criterion. It is a very limited view of the philosophy of history.

The volume is brought out in admirable style. The Emperor has not been fortunate in his English translator.

History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M. A. Vols. I and II. New York: Scribner. 1865. pp. 447, 501. Mr. Froude's remarkable work, of which we have here the first instalment, is a conspicuous illustration of how much still remains to be done, ere we have a complete record of even the most noted and best ransacked periods of English history. The character of Henry VIII is here presented in many new lights; and we must confess that some of our prejudices against him have been shaken, though he never can receive unqualified praise. But the chief charm of the book is in its minute, authentic and vivid representation of events and descriptions of men. Some of the short biographical sketches, as of Latimer and More, are exceedingly well done. The course and progress of events are skillfully exhibited, as also their influence. The style is brilliant, full of effect, yet never affected. The coloring of the times and scenes is preserved. The whole narrative rests upon laborious study, and the author has been successful in gathering many new materials and incorporating them with his history. Every library should have these volumes, which are brought out in finished style from the Riverside press. This edition is superior to the English.

Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero. By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M. A., Q. C. 2 vols. With Illustrations. New York: Scribner. 1865. pp. 364, 341. These elegant volumes are a worthy memorial of the greatest of Roman orators, and the most finished of Roman philosophers. Excelling as he did in eloquence, he yet composed a dialogue, the *Hortensius*, now lost,

in which he vindicated the claims of philosophy and literature in contrast with those of oratory. This work led Augustine to devote himself to philosophy. His Letters, too, are the most graceful specimens of this species of literature which have come down to us from antiquity; while his Dialogues are models of a kind of composition in which excellence is most rare. The fortunes and circumstances of his life, the conflicts of the age in which he lived, his relations to Catiline, Anthony and Cæsar, his great success, his apparent indecision, his tragic death, all combine to make his career remarkable.

Mr. Forsyth has done well to attempt the writing of his life anew; for the "standard" work of Middleton is diffuse in style, uncritical in method, and fulsome in eulogy. Mr. Forsyth happily avoids this excess of panegyric on the one hand, and also such unjust depreciation of Cicero's character as is found in Drumann's History of Rome, and in Napoleon's recent life of Julius Cæsar. His work is a proper biography; it presents to us Cicero, in the environment of his times indeed, but yet Cicero as a man, an orator, a friend; Cicero in his house at Rome and in his villa, in his toil and in his leisure, at the bar and in his domestic life; in civil war, and private troubles; and in his violent end. The summary of his character, in the closing chapter, is admirably done.

We wish that our young aspirants for legal and political honors might carefully study this biography, which will at once take a high place in our biographical literature. From the record of that life of ceaseless study, and diversified employment, they might get many a useful lesson. "He created," says Mr. Forsyth, "a style which has been the model and the despair of succeeding writers." Niebuhr says, "the predominant and most brilliant faculty of his mind was wit, what the French call *esprit*." He was not ashamed to confess "that his enmities were mortal, and his friendships eternal."

The Presbyterian Historical Almanac, and Annual Remembrancer of the Church, for 1864. By JOSEPH M. WILSON, Philadelphia. pp. 439. Mr. Wilson has shown untiring zeal in bringing out his Almanac under the disadvantages of the present times. He ought to be encouraged in his laudable work by a generous support. The statistics and records in this volume (the sixth of the series) are for the year 1863. The Old School occupies, somewhat disproportionately, more than half of the volume. A History of the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., is given, with a Memoir and excellent likeness of Dr. Robinson. The portraits (17 in number) are a great improvement on those in the previous volumes. There are over 70 biographical sketches. Mr. Wilson intends to publish a full "clerical record of the brethren" in successive volumes, giving concisely the main facts of their lives.

We have repeatedly spoken of the value and interest of *Harper's Pictorial History of the Rebellion*. It is issued in parts, at 30 c. each, and is brought out in the best typographical style, and profusely illustrated. No. XI comes down, in chap. xiv, to the capture of New Orleans.

Three Months' Residence at Nablus, and an Account of the Modern Samaritans. By Rev. JOHN MILLS, F. R. G. S., &c. Murray: London.—The author of this work is favorably known to students in biblical literature as a painstaking and useful writer, and his former book on the British Jews has been highly recommended. In the present publication are comprised partly the results of his observation and research in the course of two visits to Nablus, and in part the fruits of what must have been a long

and loving study of Samaritan antiquities. There is also given an account of the district, and of its non-Samaritan inhabitants. The interest of the work is, therefore, both ancient and modern, the former element predominating, since to their ancient history alone is due whatever feeling of curiosity the modern people excite. They present a singular example of a race obviously and rapidly dying out, living, as they have long done, in oppressed and poor circumstances, and jealously intermarrying only among themselves. The whole adult population, which the author saw collected on one of their chief festivals, numbered only 48. In 1855, he says, the community consisted of 40 families, of which the entire number of members was 150. This was at the time of his first visit. By 1860, the date of the second visit, he found an increase of one, a circumstance which greatly pleased the priest Amram, the chief of the body, when it was pointed out to his notice. They live apart from the Arab population of Nablus, at the foot of Gerizim, their sacred hill. Mr. Mills has photographed the race, it might seem barely in time to preserve its lineaments to posterity; it is not many years since that the whole community only escaped extermination at the hands of the fanatic Mohammedans by the friendly intervention of the chief of the Jews at Jerusalem.

Whether the Samaritans belonged at all to the Jewish stock, and what value is properly assignable to their old version of the Pentateuch, are two questions which have long occupied the attention of the learned, and about which they have found it hitherto impossible to arrive at an entirely satisfactory conclusion. Upon the first point Mr. Mills accepts the well-known Jewish tradition of the Assyrian origin of the people of Samaria, though he manifestly attaches some importance to the fact that the foreign Babylonish element must have intermingled with a certain Israelitish remnant which had not been draughted away into the northern captivity. They must have been a fine race, he thinks, if they anciently resembled their modern representatives.

"In appearance, the Samaritans are far superior to their circumstances, as also to all others around them. I had seen individuals, among Arabs and Kios, of as noble aspect as any one of them; but as a community there is nothing in Palestine to compare with them. A straight and high forehead, full brow, large and rather almond-shaped eye, aquiline nose, somewhat large mouth, and well-formed chin, are their chief physiological characteristics; and, with few exceptions, they are tall and of lofty bearing. They seem to be all of one type, and bear an unmistakable family likeness."

It has been noticed that in the year 1841, the chief Rabbi at Jerusalem acknowledged the Samaritans as a branch of the people of Israel: an act of charity which, according to Mr. Mills, they seem hardly disposed to reciprocate; for they say of those whom we call Jews, that they are Cuthite, and not Hebrew, since the captivity in Babylon, and they speak of themselves alone as constituting the true Israel, by pure descent from Joseph. It should be remarked as a very singular thing, if the old Jewish tradition of their mere Assyrian origin is believed, that the Samaritans should have so faithfully adhered, as they still do, to the five books of the law of Moses. They believe in no other revelation, but in that law they believe completely, and they obey it with a strict fidelity which has been long unknown amongst the Jews. To this fact Mr. Mills testifies with careful particularity, finding as he has done in their customs and religious services an exact fulfillment of the Mosaic requirements which

no Rabbinical refinements of casuistry have ever taught them to dispense with. They have also long made altogether their own the sacred traditions of the land in which they have dwelt, of the first coming of Abraham into Canaan, of Jacob's purchase of land there, and the digging of his celebrated well, of the burial of Joseph, of the formal promulgation of the law from the sister mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, and of the early importance of the spot in the religious and political gatherings of the Hebrew people long before the time of David, and the consecration of Mount Zion in his reign. Suppose the Samaritan people to have been not Jews at all, they offer a wonderful example of the influence of a book, and of residence in venerable places to which that book refers, in forming a nation with a perfectly unique character, which, nevertheless, must be regarded as an imposture and a mistake—a nation holding closer to the law than the Jews have ever done, which yet never possessed the smallest right to that law in its promises, nor was under the least obligation to its commands.

We do not enter upon the disputed question as to the place of the sacrifice of Abraham's son, whether it was Mount Moriah, or rather as the Samaritans say, and as Dr. Stanley and Mr. Mills think, Mount Gerizim. But it should be remarked respecting another matter of discussion which has been above-named, that it is a point of considerable importance to determine the proper value and the probable age of the celebrated copy of the five books of Moses which is kept in the sacred, reserved place of the Samaritan Synagogue at Nablus. It seems a matter of difficulty to obtain even a sight of the venerable scroll, and the minister, the priest's nephew, though very friendly to Mr. Mills, appears to have done his best to deceive him in the matter by palming off upon him other, later copies. The people themselves are only allowed to see the really old copy when it is brought out once in the year, on the great day of atonement, and the one column which is alone exposed on that day has been much defaced by the touchings and kisses of successive generations. Mr. Mills' inspection of it was quickly interrupted by the jealousy of the Samaritan people, and the roll had to be hastily shut up and replaced, but his account of what he did see is interesting and important. He believes it to be a very ancient transcript of such a version of the law as the Israelitish remnant before referred to would be likely to have among them; if so, its value of course would be very great.

"It is evident that there is but one rational and consistent account of its origin. Copies of the Pentateuch must have been multiplied among Israel, as well as among Judah, and preserved by the one as carefully as by the other. Nor is it probable that the people, when carried captive into Assyria, took with them all the copies of the law; that not one remained among the remnant left behind; and, had such been the case, the priest himself (sent by the King of Assyria to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country, as narrated in 2 Kings xvii) as a matter of course, would have possessed a copy. This copy became the religious text book of the Samaritans, and has ever since remained among them."

Mr. Mills observes that "in more than two thousand instances where the Samaritan differs from the Hebrew, the Septuagint agrees with the former." But he does not go into much of detail in his argument in favor of this version; he will do this in the Introduction to an edition of it, which he proposes soon to publish.

It should be added that Mr. Mills' account of the present inhabitants

of Nablus is pleasant to read, and one calculated to inform the young biblical student as to many ancient customs which the conservatism of habit and of like circumstance in Eastern countries still retains. He will feel himself thrown back into the times and among the ways of sacred history much more effectually in Mr. Mills' company than in the reading of most mere books of travel and of sacred antiquarian discussion. It is the great superiority of Mr. Mills that he has lived, though it was but for a short space, the daily life of an Eastern people, and that he has really seen that life from its interior. Even the little humors of Oriental existence have not escaped him, and, fortunately, unlike some more pretentious writers, he does not fail to describe them. His impression of the Arab, and indeed of the Eastern character generally, is not a favorable one. He found the people of the East covetous, untruthful, prone to cheating, of great religious pretension but full of hypocrisy, ever ready for cursing and cruelty, and in particular excessively dirty. But they are sober and hospitable, and the Arabs especially have a certain gentleness of manner and real kindness of heart when their confidence is secured.

SCIENCE.

Physical Geography of the Holy Land. By EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D. A supplement to the late author's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*. Boston: Crocker & Brewster: 1865. pp. xvi, 399. Though this is only a fragment of Dr. Robinson's projected work, yet the fragment is complete; for what the author did, he did thoroughly. Mrs. Robinson has edited the volume with great care. Beside the Physical Geography of Palestine complete, it contains in an appendix, the Physical Geography of the Syrian coast. The Historical and Topographical Geography of Palestine, and the whole Geography of Lebanon and Sinai, were also to have been included in the first volume, while the second was to have been devoted to the Outlying Regions. Much as we regret the loss which Biblical science suffers from the failure to carry out the plan, yet the portion here published is the most important and valuable. It shows all the characteristics of Dr. Robinson's mind: his patient and conscientious study, his lucid arrangement and statements, his extraordinary accuracy as an observer, his complete mastery of all that pertained to the topic. It will be a long time before any one can be prepared to improve upon his work in any essential particular. His *Biblical Researches* are a monument of faithful investigation, and this posthumous volume gives the net result. It is well and accurately printed.

A Treatise on Astronomy. By ELLIAS LOOMIS, LL. D. New York: Harpers. 1865. pp. 338. With appropriate Tables, Charts and Plates, well executed. Professor Loomis, of Yale College, is already widely known by his mathematical works, and his Introduction to Practical Astronomy. This new treatise will increase his high reputation. It is admirably expressed and arranged. The descriptions are clear, the definitions concise, and the method exact. It aims to give just what ought to be included in a college course, and no more. In this it is very successful.

PHILOSOPHY.

Know the Truth; a Critique on the Hamiltonian Theory of Limitation. By JESSE H. JONES. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1865. pp. 225. A

new writer here enters the field against the redoubtable Hamilton, with strictures also on Mansel and Herbert Spencer. The author seems to have been a pupil of Dr. Hickok, and prosecutes his criticism on the basis of Hickok's Rational Psychology. The work is not a systematic exposition, but rather a running criticism upon important points and questions. The authors criticised are fairly dealt with; and many of the objections and arguments show acuteness and insight, as well as decided talent for metaphysical inquiries.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Iliad of Homer rendered into English Blank Verse. By EDWARD EARL OF DERBY. 2 vols. New York: Scribner. 1865. pp. 430, 457. The lovers of classical literature have not for a long time had so rare a feast as is offered them in this version of the Iliad by the eloquent leader of the conservative party of England. It bears welcome evidence, that neither aristocracy nor politics can divorce the best minds from the charms of literature. And the reader not versed in Greek, can now for the first time see something of the clear and strong beauty of the old Grecian bard. The metre is happily chosen, and the execution is a triumphant vindication of the principles which the noble author had previously avowed, and now reiterates in the preface to these volumes, where he speaks of "the pestilent heresy of the so-called English hexameter, a metre wholly repugnant to the genius of our language," and of which he adds, he "could never read ten lines without being irresistibly reminded of Canning's

'Dactyls call'st thou them! God help thee, silly one!'"

The flavor of the original is well preserved. Homer's abounding epithets are not all retained, yet they are faithfully rendered. His picturesque descriptions are so well reproduced, that often the English corresponds line for line with the Greek. As a conspicuous instance, we may cite the noble passage in the fourth book, in which the hosts of Greece are described, as gathering like a storm for the attack upon the Trojans:

"As by the west wind driv'n, the ocean waves
Dash forward on the far-resounding shore,
Wave upon wave; first curls the ruffled sea
With whit'ning crests; anon with thund'ring roar
It breaks upon the beach, and from the crags
Recoiling flings in giant curves its head
Aloft, and tosses high the wild sea-spray:
Column on column, so the hosts of Greece
Pour'd, ceaseless, to the war."

Then, too, the grand description of Hector's assault upon the ships, in the fifteenth book:

"At length, all blazing in his arms, he sprang
Upon the mass; so plunging down, as when
On some tall vessel, from beneath the clouds
A giant billow, *tempest-nurs'd*, descends:
The deck is drenched in foam; the storm wind
Howls in the shrouds; th' affrighted women quail
In fear, but little way from death remov'd:
So quailed the spirit in every Grecian breast."

These volumes, like all of Mr. Scribner's books, are brought out in the best style.

facts, or arguments, or illustrations, in support of the millennial theory. The same views, the same principles, the same attempts at argument, have been presented over and over again by scores and hundreds of writers, the most of whom have passed into a deserved oblivion. In this volume we discover nothing to rescue it from a like fate. Much as we honor the author for his diligence and industry, we are constrained to say, with our views of the truth pertaining to the second coming of Christ, as expressed in our April No., his book is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

The Conversion of the Roman Empire. The Boyle Lectures for the year 1864. By CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1865. The subject and the author will secure for this volume, which is brought out in excellent style, a careful reading by thoughtful minds. The subject was of course too comprehensive to do it justice in eight lectures, "delivered from a pulpit to a mixed and fluctuating congregation:" some of the more salient points are discussed, and topics of reflection suggested. While these lectures can not be said to be very critical, or profound, or exhaustive, yet they are interesting and valuable as showing the process by which Christianity won its way to the conquest of the Roman world. Four causes are assigned for the conversion of the Empire, under God's providence: 1. The force of the internal evidence to the truth of Christianity, based on prophecy and miracles; 2. Internal evidence from the sense of spiritual destitution, the consciousness of sin, etc.; 3. The evidence arising from the lives and deaths of the primitive believers; 4. From the temporal success of Christianity itself.

A Smaller History of Rome. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D., with a continuation to A. D. 476, by EUGENE LAWRENCE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. A neat, well-prepared and illustrated history, adapted to schools.

Walks about New York. Facts and figures, gathered from various sources. By the Secretary of the City Mission. Mr. Jackson has done good service to the Christian public by the preparation of this little work. It contains a good deal of valuable information concerning our city churches, charities, etc., in a little space.

Kate Kennedy, No. 252, Library of Select Novels. Harper & Brothers. 1865.

Miss Mackenzie, No. 253. *On Guard*, 254. *Theo Leigh*, 255. *Dennis Donne*, 256. Same Publishers. The last three on the list are from the pen of Miss Annie Thomas. Her style is vigorous, her sketches of character are fresh and lively, and a healthy moral tone pervades her writings. She resembles, in many of her characteristics, Miss Evans (George Eliot) though not her equal in power of language.

The same publishers have issued, in neat form, *Our Mutual Friend*, (Part I,) by CHARLES DICKENS. With Illustrations. The readers of *Harper's Monthly* need no enlightening with reference to the merits of this popular writer's last serial.

Husbands and Wives. By MARION HARLAND. New York: Sheldon & Co. A new work by the author of "Alone," &c., is sure to find a large circle of eager readers. She has struck the popular fancy with a bold hand; and her "Husbands and Wives" will not diminish her fame.

Uncle Silas. A Tale of Bartram-Hough. By J. S. LE FAUX. New York: Harpers. 1865. Library of Select Novels, No. 251. pp. 159.

A tale of a good deal of power, and a great variety of characters and incident, sure to enlist a deep interest on the part of those who love to track the course of a dark and mysterious plot. The character of Uncle Silas is drawn with sharpness and vigor.

Luttrell of Arran By CHARLES LEVER. New York: Harpers. 1865. pp. 223. A new novel by Lever is always warmly welcomed by the lovers of fiction. As usual, Irish characters play the chief part. The old courtier, Sir Within, is admirably drawn: and Kate, too, is a heroine that attracts warm sympathy. The plot is not held with a very firm hand; though there is a great variety of incident and adventure.

Travels in Central Asia; being the account of a Journey from Teheran across the Turkoman Desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara and Samarcand, performed in the year 1863. By ARMINIUS VAMBERY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865. 8vo. pp. 493. Another splendid and valuable book of travel and discovery to be added to the series, for which the public are under great obligation to this enterprising house.

The author is a Hungarian, whose particular inclination to linguistic studies induced him, after studying various languages of Europe and Asia, to make the journey here recorded to satisfy himself, if possible, as to the origin of his mother tongue. Years were spent in qualifying him to visit the East as an Oriental, in the character of an effendi. So perfectly did he act his part as a traveling dervish that he seems never to have been suspected. He would have been put to death with every mark of cruelty had his true character been discovered.

His attention was mainly directed, during this remarkable journey—the simple record of which is interesting and often thrilling in the extreme—to the races inhabiting Central Asia, of whose social and political relations, character, usages, and customs, he gives us a pretty full and evidently reliable account in these pages. The philological researches, which in due time will be laid before the scientific world, constitute, in the author's judgment, the chief fruit of his journey, rather than the facts recorded in these pages. Still the organs of English opinion (for the work was originally published in London) have accorded a very high meed of praise to the adventurous dervish, not only for his boldness, indomitable perseverance in the face of untold difficulties and imminent perils, and the fascinating manner in which he conveys his impressions, but for the amount of important information, social, political and religious, concerning the people inhabiting the vast and almost unknown regions of Central Asia, which he hereby conveys.

MISCELLANY.

The *Twentieth Report of the Prison Association of New York* is a document of unusual value, and shows the zeal and fidelity with which Dr. Wines and the Executive Committee have engaged in their labors. There is a full account of the state of the county jails, showing the need of exterior reforms.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker, of Gettysburg, is engaged upon a translation of Dr. Luthardt's *Lectures in Defence of Christianity*, which were given in Leipsic to large audiences. One of these, on the Two Grand Aspects of the World as viewed from the Standpoint of Christianity and of Infidelity, was published by Dr. Schmucker in the *Evangelical Review*. The whole

series is able, and such discussions are needed. Drs. Luthardt, Kahnis, and Brückner, of the Leipsic University, delivered another course of nine lectures last winter, which attracted an audience of over a thousand, and will soon be published; this course gives a general view of the history of the church and of present controversies.

The Punishment of Treason is the title of a vigorous and eloquent discourse by Dr. SPEAR, of Brooklyn, preached April 23, 1865. The discourse on the Death of President Lincoln, by Rev. DENIS WORTMAN, Schenectady, is able and impressive.

PRACTICAL RELIGION.

The American Tract Society, New York, has published a valuable and interesting work, entitled *Christian Home Life: a Book of Examples and Principles*, pp. 299, setting forth the family as a religious institution, and describing all the modes in which it can be thoroughly consecrated to God. It is emphatically a book for Christian households.

Among the recent issues of the same society, especially intended for children, and all of them attractive and suitable, are: *The Bloom of Youth, or Worthy Examples*, by Rev. JOSEPH BELCHER, pp. 120; *Walter Martin, or the Factory, the School and the Camp*, pp. 176; *A Little More*, pp. 96; *Madeline*, by Rose Elmwood, pp. 96; *Little Lucy of the West, and other Tales*, eight in number; *Something for the Locker*, a tract by Dr. Waterbury; *Remember, a Word for the Soldiers*, by Chaplain A. W. Henderson.

Happy Voices. New Hymns and Tunes, with many popular and sterling old ones, for the home circle and Sabbath-schools. American Tract Society: New York. 176 pp. square 16mo. A choice collection of children's hymns and tunes, made with skill, and adapted to all occasions. It is sure to prove a great favorite.

Ore from Precious Mines. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1865. This is a selection of texts and poetry, and extracts from the best religious literature, for each day in the year. It is well done, and handsomely brought out.

The Believer's Refuge; or, Meditations on Christ and Heaven. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. pp. 210. This is a volume of detached thoughts and comments on the central themes of the Gospel, adapted to quicken the thoughts and elevate the aspirations of believers.

The Changed Cross, and other Religious Poems. New and enlarged Edition. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1865. A beautiful collection of stray pieces of poetry, chiefly of a religious character. Some of them are already well known and loved. The selection is made with taste and judgment.

Hymns for the Church on Earth. Selected and arranged by Rev. J. C. RYLE, B. A., Christ Church, Oxford. New York: Randolph. 1865. These three hundred spiritual songs are collected, not for congregational, but for private and devotional use. They are taken from a great variety of sources, excluding, however, the old familiar hymns, which are found in almost every manual of public worship. They form a delightful collection, breathing the purest spirit of evangelical devotion. The volume is very neatly and handsomely got up.

Hymns and Sacred Poems with Miscellaneous Poems. By RAY PALMER. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1865. This beautiful volume contains many old familiar hymns and other religious poems, with a selection of original and miscellaneous poems—all of which evince a refined taste, a true poetic feeling, and a simple and unadorned style. We wish that all his poems might have been included in this choice collection. The setting within the poems.

Songs for the Sanctuary: or Hymns and Tunes for Christian Worship. New York: A. B. Barnes & Son, 51 John street. 1865. The increasing demand for books of this description argues well for the public taste. It is an indication that the tide has fairly set in for congregational singing. The people are everywhere in favor of it. In some few instances they may interfere in the arrangement of an ambitious board of trustees, and suffer a hired quartette to monopolize the praises of the sanctuary. But they are weary of it. All their instincts and spiritual impulses are opposed to it. So generally has the art of singing been cultivated of late as a part of our public school instruction, that but few of the younger portion of any congregation can be found, who can not bear their part in the songs of the sanctuary. They claim it as their right, and their claim should be heeded. The *Hymn and Tune Book* suits them—gives them the desired facility for praising God, according to their desire, in the congregation, and so promotes the great ends of public worship.

The "*Songs for the Sanctuary*" is not a new claimant of public patronage. It first appeared, some three years since, as "*Songs of the Church.*" Experience has suggested to the compiler (Rev. Charles S. Robinson, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, N. Y.) numerous additions to, and alterations of, the Hymns, as well as some changes in the arrangement; and, to prevent confusion, the name of the book also has undergone a slight change.

With the merits of the original work our readers are doubtless somewhat familiar. The book, in its present form, is a great improvement on the first. The twofold classing of subjects is dispensed with; and all the hymns under each particular subject are grouped together. The additions, both of hymns and tunes, are valuable, and considerably increase the attractiveness of the book. In so large a collection of hymns (1342) it would not be strange if many should be found of inferior value and of doubtful propriety. Yet we are confident that the number of decidedly poor hymns in this collection is unusually small, almost every hymn being suitable for use either in the congregation or in the household. Nearly all the good old standard hymns and tunes are included in the collection, though, in some cases, in an abbreviated form. The book is worthy of patronage, and is destined, we think, to have a large circulation. We know of no other of the kind so well adapted, in both hymns and tunes, to meet the wants of our congregations.

As careful critics, however, we would suggest the need of more uniformity in the system of punctuation; in the indentation of couplets according to the rhyme; in the use of the interjection "Oh!" as distinguished from the sign of the vocative; in the use of a space before the abbreviation of the verb "is," so as to distinguish it from the sign of the possessive case; and some other such matters of taste and propriety.

The authorship of the hymns needs considerable revision. Many of them are marked "Anon," the writers of more than a score of which are well known. Some are attributed to the wrong authors:

"All hail the power of Jesus' name," etc.,
was written by Edward Perronet, and not by "Duncan."

"Astonished and distressed," etc.,
is from the pen of Beddome, and not of "Toplady."

"Awake, ye saints, awake," etc.,
was altered by "Cotteril," from a hymn by Miss Elizabeth Scott.

"Christ, whose glory fills the skies," etc.,
should be ascribed to Charles Wesley, and not to "Toplady."

"Enthroned on high, Almighty Lord," etc.,
is the production of Dr. Haweis, and not of "Humphries."

"Faith adds new charms to earthly bliss," etc.,
should be credited to Turner, and not to Dr. "Watts."

"Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," etc.,
though often attributed to "Oliver," was written by Williams, the Welsh poet.

"Hail the day that sees him rise," etc.,
is Charles Wesley's, and not "Madan's."

"Hark the voice of love and mercy," etc.,
is erroneously ascribed to "Francis;" it was written by Evans.

"How firm a foundation ye saints of the Lord," etc.,
should be imputed to Kennedy, not "Kirkham."

"O mother dear, Jerusalem," etc.,
in the form here given, is Dickson's, not "Quarles's."

"Angels, roll the rock away," etc.,
is usually credited to Dr. "Gibbons;" it was originally written by the elder Thomas Scott, (not the commentator,); Gibbons gave it its present form.

"Come thou, Almighty King," etc.,
is sometimes, as here, attributed to "Madan;" but erroneously. Its authorship has not been determined.

ART. X.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

German Protestant Theological and Religious Periodicals. The *Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung* gives an interesting sketch of all such journals now published. Only three represent the rationalism, which formerly controlled opinion. Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* is the most important—a continuation of Baur and Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1842–1857. It represents substantially the school of Baur, though with more positive elements. The *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, published at Berlin since 1854, edited by Dr. Krause: its tendency is on the whole like that of Schleiermacher, "the left wing" of his disciples; represented by Sydow, Schwarz of Gotha, Dittenberger, Alex. Schweizer—the latter the ablest of the school. Schenkel's *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift* is the third periodical of this class, free in criticism, lively and latitudinarian: Holtzman, Hanne, and Rothe contribute to it. Two or three newspapers of limited influence defend substantially the same views.

The reviews of a more positive tendency are much more numerous and

important. Gelzer's *Protestantische Monatsblätter*, since 1852, belongs to "the right wing" of Schleiermacher's school; it defends Protestantism, and discusses current events from a "believing standpoint." Dorner, J. P. Lange, Hagenbach, W. Baur, are among its contributors. The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* is well known for its great ability. Rothe has lately withdrawn from its corps of editors, and Hundeshagen and Richm have been added to it. It has been published since 1828. Ullmann has been its leading spirit: he died Jan. 12, 1865. Niedner's *Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie* (edited by Illgen 1832 to 1845, and since by Niedner,) is always full of thoroughly digested matter. The *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* of Zimmermann, has in late years assumed a more positive tendency. It was edited by E. Zimmermann from 1822 to 1832: then by Bretschneider and others: 1850 by Palmer and K. Zimmermann, etc. It gives documents in full, also in a *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, an account of new works. Practical magazines, of a like tendency are one for the *Gustav-Adolph Verein* since 1844: *Sonntagsfeier*, monthly since 1834: *Monatliche Viertel Jahrschrift* ed. E. Ohly, quarterly, since 1862: Hagenbach's *Kirchenblatt f. d. reform. Schweiz*, etc.

A positive christian, yet somewhat speculative tendency is represented in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, to which Dorner, Ehrenfenchter, Liebner, Palmer, Weizsäcker, Landerer and other able men contribute; it is one of the very best of the German reviews; and it now publishes quite full criticisms on the most important theological works of each quarter. Dr. Heidenheim's *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* is an attempt to combine English and German scholarship. Of this, and the other leading periodicals, we have frequently given account.

The *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche* is Lutheran of a decided type; Harless, Thomasius, Hofmann, H. Schmid are among the best known contributors. The *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, edited by Rudelbach, (now deceased) and Guericke since 1850, now by Delitzsch and Guericke is well known for its thorough Lutheran spirit, and for its ability. Still more strictly Lutheran is the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, by Kliefoth and Mejer, 1854, and by Dirckhoff since 1860. At Dorpat since 1859 has been issued a Lutheran *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*. Hengstenberg's *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* founded in 1827, has been decidedly Lutheran since 1852. A Romanizing Lutheran tendency is seen in Dr. Vilmar's (of Marburg) *Pastoral-theologische Blätter*: and in Nathanius *Volksblatt*, which is under the influence of Professor Leo of Halle.

Studien und Kritiken, 2. 1865. The chief editor, Prelate Ullmann died Jan. 12; his latest literary work was the selection of the articles for this number of the review, with which he has been connected 38 years, ever since it was founded. His work on the *Sinlessness of Jesus*, and on the *Essence of Christianity*, several of his *Aphorisms*, and his *Reformers before the Reformation*, 2 vols., have been translated into English. The articles in this number of the *Studien* are, Beyschlag on the Christ-party at Corinth; Weiss, on Schenkel's Characteristics of Jesus—showing in a thorough way the defects of the work in its criticism of the gospels: Gurlitt on Ecclesiastes, an exposition; Dressel, Vatican correction of the Vulgate; and a review of Plitt's system of faith by Küst in—Plitt is a Moravian, and has produced the first system of theology (2 vols. 1863–4) since Spangenberg's in the Moravian church. The third number of the *Studien* contains a continuation of Richm on the Messianic Prophecies; Nees Von Eisenbeck on the Pastoral Cure of Souls; exegetical essays by Düsterdieck and Vogel; a review of Weisse's *Philosophical Dogmatics* by Lipsius and of Culmann's *Ethics* by Hamberger.

Zeitschrift f. lutherische Theologie. 2. 1865. Ed. Engelhardt on John xii, 28-32, against Hengstenberg, who interprets it as thunder; J. C. M. Laurant, on the *Kuria* in second epistle of John—as meaning a real person; E. Paret, conclusion of his article on the Spiritual Power of the Church; O. Zöckler on Therese of Avila.

Theologische Quartalschrift. 1. 1865. Prof. Lange of Bonn on the Theological Standpoint of Josephus;—that he had no definite Messianic hopes. Kelner on the Neo-Platonist, Porphyry, and his relation to Christianity—a very interesting sketch. Prof. Dr. Aberle on Quirinus (Cyrenius, Luke ii, 2:) an able examination, taking the ground that Luke gives us here a historical fact, in addition to what other historians mention, and worthy of credit.

Zeitschrift f. historische Theologie. 1. 1865. Theod. Gess, Hegesippus and his Value in church history; Otto Kist, The Stipendiary system in Wittenberg and Jena; Herzog, on the age of the Noble Leyceon (a Waldensian work,) against Ebrard, in the same periodical, 1864.

Jahrbrücher f. deutsche Theologie. 2. 1865. Palmer on the Ethics of the Epistle of James; Fr. Nitzsch (private teacher at Berlin,) on Patristics, proposing a remodeling of this part of historical theology, as a history of theological literature in the early centuries; Steitz, the Doctrine of Lord's Supper in the Greek Church, continued, examining very carefully the opinions of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Pseudo-Adamantius, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Macarius the Elder; it is a very valuable essay. The Notices of New Books are well and thoroughly done.

Tischendorf has published a valuable little work on the gospels: *When were our Gospels written?* p. 70 (Hinrichs, Leipzig.) He especially defends the gospel of John, and makes use of the apocryphal gospels in evidence. All the Gospels were known at the beginning of the second century. His general conclusion is, that "in the whole range of the literature of antiquity there are few instances of so complete a historical attestation as that which our four gospels have."

The Prussian Government has published a report on the Elementary Schools in Prussia, 1859 to 1861 (Berl. 1864.) The population is 18,476,500: 3,000,294 are of the school age, or about 17 per cent. Of these, 2,959,857 were in the elementary schools; of the remaining 130,437, the larger part were in the higher schools. The number of elementary schools is 24,763, with 33,617 male and 1755 female teachers. There are also 1434 private schools. The sum annually expended for these elementary schools is about ten millions of *Thalers*.

A New edition of Baier's *Compendium Theologiae*, edited by Preuss from the edition 1694, has been published at Berlin for the very low price of one Thaler, pp. 712. Preuss is also editing the new edition of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici*.

The Life and Character of Matthias Claudius, "the Wandsbeck Messenger," have been well described by Dr. J. H. Deinhardt, director of the Gymnasium of Bomberg.

A *Life of Jesus* by the well-known Swedenborgian, F. I. Tafel (who died in 1863) has been published; it is partly in reply to Strauss, insisting upon "the symbolical sense" of the chief facts in our Lord's life.

Theological Works. A second edition of Hase's *Handbook of Protestant Polemics*. A new edition of the Works of Gregory of Nyssa, vol. i,

edited by F. Oehler. D. F. Strauss, *The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History*—a criticism upon Schleiermacher's Life of Jesus. Prof. F. W. Schulz. *The History of Creation, after Science and the Bible*. Luther's *Opera Latina*, pertaining to the history of the Reformation, vol. i, 1515-1518; to be completed in 8 or 9 vols., edited by Dr. H. Schmidt.

The Catholic Church in the United States by Native Writers. Translated into German, by the Benedictines of St. Meiarad in the State of Indiana: a volume of 534 pages, published at Ratisbon.

Dr. Pichler's able work on the Orient and Occident is completed by the publication of the second volume (pp. 789.) It gives a condensed history of the Greek and Russian and other oriental churches, and reviews all the controversies. It is so free and bold in its tone as to have called out severe criticisms from various Roman Catholic writers of the stricter observance, to whom the author has made reply in a sharp and searching pamphlet. His book has been put upon the Roman Index, and the author is said to have "submitted" to the decision.

Roman Catholic Periodicals. These are neither so numerous nor so able as the Protestant, though they have largely increased within the past ten years. It was stated by Roman Catholic authorities in 1857, that there was only 6 large and 81 smaller periodicals, while the Protestants had 207 large and 1234 smaller journals. The Tübingen *Theologische Quartalschrift* is the ablest; it contains contributions from Hefele, Aberle, Kuhn and other; Kuhn writes in it against the extreme ultramontane and scholastic tendencies. Other contributors are Himpel, Zukrigl, Scharpf and Reusch. This periodical is for the Catholic church what the *Studien und Kritiken* is for the Protestant. Von Moy's *Archiv für Kirchenrecht* corresponds with Dove's Protestant periodical. Professor Frohschammer's *Athenaeum* continued for two years a contest on philosophical subjects with the extreme scholastic party among the Roman Catholics; it has now ceased to appear; among its contributors were Hoffmann, Lutterbeck and other philosophers of the school of Baader; but Rome was opposed to so much freedom of inquiry. The ablest ultramontane organ is *Der Katholik*, Mayence, founded 1821, enlarged 1860, edited by Monfang and Heinrich, under the oversight of the unscrupulous Bishop Von Ketteler. It takes its philosophy from the Jesuit Kleutgen (author of the *Philosophie der Vorzeit*.) the chief opponent of Kuhn, on the question of the authority of scholasticism, and on the project of a great Catholic University for Germany, which the ultramontane party wishes to establish. The *Katholik* gives in full all papal bulls, briefs, etc. More recently founded are the *Chilianeum*, at Würzburg; the *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, at Lucerne; the *Oesterreichische Vierteljahrsschrift*, Vienna; all devoted to theology and philosophy in the interest of Romanism. Of an older date, no longer issued, were the able *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1839, edited by Hug, Hirscher and others; the Bonn *Zeitschrift f. Philosophie und Katholische Theologie*, published by the school of Hermes; the *Hippolytus*, published in the diocese of St. Pölten, of marked ability, but which has lately ceased to appear after an existence of seven years. The *Historischpolitische Blätter*, founded by Görres and Phillips, for the past ten years edited by Prof. Edmund Georg, a noted publicist, has had the most influence in political as well as theological affairs of any Roman Catholic periodical in Germany. It is ultramontane, though some times modified by the freer spirit of Döllinger. Dr. Fr. Michelis, author of a work on Plato, has edited for eleven years a journal entitled *Natur und Offenbarung*.

Dr. Carl Ullmann died Jan. 12, 1865, aged 68 years, 10 months. His earliest essay on Beryllus, gave high promise of his future renown. In 1825 he published an able work on Gregory Nazianzen, still the best monograph on that father of the church. His *Reformers before the Reformation* appeared in 1841. His essay on the Sinlessness of Christ was published in the first number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1828, which he published until his death. Against Strauss's life of Jesus he published several treatises, collected in the volume entitled *Historical or Mythical?* His treatise on the Nature of Christianity appeared in 1845. Dr. Ullmann began his career in Halle: taught in Heidelberg for nearly thirty years; and in 1854 was made Prelate in Carlsruhe, and put at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. The rationalistic forms of public worship were modified; but this led to embittered disputes, in which Schenkel opposed Ullmann, leading at last to the resignation of the latter. Germany loses in him one of the most able and genial of her evangelical divines.

ENGLAND.

The Journal of Sacred Literature, April 1865. Derceto, the Goddess of Ascalon: Transubstantiation—in reply to Wiseman; Bishop Warburton's Unpublished Letters, giving some interesting extracts; Prof. G. Masson on the Metaphysical schools among the Jews, on the basis of a work by Munk, the successor of Renan; Rev. F. Parker on the Metonymic Cycle and Calippic Period, continued; the Syriac Text, with a translation of a work on the Departure of Lady Mary from this World; the Codex Sinaiticus by the editor, B. H. Cowper—he thinks it of Egyptian origin—about A. D. 400; Cureton's Ancient Syriac Documents; Verbal Inspiration defended by Rev. W. R. C. Rogers; Correspondence; Reviews and Notices of Books.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review. April. 1. The English Episcopate—historical; 2. Shakspeare and the Bible; 3. The last Duchess of Gordon; 4. French Religious Novels; 5. Hofmann and his opponents—a clear and instructive article; 6. Plea and plan for Presbyterian Unity; 7. Psalms and Hymns—an interesting account of their use, and the controversies about Hymns; 8. Donaldson on the Apostolic Fathers—criticized as too destructive of the Broad Church School; 9. Various Readings of 1 Tim. iii, 16; 10. German Theological Literature; 11. Critical Notices.

The Christian Remembrancer, April, has articles on Theodore Parker from the high church point of view; a compact literary History of Aristotle, especially discussing his influence on Albertus Magnus; Reunion with Eastern churches; the Zendavesta; the present Phase of Latitudinarianism in England; a paper on the Pastoral Office, etc.

Rev. Thos. Lathbury, author of *The History of the Non-jurors*, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, etc., died Feb. 11, 1865. He left a library of very rare works.

Dr. Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents* have been published, edited by Wright. The extracts refer to the establishment of Christianity in Edessa. "The Doctrine of Thaddeus" is given in full; to Thaddeus is ascribed the introduction of Christianity into Syria. The volume also contains "The Doctrine of the Apostles," previously published by Lagarde; St. Peter and Simon the Sorcerer, etc. Dr. Cureton strangely regards the correspondence between Abgar and Christ as genuine.

Bishop Colenso has published on *Joshua*, and also a translation of the Dutch work of Prof. A. Kuenen on the *Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua*.

Three new works, illustrating the conflict between rationalism and Christianity, have been recently published; one is a translation in part of Hagenbach's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, translated by Gage, Edinb.; another is W. E. H. Lecky, *The Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, 2 vols.; also, James H. Stirling, *The Secret of Hegel*, 2 vols., an account of the Hegelian system. Prof. J. R. Young has published on *Modern Scepticism in Relation to Modern Science*. John Stuart Mill has written an examination of the chief points of Sir Wm. Hamilton's *Philosophy*. J. H. Bridges, *August Comte's General View of Positivism*. H. E. Manning, D. D., *The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost; or Reason and Revelation*.

The Edinburgh Review says: that Mr. Lecky, the author of the above History of Rationalism, "is one of the most accomplished writers and one of the most ingenious thinkers of the times, and that his book deserves the highest commendation we can bestow upon it."

FRANCE.

Revue Chrétienne. JAN. An able review of Taine's History of English Literature, exposing its materialistic assumptions, by F. Kuhn. Jules de Seyes on Cotemporary Materialism, reviewing Janet's recent work on the subject. O. Corcoda, Letter on Italy, describing the four parties, Ultramontane, Liberal Catholic, Philosophic, and Evangelical; the author is an Italian, and gives a very interesting sketch of the parties and the literature. FEB. Edmond de Guerle on Newman's apology for his life; Alphonse Bosquet on Cardinal Consalvi's Memoirs, as illustrating the history of Papacy at the beginning of the 19th century; Jules Bonnet, Recollections of Spain; R. Rey, Radicalism in Geneva; Review of the month, by the editor, De Pressensé. One of the writers for this Review, Chs. Monnard, Professor at Bonn, lately deceased, has written largely on Swiss history; he translated John Von Müller's work into French, with a continuation. MARCH. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire on Bonnechose's History of France; De Guerle on Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*; Rey, Radicalism in Geneva; F. Monnier on Primary Education in Germany, in the Reformation period; continued in the APRIL number, which also contains Chs. Bois on the Idea of God; and Jules Bonnet, Recollections of Spain; with a Review of the month by De Pressensé. The article of M. Bois is upon a recent work of Caro, in which the speculations of Taine, Vacherot and Renan in respect to God are thoroughly reviewed; Taine representing the materialist view; Vacherot the idealistic, and Renan the critical and pantheistic. The same subject is continued in the MAY number, which also contains Emile de Bonnechose on Channing, in contrast with the anti-supernaturalists of the day—an interesting and able sketch; Caillaud on the causes that arrested the reform in France; reviews of recent works by de Guerle, etc.

Albert Reville in a Letter to D'Aubigné, (pp. 92, Geneva, 1864) shows that the Epistle of Calvin addressed to Francis I, was not originally written in French; its true date is Aug. 23, 1535, not Aug. 1; also, that the king, as Beza says, never took any notice of this dedication.* He also shows that Calvin's sojourn in Italy could not have been as long as is generally supposed; he left Basle Aug. 23, 1535, and was back there the last of Jan. 1536; all that is said of Calvin's abode in the Valley of Aosta he rejects.

Chs. Calvo has collected in three volumes all the treaties and documents pertaining to the separation of "Latin America" from Europe, from 1808 on. A new life of Columbus has appeared written, by De Belloy, in one volume.

A collection of all the Allocutions and Encyclicals of previous Popes, referred to in the Pope's late Encyclical has been published, with the Encyclical and its Syllabus, for four francs.

The ninth volume of Rosseeuw St. Hilaire's History of Spain is published, comprising the events of the sixteenth century. This is esteemed the best history of Spain; it ought to be translated into English.

A new edition of the *Annals* of Baronius is in preparation by Aug. Theiner; it will be in 45 vols., 4to. Vols., 1 and 2 are out. Fr. Bleek's *Study on the Gospel of John* has been translated by Ch. Bruston. F. A. Eichhoff has written a reply to Eichthal's rationalistic work on the gospels, and to Renan's Life of Jesus. The Views of Napoleon I. on Christianity, as published by Chevalier de Beauterne, are reissued, corrected and completed by Bathilde Bouniol. Adolphe d'Avril has published a *Collection of Documents* on the relation of the Eastern Churches to the See of Rome. The letters of St. Francis de Sales are edited, 2 vols., by Abt  Servonnet. Jules Bonnet, *Olympia Morata*, 5th ed. The third and last part of Prof. Asti 's *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. Strauss's new *Life of Jesus* has been translated into French by A. Nefftser and Ch. Dolfus, 2 vols. A. Floquet, *Bossuet precepteur du Dauphin, etc.*, 1670-1682. Nowrrison, *La Philosophie de St. Augutin*.

Philosophical Works. A new edition of Causin's *Opera Inedita* of Proclus, in one vol., 60 p.; Chs. Pellarin a *Letter* to Litt  , on the Positive Philosophy. Abb  E. Barbe, *The Immortality of the Soul*. G. Tiberghien, *Theory of Knowledge*, vol., 1. Vacherot, *Philosophical Criticisms*. Matter, *Mysticism in France in the Times of F  nelon*. J. R  tour  , *Critique de la Philosophie de Thomas Brown*. Saisset, *Le Scepticisme,   nesid  me, Pascal et Kant*. De Margerie, *Theodicy*. De Puchesse, *Immortality*.

M. Munk has published the *More Nevochim* of Maimondes, text French version and notes is an excellent edition, through the liberal aid given him by Baron James de Rothschild.

SPAIN.

Roque Bercia, *Filosof   de la Lengua Espa  ola*. Sin  nmos Castellanos. Tomo 1. Madrid: 1863. 8vo. pp. 484.

The first volume of an *Essay of a Spanish Library of Rare and Curious Books*, was published at Madrid in 1863, 4to. pp. 702, edited by Gallardo, Zarco del Valle, and Sancho Rayon. 5 dollars.

Ant. Cavanilles, *Historia de Espa  a*. Tom. V. Madrid: 1863. 4to. pp. 402.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

Augustin de Backer has written a *Bibliographical Essay* on the book, *The Imitation of Christ*, giving its full literary history. It is published at Liege for 10 francs.

J. H. Scholten, *A Critical and Historical Investigation of the Gospel of John*. Part I. Leyden: 1864.

The Dutch are much irritated at the Pope's new project of canonizing

as martyrs the Spanish soldiers who fell in 1572, in the war against Holland. Gerardus Balgeman, the assassin of William the Silent, has already had this usual honour.

The first fasciculus of a new edition of the *Lexicon of Phoenice* the Patriarch has been published, edited by S. A. Naber.

J. B. VAN DER LINDEN, Life of Francis Junius, Professor at Leyden, died 1692.

The *Arabi Study*, Chinese Text, with a Japanese version. By J. H. VAN DER LINDEN.

The subjects for prizes 1863 announced by the Society of the Hague are: the Resurrection of Christ: Pseudepism: Miracles in the New Testament: the Second Advent of Christ: the three Epistles of John. Those of the Taylor Society of Haarlem are: the Kingdom of God, as viewed by Christ: the Empirical Philosophy of England, etc.

A work on the Christology of Justin Martyr, pp. 236, by D. H. WARBURG, has been published at Leyden.

ITALY.

An Italian Bibliographical Annual is begun by the Minister of Public Instruction. The first volume, for 1863, was issued at Turin last year, pp. xi i. 384.

Two important works have been published at Rome in relation to the Greek Church: one is a history in Greek of the Council of Florence, by the Benedictine Monks, pp. vi. 562: the other, by Pitra, is on the History and Monuments of the Greek Canon Law, vol. i, to sixth century, 4to, pp. lvi. 686.

B. LABANZA, *Della Filosofia Razionale*. Vol. I. Propedeutica. Firenze, 1864. 12mo, pp. 335. VINC. MOLINARI, *La Filosofia e la Vita di Alfonso Testa*. Parma, 1864, pp. 140.

G. FILANGIERI, *The Science of Legislation*. Florence.

P. E. MONTANARI, *Storia dei Comuni Italiani*. Vol. I. Firenze, 1864.

L. BERKEA, *Elementi della Metafisica del Bene*. Firenze. 1864.

MAERI, *Principi, Metafisica della Morale*. Palermo. 1864.

The *Nazione* gives a summary about public education in Italy: out of a population of 21,977,334, there are 16,999,701 who can not read; 7,889,238 men, and 9,110,463 women. More particularly, out of every thousand 240.76 men and 115.87 women can read and write; the rest can either not read or write at all, or only write their names.

The Festival of Dante was observed at Florence, May 14, with imposing ceremonies. Of the statue reared to his memory, the following account is given: "The colossal statue of the great Florentine poet, who was also a distinguished soldier and statesman, whose genius has exercised so great an influence on his country, and of whose fame Italy is so justly and enthusiastically proud, is the work of sculptor Pazzi, of Ravenna, the refuge and death-place of Dante. Its height is 5.68 metres, and it stands upon a lofty pedestal, in the style of the fourteenth century, designed by Luigi del Sarto. Around it four lions guard as many shields, on which are inscribed the names of the four principal of the poet's minor works. On the front, in the centre, are the arms of Rome, as the capital of Italy. Those of all the principal Italian cities are also sculptured upon the monument, to the cost of which all those cities have contributed. Their assemblage there is with reference to the union of the Italian states into one country having been foreseen by the poet. Various other allegorical devices and four bas-reliefs of scenes in the

Divina Commedia adorn the base of the statue, which as yet there has been no opportunity of closely examining. The inscription is as brief and simple as possible: 'To Dante Alighieri; Italy, MDCCCLXV.' "

GREECE.

J. P. Kokkonis died at Athens, Oct. 10. He edited several classical works.

An extended Life of President Capodistrias, by Dr. Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, has been published in Germany.

Charelamos Metaxos, a noted writer on medical topics, died recently at Cephalonia.

SCANDINAVIA.

Professor Carl Axel Torren, late Pastor of the University of Upsala, has written a work on the Free Church of Scotland, arguing for the independence of the church in relation to the state.

The library of the Cathedral Church of Strongnaes, Sweden, has been destroyed by fire. It contained a great number of Scandinavian antiquities, valuable manuscripts and rare books, which came from the pillage of the convents of Bohemia and of Moldavia during the thirty years' war.

R U S S I A .

The Minister of the Interior reports that 55,000,000 of the Russians belong to the Greek Church; 1,600,000 are Protestants; 2,800,000 Catholics; 500,000 Armenians; 1,450,000 Jews; 5,700,000 Mohammedans; 500,000 heathen in Siberia.

A Bibliographical Dictionary of the Servian Literature, by Danitschitz, has been published at Belgrade in 3 vols., for 17 *Thalers*.

The Press in Russia.—The new press law has been adopted by the Council of the Empire and will probably be shortly sanctioned by the Emperor prior to promulgation. The chief clauses are as follows: "The censorship is abolished upon all books containing more than ten sheets of printed matter; also upon all newspapers, magazines, and periodical publications the editors of which are willing to submit to the system of warnings.

"A journal will be suppressed after three warnings. The first two will be given by the Administration, but the third must be sanctioned by the Senate. The Government reserves to itself in addition the right of prosecuting the delinquents before the ordinary tribunals, and they will in that case have to submit to the verdict of the jury."

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA.

There was published in 1858 at Mexico, the first volume of a *Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, by Joaquin Garcia Icarbalceta, 800 pp. cliii, 544. \$10.

The *Impressa Evangelica*, in Portuguese, is the first evangelical paper published in Brazil. It began to be issued Nov. 19, 1864. It contains doctrinal and exegetical essays, expositions of Protestant doctrine and church news. A. Monod's *Lucia* is translated in it. It has been well received by the other journals, and by the public, and promises to be a useful work. The chief Catholic journal of Brazil is *The Cross* (*A Cruz*)

published at Rio de Janeiro, every Sunday. It has been in existence for four years, and is thoroughly Papal; "without the Pope, no Christendom."

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The work of Mr. Charles C. Perkins of Boston, on *Tuscan Sculptors* (2 vols. London,) elicits high praises from the English critical journals. The Edinburgh Review says, that its "criticisms are singularly fair, showing an intimate knowledge of the subject, and a just appreciation of the merits of the different schools." It deserves even higher encomiums. It is a work of thorough study, bringing to light many neglected points. The illustrations are very beautiful, and made from the drawings of Mr. Perkins himself. We ought to have an American edition of this work.

Prof. James R. Boyd, already favorably known as the author of a *Memoir of Doddridge*, and editor of *English Poets*, *Kane's Elements*, etc., will soon publish *The Household New Testament*, on the basis of the *Family Expositor*, by Philip Doddridge, D. D., and of the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, by Conybeare and Howson. With copious supplementary annotations, drawn from Wordsworth, Alford, Vaughan, Ellicott, D. Brown, J. Brown, Kitto, and other recent authors. Such a work, we need not add, is greatly needed. The one published by the Tract Society is very good, but the notes are too brief. Prof. Boyd is admirably adapted to the task he has in hand, and we are confident he will prepare a work that will be both popular and useful. Just such a work our own Publishing Committee ought to bring out. They could not add a better book, in our judgment, to the list of excellent works they are now issuing. We have examined the plan, and in part the execution of Prof. Boyd's "Household New Testament," and we give it our cordial commendation.

American Presbyterian and Theological Review.

NUMBER XII.

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A WORD TO THE PATRONS OF THIS REVIEW.

THIS number closes the third volume of the New Series of this Review, the seventh of the *American Theological Review*, and the fourteenth of the *Presbyterian Quarterly*. While the *American Presbyterian and Theological Review* is the organ of no denomination or school, it is yet conducted in the interest of the Presbyterian Church of this country. Many of its contributors, however, are distinguished and honored members of other communions. Its relations to the denomination whose distinctive name it bears, gives it a strong claim on the patronage and sympathy of its Ministry and Churches. While the circulation of the Review is *fair*, it is still not sufficient, especially since the cost of publishing it has doubled, to enable the publisher to give it that superior external appearance to which its intellectual character and its position entitle it. It has no fund to support it. It asks no aid from the church or from individuals. It has been sustained during our great War and under greatly increased expenses, without advancing the price of it. The addition of 500 names to its subscription list would afford the Editors some compensation for their services, and warrant the Publisher in giving it a new and greatly improved appearance. Will not the friends of sound learning—the Ministers and Elders and intelligent Layman of the large, wealthy, and educated denomination which it represents among the Reviews of the land—interest themselves to secure them? Is not the *present* a fitting time for an effort to extend the circulation and influence of such a Review?

The January number will begin a new volume. Please send in your subscriptions at an early day. The terms will be \$3.00 to those who pay in advance.

We have for sale two complete sets (all that can be had) of the *American Theological Review*, and the same of the *Presbyterian Quarterly*. The price of the former, (1859–65) substantially bound, is \$23: of the latter (1852–65) is \$38. Only a *few* sets of the New Series (63–65) remain. Price, substantially bound, \$10, or, including subscription for 1866, \$12, or in numbers, \$10.50.

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THE
A M E R I C A N
PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

NEW SERIES, No. XII.—OCTOBER, 1865.

ART. I.—DEMONIACAL POSSESSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By Rev. SAMUEL HOPKINS, Northampton, Mass.

IF we except the somewhat doubtful case of the “woman who had a spirit of infirmity” (Luke xiii. 11–16) we have only six cases mentioned in the memoirs of our Lord of persons whose symptoms of disease are brought to our view, and out of whom he is said to have expelled demons. There were indeed an unknown multitude of this class whom he relieved of their wretchedness. But they are mentioned only in general terms—in the gross; not the least clue is given to any peculiarities of their personal condition except that they were demonized—Matt. iv. 24; viii. 16; xv. 22. Mark i. 32, 34, 39; xvi. 9. Luke vi. 18; vii. 21; viii. 2. In forming our judgment of their peculiar affliction, we are therefore necessarily confined to these six cases, and their attendant circumstances. They furnish the only matter-of-fact data upon which we can proceed while investigating this controverted subject.

The first case which we shall note is that of a man who was mute—Matt. ix. 32. Luke xi. 14. The word translated “dumb” means, rather, *deaf*, causing one to be dumb. [*Κωφοσ*, Wahl.] No peculiarity is exhibited in his case, except that he had this infirmity, and that he was demonized.

Another sufferer is described as “one demonized, blind and dumb,” i.e., a blind deaf-mute—Matt. xii. 22.

Another, called in our version “a lunatic”—Matt. xvii. 15—was also a deaf-mute.—Mark ix. 17, 25. The etymology of the word used by Matthew—*σεληνιαζεται*—corresponds to that of our word “lunatic,” and signifies *literally* “affected by

the moon," or "moon-struck." In use, however, the word does not mean "to be afflicted with insanity," as the word "lunatic" does, but, with epilepsy, which was then supposed to increase in violence with the increase of the moon. [Wahl, Bloomfield.] The symptoms of the case, also, decidedly indicate the same disease; for the sufferer is said to have fallen down wallowing, foaming, gnashing his teeth, and pining away; oft-times falling into the fire, and oft-times into the water. He was evidently a deaf-mute, and an epileptic. He is also represented as demonized, and, which is of special importance, was recognized as such by our Lord, and in express terms.

Another, was a man in the synagogue of Capernaum who fell down in convulsions, evidently epileptic—Mark i. 26. Luke iv. 35. The word rendered "had torn"—*σπαρασσειν*—"properly signifies *to tear, to lacerate*; but here, and in Luke ix. 39, it signifies *to bring on violent convulsions and spasms*, such as accompany epilepsy." [Bloomfield, Wahl.] This man is represented as not only epileptic, but as "having a spirit of an unclean demon." He was also recognized by our Lord as demonized.

The two remaining cases are recorded in Matt. viii. 28–32. Mark v. 1–19. Luke viii, 27–39. The sufferers are described as two men "demonized;" and were recognized as such by Christ. The description given of their behavior, shows plainly that they were raving maniacs. In their cases, however, no bodily disease was manifested; whatever there might have been which was latent.

Thus, of all the individual cases on record, two were deaf-mutes, one of whom was also blind; two were epileptics, one of whom was also a deaf-mute; and two were afflicted with the worst form of insanity.

Properly speaking, epileptics are not insane. Yet, when the attacks are severe and of frequent occurrence, they invariably induce more or less of mental imbecility. In four cases out of the six, therefore, the *minds* of the demonized persons were affected. Of the epileptic, whose case is stated by Matthew and Mark, it is said, "the *child* was cured," etc.—Matt. xvii. 18; and also that he had been subject to such attacks "from childhood," [*παιδιουθεν*, English translation, "of a child,"]; i.e., while yet a child and onwards—Mark ix. 21. He had therefore passed what we call the age of childhood; and was a young man, grown, or nearly grown. [On the latitude of the word *παις* which is here used, see Wahl and references; particularly Acts xx. 9, 12.] Consequently he had been epileptic for years; the fits had been of frequent occurrence,

and were certainly severe. So that we are justified, on pathological grounds, in regarding his intellect as seriously impaired.

Judging from the violence of his attack, and from his probable age, the same seems to have been the mental condition of the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum.

Thus it appears from the several cases cited, all our materials for judgment, that all demoniacs suffered from bodily malady ; or from bodily infirmity ; or from infirmity or malady of mind ; or from all.

It does by no means follow, however, that all persons afflicted with bodily infirmities or diseases, or even that all those afflicted with diseases, by which the mental faculties are usually weakened, were demoniacs. A person may have been blind, yet no demoniac. A person may have been deaf and dumb, yet no demoniac. A person may have been epileptic and consequently imbecile, yet no demoniac. A person may have been a demoniac, yet neither blind, nor deaf, nor epileptic, nor subject to any other bodily ailment apparent to an observer. This was true of the madmen among the tombs. Nothing of the sort appears from the description given.

In regard to the bodily affections which have been brought to view as pertaining to persons demonized, we have positive testimony that they also pertained to persons not demonized. This testimony we cite.

A man deaf and dumb was brought to our Lord to be relieved of his infirmity—Mark vii. 32–37. [On the words “had an impediment in his speech” as signifying inability to speak, or dumbness, see Bloomfield on the passage.] If we except, as we should, the words, so full of meaning, “looking up to heaven he sighed,” the only means employed were, the touch and the words, “Be opened.” Not the least intimation does the narrator give, either by words uttered by our Lord, or by his own words, that the man was a demoniac. Sufficient evidence exist that he was not.

Nor is it true that those who were blind were always demoniacs. The two blind men to whom our Saviour gave light in a house—Matt. ix : 28 ; the two to whom he gave sight in the highway, xx. 30 ; the blind man of Bethsaida—Mark viii. 22 ; the man who was blind from his birth—John ix. 1 ; no one of them was called a demoniac ; and, we may add, all of them were in their right minds. Besides, we are expressly informed (Luke vii. 21) that “many that were blind” were not demonized. The evangelist, a physician too, expressly discriminates between the two classes of the afflicted ; showing that, in his opinion, to be blind was one thing, “to have an evil spirit,” another.

The same distinction is also made, the same difference asserted, by the same writer and in the same sentence, between persons having *other* "infirmities and plagues" and persons having "evil spirits."

Matthew also (iv. 24) is careful to make the same discrimination between epileptics [English translation, "lunatics"] and demoniacs ; and also between "sick people taken with divers diseases and torments" on the one hand, and "those who were demonized" on the other. He also makes the same distinction again ; when, in one breath, he speaks of "those that were demonized" and of those "that were sick ;" viii. 16. So, too, Mark distinguished from each other "all that were diseased and them that were demonized"—i. 32. When our Lord sent forth the Twelve to preach, he gave them power to do two distinct things ; the one "to heal sicknesses ;" the other, "to cast out demons"—Matt. x. 1, 8 ; Mark iii. 15. Again, (Luke iv. 40, 41) they who were "sick with divers diseases" and the "many out of whom came demons" are spoken of as different persons. The same distinction is yet again made by Luke, vi. 17, 18, and vii. 21. Thus repeatedly and carefully did "the beloved physician" take pains to state that, in his judgment, to be afflicted with bodily disease was not the same thing as to be demonized.

Indeed, so marked, so peculiar, so explicit is the language used by the sacred writers upon this subject, so uniformly and repeatedly do they place common cases of bodily malady in antithetical juxtaposition with demoniacal cases, that they seem to have been aware that the occasional coincidence of symptoms might cause the two to be confounded ; and therefore to have framed their words purposely, precisely, most exactly and fittingly to prevent it.

In this connection, a particular incident claims our notice. In his commission to The Seventy, our Lord said, "Heal the sick," Luke x. 9 ; but not a word about relieving demoniacs. The disciples went forth. They "returned with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the demons are subject to us through thy name !'" Evidently they did not understand the *letter* of their commission as thus empowering them. They considered it as reaching only to natural diseases ; and unexpectedly found themselves possessed of powers not delegated. Therefore their joy and surprise ; and therefore our Lord treated their surprise as natural, and their construction of his commission as a correct one.

All of which things show that "to heal sicknesses and to cast out demons," (as it had been expressed in the *apostolic* commission,) were not synonymous. That is, natural disease

and demoniacal infliction were not synonymous. The words of exclamation upon this occasion, and such language as we have just quoted from the evangelists themselves, are perfectly inconceivable, and never could have been used by honest men, but upon the supposition that many persons who were sick were not demoniacs.

From all which it appears, that however demonized persons may have been afflicted with bodily diseases or infirmities, the mere presence of these did not constitute them demoniacs; that their being demonized was something superadded to their being sick, or in any particular impotent; that it was something beside either of these; that it was something more than either. The demonized may have been afflicted bodily; but hundreds and thousands, afflicted bodily, were not demonized. The bodily affliction and the demoniacal were not the same. Though the former may have been caused by the latter, still they were not the same.

In other words, all demoniacs were persons afflicted in some other way or ways, than by natural bodily disease or infirmities. Such is the plain import of the language employed by the memoirists of our Lord. To construe it otherwise, is to do it violence.

Let us take another stand-point. We have noticed that four out of the six cases recorded were cases of mental malady; two being cases of imbecility, immediately induced by epilepsy; and two of unmistakable insanity without apparent physical cause. If now, in all cases reported of a novel and mysterious disease, two-thirds were reported as developing insanity; and if, of the other third we knew only that the bodily disease was present, we should be justified in believing that the mental malady was present also. We might also reasonably judge that it was a characteristic of the disease. So, in the absence of all other light, we can hardly be open to the charge of presumption, or of weak logic, when we conclude that the two other of the six demoniacs whose cases are reported (the mute and the blind) were also either mentally infirm or insane. Nor could we be censured as rash, should we still further conclude from the same premise, demoniacal affection, that all others thus afflicted were either imbeciles or insane. But we have other light; and therefore are not left to inferences.

"John," said our Saviour, "came neither eating nor drinking; and they say, He hath a demon," Matt. ii. 18. *Paraphrase*: "John came forward as a teacher and prophet,

[Bloomfield.] abstemious and unsocial in his habits of life—Matt. iii. 4; Luke i, 80—and people say, He is beside himself having a demon.” Our Lord’s meaning is, that John being thus eccentric, people who rejected his teachings and his prophecies of the Messiah’s approach and presence justified themselves by alleging his habits as evidence of a distempered mind induced by a demon. If mental aberration—and surely in this instance it could not have been bodily disease—if mental aberration was not insinuated and even charged by the phrase “he hath a demon,” it could have had no force. Indeed this idea is naturally and uniformly conveyed to all who read the passage; to careful commentators and to common readers. Doddridge paraphrases it thus: “He acts like a wild distracted demoniac whom an evil spirit drives from the society of men.” Lange says, I. 209, “a demon of melancholy.” Indeed we believe that this interpretation is not controverted by any one; not even by those who deny the doctrine of literal demoniacal possession. But that upon which we lay stress is this: that in this instance *our Saviour* used this phrase as properly signifying a person afflicted with distemper of mind. In other words, that he plainly signified that demonized persons were of unsound mind; that mental malady of some sort was a distinctive feature of their condition; that it was a part at least of their affliction.

Again: Notice in its connections the expression of our Lord’s kindred, “He is beside himself”—Mark iii. 21. [Comp. the Greek verbs in 2 Cor. v. 13.] The reason given in the thirtieth verse for our Saviour’s argument and warning, viz: “Because they said, he hath an unclean spirit,” seems to comprise alike the allegations of his kindred and of the scribes; the latter *concurring* with the former, but under a different form of expression. As if the scribes had said, “Not only, as you say, is he beside himself, having an unclean spirit, but he is so far beside himself that, in our opinion, he has the prince of evil spirits, the *prince* of the demons.” Thus, in this case also, we find that if one was supposed to be demonized, he was also supposed, popularly, to be more or less insane. “To be beside one’s self,” and “to be demonized” were phrases used interchangeably; not as synonyms, but each as indicating the other. Whether the people of the day were right or wrong in their notions about demoniacal influence, this interchange of terms reveals the important fact that all persons whom they called demoniacs *were insane, or were considered so.*

To the captious Jews, his personal enemies, our Lord said in the temple, John vii. 14–20, “Why go ye about to kill me?”

The people, the multitude, who had no designs on his life, and who were ignorant of the plots of their rulers, were indignant at what they thought a groundless and infamous charge. "Thou hast a demon!" they exclaimed, "who goeth about to kill thee?" In other words, as the circumstances plainly show, "You are out of your senses! No sane man would have said such a thing!" [Bloomfield, Olshausen I. 449, Dodd., Scott.]

On another occasion, when not able to answer his pungent words, they had recourse to reviling, the Jews said to Christ, "Say we not well that . . . thou hast a demon?" If this expression implied that he talked like one beside himself, then it suited their evident purpose of turning the edge of his words. Otherwise, it was silly and answered no purpose. Our Saviour, understanding and accepting their words as implicating his sanity, answered accordingly; first simply denying the charge, and then adding, "but," i.e. on the contrary, "I honor my Father." As if he had said, "this is *proof* that I am not insane, for it is what no insane man, no demoniac would do. . . . Verily, verily," he continued, "I say unto you, if a man keep my saying he shall never see death." "Now," they replied, "we *know* that thou hast a demon;" meaning most obviously, "You have now said a thing so absurd, so preposterous, as is proof positive that you are beside yourself—John viii. 48–52.

Afterwards, they said again of Christ—"He hath a demon and is mad"—John x. 10, 20.; showing, beyond question, that, in their opinion, any one having a demon was of course insane; but also showing that, in their opinion, the two things, though occurring together, were different—the one effect, the other cause. Evidently, the two phrases can not, thus conjoined, have the same meaning, can not be understood as importing the same identical affliction; unless, indeed, we suppose the writer to have made use of a gross tautology—a tautology so gross as to expose himself justly to the charge of *absent-mindedness*, at the very least. [Olshausen I. 449.]

It was thus—implying insanity—that the phrase "he has a demon" was popularly used and understood. It was in this sense that *our Saviour used it, understood it, and in his replies, accepted it*. It comprehended all shades of mental malady: melancholy, as when applied to John the Baptist; imbecility, as in the case of epileptics; confusion, incongruity, and absurdity of ideas, as in the instances of its application to Christ; or raving madness, as in the case of the men among the tombs.

The facts thus developed are :

1. That all demoniacs were affected with organic infirmities, or with bodily diseases ; for where, as in the cases of the Gadarene demoniacs, bodily disease was not apparent, it was pathologically and physiologically indicated.

2. That, as many subjects of bodily afflictions were not demoniacs, the affliction of demoniacs was not that of the body only, but something more. Being sick or infirm was not the same thing as being demonized.

3. That all demoniacs were also afflicted with mental infirmity, or with some measure of insanity ; for that the two of whom no mental disorder is signified—the mute demoniac and the blind—were also afflicted with some kind of mental disease, we justly argue from the facts that all other known cases *were*, and that our Lord himself spake of demoniacal affections as uniformly involving malady of mind.

The question now arises : Was being demonized the *same* as being afflicted with mental ailment, or was it as distinct from the latter as it was from bodily ailment ?

The Jews, as we have just seen, believed it to be distinct ; just as fever is distinct from delirium. But, as the opinion of the Jews is itself no authority, we bring our enquiry to another oracle. We will not appeal to the belief of the Evangelists themselves, as authority ; nor to their infallibility as inspired writers. We prefer to meet on their own ground—not as challengers but as associate co-workers—those who deny or doubt their inspiration. We will not even claim that the Evangelists were competent judges in the case. We claim for them only that they were honest, competent, and therefore trustworthy, narrators of facts ; and upon this ground cite their testimony.

Throughout their narratives, they speak of *demons* as concerned in the afflictions of all persons—whether those brought to view or others—whom they call demonized. The words had a meaning ; and it is important that we apprehend that meaning correctly.

The two Greek words *δαίμων* and *δαίμονιον*—whence our word “demon”—are synonymous ; and are the words *almost* always employed to represent the agents—real or imaginary—in the afflictions we are considering. These words, in the Gospels, are uniformly translated “devil” in our version. Wrongly, however ; for the representation of the Bible is that there is but *one* devil—for which the Greek had a different word, *διαβολος*—while demons are represented as being innumerable. By the word “demon” was meant *an immaterial*,

intelligent being. Thus when it is said—Math. viii, 16—“they brought unto him many that were demonized,” it is added—“he cast out *the spirits* by his word.” As the class of demons, or spirits, usually spoken of in the New Testament are represented as being engaged in an evil work, they were evidently evil spirits. Accordingly, they are sometimes called “evil spirits;” “wicked spirits;” “unclean spirits;” “foul spirits;” i. e. depraved and malignant. It is immaterial to our purpose, to enquire whether they were supposed to be the spirits of fallen angels, or of deceased men; or, in what sense or senses the heathen Greek writers used the word; or, what *they* thought about the agency of demons.

By persons represented as demonized, by the writers whom we do cite—we use this word “demonized” instead of the circuitous phrase in our version, “possessed of a demon,” because it better corresponds to the Greek—by persons represented as demonized, were meant those who were supposed to be in some way under the control, or mastery, of evil spirits. The same thing is meant by the phrases, “hath a demon;” “is vexed with a demon;” “hath an unclean spirit.” The writers of our Saviour’s memoirs uniformly represent that this was the case, and that to this demoniacal presence and power were to be attributed the exasperation and continuance—if not the origin—in certain individuals, of bodily and mental maladies. Waiving all questions pertaining to their official authority as sacred writers, and waiving the question whether in such representations, they only adopted the phraseology of a popular superstition; we reduce and simplify our task to the inspection of the facts presented; claiming only, as we have already said, that our witnesses are competent and reliable. Do the *facts* show, that the particular class of sufferers whose cases we are considering, were suffering merely from natural, bodily, and mental infliction, or *also* from an infliction which was preternatural; sustained, aggravated, and perpetuated by evil spirits? We repeat it—Do *the facts* show?

I. There were certain phenomena exhibited in such cases. They claim our attention.

1. Persons called demonized recognized Jesus as the Messiah of God. The epileptic of Capernaum cried out—“I know thee who thou art; the Holy one of God”—Mark i. 23; Luke iv. 33. This must, indeed, have been a mere freak of a disordered mind, and therefore to be classed with accidental occurrences; one of the many chance coincidences which occasionally take place, and upon which no inductive argument can reasonably be founded. But the two maniacs in the

country of the Gadarenes also did the same ; addressing Jesus as "Son of the Most High God,"—Matt. viii. 29 ; Mark v. 7 ; Luke viii. 28—an equivalent salutation. Also from men of disordered mind. Taken together, the facts arrest our attention, and seem to indicate that the different parties had, in common, some peculiar means of knowing the exalted character and office of our Lord. Still, we can only say, that this twofold coincidence was remarkable.

But the like coincidences upon record accumulate. "Demons came out of *many*, crying out and saying,"—i. e. the demonized persons said—"Thou art the Christ"—i. e. the Messiah—"of God!"—Luke iv. 41. Nor was this all. "Unclean spirits"—men having unclean spirits—"whenever they saw him [*orav.* Comp. Bloomfield.] fell down before him and cried, saying, 'Thou art the Son of God!'"—Mark iii. 11. Not in one, two, or three instances only, but commonly, universally, "whenever"—the power of speech not being impaired—demonized persons "saw" Jesus, they knew him to be the Messiah and acknowledged him as such. It should be particularly noticed that in the only instances on record in which demoniacs did *not* thus recognize our Saviour, the sufferers were deaf mutes—Matt. ix. 32 ; xii. 22 ; Mark ix. 17 ; Luke xi. 14.

Our witnesses, to be sure, do not state in express terms that these demoniacs had not seen Jesus until the times when they severally recognized him as the Messiah ; but they give us to understand so, and evidently intended that we should understand so. How, then, are we to account for the fact, *peculiar to insane demoniacs, that at first sight, they were uniformly aware of his superhuman character and of his divine office?* By supposing of this entire and large class of persons, "that they had undoubtedly heard, in those lucid intervals which are granted to many insane persons, that Jesus, whose fame had already extended as far as Syria, was regarded as the Messiah!" [Jahn's Archæology § 195. I.] This seems like trifling ; for (1.) "the lucid intervals," supposed must not only have been "granted to many," but to all ; to a large number and without exception—a supposition beyond all reason ; (2.) the supposition does not account for their knowing him *at sight* ; and (3.) it is based upon a falsehood, for Jesus was *not* "regarded as the Messiah." Doubtless he was by a few—a very few. But did common fame, even to Syria, accord to him an office so august ? "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" Observe—no one of these acknowledgments by demoniacs stands on record *except before* this question. The disciples replied : "Some say, John the Baptist ; some, Elias ;

and others, Jeremiah or one of the prophets." Was he *then* regarded as the Messiah? Not a lisp of it. If he was, what did the answer mean? And what meant the next question—"but whom say ye that I am?" and the next answer—"thou art the Christ"? And what did our Saviour mean, at the close of the dialogue, by charging his disciples that they should not *tell* any one that he was the Messiah?—Matt. xvi. 13-20. And why—if he was so regarded to such an extent that all the crazy people whom he met, "had undoubtedly heard it"—why did he almost uniformly charge them "that they should not *make* him known?"—Mark i. 34; iii. 12. Luke iv. 41.

Of the supposition which we have quoted, we can only say, therefore—and we say it dispassionately—that it seems but a sad evasion; a subterfuge, without even the redeeming grace of ingenuity; an audacious contradiction to historic testimony—mendacity.

The question returns upon us, then, in all its force—How are we to account for the fact, peculiar to insane demoniacs, in distinction from those who labored under bodily disease only, that, *at first sight*, they were uniformly aware of our Lord's superhuman character and of his divine office? Had some of them worshiped him, and others reviled him, we might account for it by the various humors, the whimsical caprices, and the random volubility common to such unfortunates. But when we find them *all agreed* in acknowledging Jesus as The Holy annointed of God: when we find them *agreed in advance* of the popular voice; when, indeed, we find them thus agreed, although the popular voice, from which some of them *might* have received their impressions, was *the other way*—we have before us a rigid fact which "hath flesh and bones," not to be evaded by subterfuge, dissolved by rhetoric, or veiled by a cloud of words, but to be accounted for, if at all, honestly, rationally, and convincingly.

To suppose that the the Evangelists wrote of the doings and sayings of demons only in accommodation to the superstitions of the day—meaning by "demons," only "diseases," and by "the demonized" only "the sick"—[Jahn's Arch. §§ 194, 195.]—does not answer the purpose; and for three reasons. (1.) This is only begging the question; for the very point in hand is—whether the presence and agency of demons *was* a superstition or *was not*. (2.) The Evangelists are their own witnesses, that they did not so write; for, as we have seen, they were at special pains to inform those for whom they wrote at the time, that "demon" did *not* stand for "sickness;" nor "demonized," for "the sick." (3.) Even upon the supposition that they did

so write, the fact which they state, that these persons so recognized our Saviour, and all of them, and at first sight, is untouched.

We would meet the matter front to front, and therefore say—That fact transpired by natural means, or by supernatural. This is self-evident. Natural means are out of question; for, none are ever hinted at by our witnesses, and none have been, or can be, surmised adequate to the phenomenon. The other alternative alone remains; and therefore we are hedged up to the conclusion that the means must have been preternatural. These men must have made their remarkable confessions by a preternatural influence common to them all; under some intelligent impulse, foreign to themselves, which controlled their minds and shaped their utterance. But two other cases are on record of persons who, at first sight and with no other natural means of information, recognized the Messiah in Jesus; and they were clearly indebted to preternatural aid—Simeon, and Anna the prophetess. Even John the Baptist, his kinsman and forerunner did not know him to be the Messiah otherwise.

By preternatural means, we designate an agency out of the range of the natural senses; an immaterial, or spirit agency. In this case, the agency must have been that of *evil* spirits; for their character is shown by the wretched condition of their victims. We therefore take the language of the Evangelists in the literal sense, and are compelled to do so. Evil spirits, controlling the minds and bodily organs of men, and themselves knowing Jesus to be the Messiah, through their victims gave utterance to their own homage, fears, and abject prayers. Thus the fact in hand is adequately accounted for; and at the same time the solution of the mystery simplifies and makes intelligible all the peculiar phraseology of the Sacred Writers in connection with the general subject.

2. We notice one other remarkable occurrence—the strange fury developed in the herd of swine as soon as the Gadarene demoniacs had been restored to their right minds. These men, or one of them, said that they were under the mastery of a legion of demons; “legion” being a word “often used by the Jews to denote a great number,” [Bloomfield.] On the supposition that this was mere hallucination, how can we account for this one fact that, in perfect correspondence with the prayer of the demoniacs, their restoration was immediately followed by the wild terror of “about two thousand” brutes? Can rationalism account for it? Yes. “The madmen themselves impetuously attacked the herd of swine, and drove them

down the steep into Lake Gennesaret." [Jahn's Arch. § 195 I.] "When they had imagined the thought of gratifying the evil spirits, by which they imagined themselves to be possessed, with the destruction of the swine, they would without much difficulty drive them off the precipice. They invested [!] the herd on each side and thus drove them before them." [Lardner's Works, I. 474.] And this is the best which rationalistic interpretation can do! Two men "*invested*" two thousand swine! Two men—one on one "*side*" of so great an herd and one on the other—"drove them *before* them," and all in one direction! Two men "drove" two thousand animals, proverbially perverse, down a plunging steep, into a flood, contrary to the most desperate instinct of animal life! Two men, cured of insanity, acted more insanely than before! The explanation stranger than the thing explained! The explanation needing explanation more than the thing explained! To accept the explanation, requires credulity; to accept the narrative, only faith.

If a multitude of demons—personal, intelligent, malicious—held these men under their mastery, and if they transferred it to the bodies of beasts, like themselves unclean, the phenomenon of wild and suicidal terror is at once explained. Except upon this supposition, the fact is inexplicable. Indeed, to be truly "rational," we must adopt the supposition, or deny the fact. The literal narrative, we do not *know* to be impossible; the rationalistic interpretation, we do. The literal narrative is coherent and lucid; the narrative with the men turned drovers; the swine, suicidal; and the demons, myths, is a riddle. What "torment" could even insane men have apprehended from one whom they recognized and ran to meet, as if expecting help, and whom they worshiped as the Son of God full of love and pity? What was meant by being "tormented before the time?" What, by "not being sent away out of the country?" What, by "not being sent out into the deep, the abyss?" *Who* prayed to go into the swine? And why? If we take the narrative literally, all these questions are easily and naturally answered. But if we deny the actual presence of demons, the several expressions of the men express no *ideas*; which the insane always have, however incoherent or absurd, and which their words always express.

Thus we find that another fact, unparalleled and otherwise inexplicable, is adequately accounted for by the presence and agency of evil spirits; and that, at the same time, its *attendant* mysteries are solved and made intelligible. Evil spirits, "reserved unto judgment," controlling the minds, and bodily or-

gans of these men, and themselves knowing Jesus to be the Messiah, gave utterance through their victims, to their own homage, fears, and abject prayers; protested against the anticipation of their appointed day of doom; and were stupidly content, not foreseeing the result, to take up their abode in swine, rather than to go away out of their own district [Comp. Dan. x. 13, 20.] or to go out into Tartarus or Gehenna. [Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4.—word *ταρταρῶσας*.] This is consistent and intelligible, however incomprehensible in some particulars.

The two phenomena which we have thus examined furnish to our minds satisfactory and conclusive evidence, even standing alone, that the particular class of sufferers called “demonized” were *properly* so called; and that they suffered not merely from bodily and mental infliction, but also from an infliction which was preternatural; sustained, aggravated and perpetuated by evil spirits.

We can not resist the conviction, that this transaction so peculiarly marked in all its particulars, was put upon record for the express purpose of meeting all doubts which might arise in captious minds about the existence and agency of evil spirits; for the purpose of putting the question at rest, so far as the recitation of really unanswerable details could do it. Certainly it is as well fitted for this as any possible collocation of words could be; for no categorical proposition, even, can be so framed in human language, that wilful scepticism can not distort it.

II. Distinct from these phenomena, although always associated with them, are *the behavior and language of our Saviour*.

In his commission to the chosen Twelve, he made a plain distinction between sickness and demons. “Heal the sick . . . cast out demons.”—Matt. x. 8.

Upon a certain occasion he compares the Jewish nation to a man from whom “an unclean spirit had gone out,” and to whom he had returned with seven others more wicked, rendering the last state worse than the first. “Even so,” he added, “shall it be also to this wicked generation.”—Matt. xii. 43–45. It is not in point here to give the meaning of this passage. Whatever was the precise significance of the comparison, and however it may have been apprehended, our Lord was certainly *understood* as adopting the doctrine of demoniacal tyranny over the persons of individual men; for surely he could not have intended, or have been understood to imply that *diseases* walked through dry places, were restless and discontented, entered into conspiracies and herded together for a purpose.

Again, when addressed by the demoniac in the synagogue, Jesus said, "Hold thy peace and come out of him." When the young epileptic was brought to him, he said, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee to come out of him and enter *no more*"—was the young man never *sick* again?—"and enter no more into him." Unto another, he said, "Come out of the man thou unclean spirit." To the petition, "Suffer us to go away into the herd of swine," he answered, "Go."

Such were our Lord's language and behavior in reference to this matter; before the multitudes in whose presence and hearing he wrought this sort of work; before the Jews when foreshadowing their approaching frenzy; and even before his disciples in private.

But here we are squarely met, for the first time in our discussion, with the hypothesis that demoniacal possession, as it is called, was a mere superstition; and that our Lord only adopted the popular phraseology respecting it, to accommodate himself to the prejudices of the times. We call it "hypothesis," for it is nothing more; it has never been proved, and if we mistake not, no attempt has been made to prove it. We say that it meets us for the first time in our discussion, for it is not at all applicable to the psychological and physical phenomena which we have brought to view.

For the present, however, let us use this hypothesis as an optical instrument, and see how our Lord looks through it.

1. He looks like one taking pains to do what it was useless to do.

Certainly it was of no use to humor men's superstitions. But this he is doing, or rather so the hypothesis represents him. Yet the Jews could not have been made more susceptible to the truth, which it was Christ's great object to proclaim and propagate, by being humored in their fondness for falsehood; by being confirmed in a lie.

Nor was it of use for Christ to accommodate himself to the notions of the people, in order to facilitate cures. The power in himself was independent of their notions or their will. "Go ye and tell that fox—Behold I cast out devils and I do cures to-day and to-morrow." On the contrary it was necessary that the people should accommodate themselves to him; so far, at least, as this—that they who were capable of faith and who sought cures, should believe in his power to effect them. He wrought all his works without sifting either the dogmas or the superstitions of the masses. He required only the simplest trust in his power.

Again, the priests and the scribes and the Pharisees could

not be at all conciliated by his adaptation of himself to their opinions. They would not have hated him less, or tried less to check his influence with the common people, had he been ever so vehement in preaching that real demons made men sick and crazy. They could not have hated him more, or tried harder to lessen his influence, had he vehemently denied the doctrine.

Nor was he, nor were his biographers, "under the necessity, in order to be understood, of attaching the same meaning to the word *demons* which was attached to it by their cotemporaries." [Jahn's Arch. § 194.] If the word in our Saviour's mind signified only "diseases," as the objector supposes, he did *not* attach the same meaning to it which his cotemporaries did. And if in his mind, it signified veritable evil spirits, then the matter is settled. But again, when performing these cures, he carefully *avoided* the word. So far as our witnesses testify, his formula was, "Come out, thou unclean spirit;" never, "Come out thou demon." He was under no necessity of using the word *at all*.

So that all his talking and doing *as if* certain men and women were in the grasp of demons, was talking and doing to no purpose; an "accommodation" which availed nothing, and which he must have known would be fruitless.

2. Through this medium which we are using, our Lord appears inconsistent with himself.

Setting aside this particular sphere of his operations, *he* never stopped to inquire, "What will the Jews think, or say, or do, or how will they be affected towards me, if I do or say this or that?" He was no demagogue, catering to public opinion. He was no courtier, flattering the prejudices and craving the favor of men in power. On the contrary, he uniformly and boldly threw himself into collision with the rulers and with the masses; for the nation was one great lie, and he came to testify of the truth; a light shining in darkness, "testifying of the world that the works thereof were evil." "Ye are of your father the devil; and the works of your father ye will do." "Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Ye devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers! Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves. Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness." To *the people*—who sought to make him a king—"Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled."

This is the Jesus whom we see through the Scriptures. The Jesus whom we see through the philosopher's tube is a time-server ; "accommodating himself" to the superstitious notions of the very men whom he thus upbraided ; "attributing diseases to spirits or demons, so called, *merely on account* of the prevailing opinions and belief." [Jahn's Arch. § 195.] In everything else, confronting and rebuking their hypocrisy ; in this one thing talking and acting "merely" in deference to "prevailing opinions and belief !" In everything else, standing before them in the majesty of a Prophet of God ; in this one thing—a sycophant !

The two portraits are unlike : the one kingly, the other servile ; the one heavenly, the other earthly ; the one divine, the other grovelling ! They can not be portraits of the same man. Or, was Jesus double-faced ?

Nor is this the only inconsistency. Looking through the medium we have extemporized, we detect also a strange incongruity of *character*.

"Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus." Lazarus died. Mary and Martha were bereaved. "Jesus wept." When one was brought to him, not demonized, not suffering with acute disease, a deaf-mute, "he sighed." In view of the coming sorrows of Jerusalem, "he wept over it." From twelve years of age, no grief passed before him, but it was his grief. In all the afflictions which met his eye, "he was afflicted." And when, from the day of his baptism to the night at Gethsemane, he was going from village to village thronged by moaning sufferers and by parents stricken through their children, witnessing the anguish of Jairus and the sobbing grief of the widow of Nain, he comprehended perfectly, as no man ever did, the suffering of each ; adopted and *realized* in his own self each quivering agony in the sad panorama ; "*took* their infirmities, *bare* their sicknesses." Even on the way to Calvary, to drink the cup which he had prayed in agony might pass from him, he bemoaned the impending woes of others. "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but for yourselves and for your children !" On the cross, too, sinking under its torture, and forsaken of God, "seeing his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother — 'Woman behold thy son !' Then saith he to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother !'" "Bearing our griefs and carrying our sorrows" to the last !

This is the Jesus whom we see through the Scriptures. The Jesus whom we see through the execrable medium we have taken in hand, is another man. *He* is talking unmeaning

words over the suffering! While the poor epileptic is wallowing in convulsions; while the horror-stricken maniac is waiting for relief—*this* Jesus is trifling! He says to one—"Thou deaf and dumb spirit," when there was no spirit there! To another—"Hold thy peace and come out of him," when there was no one to come out! To another—"Go into the herd of swine," when there were none to go! And he strictly charged multitudes of spirits that they should not make him known, when there were no spirits in the case to be charged or to make him known! Where is *this* man's sympathy for the suffering? Where is this man's affliction in their affliction? Would one pained by another's pain use senseless words about it? *This* is not Jesus of Nazareth. It is some other man.

But this is not all. The Jesus of the New Testament was the Son of God; his dearly beloved, in whom he was well pleased; the brightness of his glory; the express image of his person; in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. The majesty of the Father was the drapery of his person. Its stamp was upon his brow. Its presence was felt in his words; softened and subdued, indeed, yet "beheld" and felt. The men with Saul of Tarsus saw its light; were afraid; and stood speechless. The prosecutor himself fell on the ground—subdued. Rising again, he saw no man for the glory of that light. When, on the mount, this majesty of Jesus was—as we may say—unveiled, "his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." A word, a look from him, and Scribes and Pharisees stole away from his presence "one by one, beginning at the eldest even unto the last." Officers sent to arrest him, overawed by his majesty brought him not; saying in excuse, "Never man spake like this man." And in the garden on that last night, two words from him [*εγω ειμι*] and the armed band "went backwark and fell to the ground." Such was his majesty.

This is the Jesus whom we see through the Scriptures. We look again, through the hypothetical medium. How dwarfed, how grotesque the man we see! Gazing upon the torturing spasms of a prostrate epileptic; looking coolly upon the horror and despair which gleam in the face of a frenzied madman—talking to imaginary demons! pretending to send them into swine! Talking to demons who he *knew* were not there, and *playing make-believe* send them—like a child! Contriving to make two thousand brutes antic and frantic, unto death! Acting a farce over the most affecting forms of human misery! In short—a buffoon! And all, to accommodate him—

self to the notions, all to tickle the fancies, of superstitious and unbelieving Jews!

Is this shocking? So be it! The irreverence, the blasphemy we may call it, attaches not to us who look, but to those through whose hypothesis we look; to the instrument which produces the distortion and the lie.

Is this portrait shocking? Only as a libel upon mankind at large; for the actor whom we have been viewing is not our Jesus, but another man. Yet not a man—a caricature. A libel, we say, upon mankind; for the veriest ruffians, the most abandoned women, in the kennels of vice, never trifle and become jocose over one stricken and writhing under the hand of God.

We return to our own Jesus; the man of sorrows, yet walking through Judea with the port of a king: dignity in his words, majesty in his look: To our own Jesus; who could win by love, who could overpower with awe: To our own Jesus; “who cast out the spirits with a word.” It is useless to deny the fact: our Saviour taught by his words and by his deeds, that evil spirits did torment men by holding their bodies in subjection to infirmity and disease; by holding their minds in subjection to the most cruel of sufferings. He plainly and repeatedly sanctioned the popular belief. Upon the minds of earwitnesses and eyewitnesses, *he left the impression and meant to leave it, that the doctrine was true.* Upon several occasions, certainly, he did it; upon many occasions, without doubt. In other words, he *taught* the doctrine. He could not have taught it, so far as we can see, more plainly, more authoritatively, more effectually.

But upon the hypothesis which we have used and now cast aside in disgust, if this doctrine was a mere superstition, Jesus taught *one* falsehood at least. Perhaps, then, a score. For aught we know, taught *only* falsehood. Where, then, is our Great Teacher? “They have taken away our Lord and we know not where they have laid him!”

But more than this. Granting even, that the truthfulness and common honesty of Jesus were yet untouched, what is he *as a Saviour* if thus shorn of power—of *proven* power—over the world of spirits? We are not of the Sadducees who say that “there is neither angel nor spirit.” We well know that “we wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the ruler of the darkness of this world, against wicked spirits in high places.” [Eph. vi: 12. *τα πνευματικα της πονηριας*. Wahl. *in verb.* *πνευματικος* 4. Bloomfield.] Is Jesus competent to carry us safely through *this* contest? through unknown, unseen, busy, subtle foes to complete salvation?

Through his life, he not only affirmed, but demonstrated his love ; a friend to the afflicted and broken-hearted, to the publican, to the sinner, to the harlot ; “giving his flesh for the life of the world ;” “tasting death for every man,” “the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.” Plenitude, perfectness of love ! But, in a Saviour we look for more ; for one “mighty to save.” To meet this reasonable expectation, he not only said that “all power is given unto him in heaven and in earth,” but he demonstrated it ; so far, at least, as concerned this world. Adapting himself to our capacities, he gave practical illustrations of his power : Of his power over nature—stilling the tempest, walking on the sea, blighting the fig-tree ; over providence—supplying abundance for thousands from a handful of food, bringing tribute-money from the sea and a wondrous draught to toil-worn fishermen ; over men and women—winning them by his love, confounding them by his wisdom, awing and baffling them by his majesty ; over diseases—removing them by a word ; over death and the grave—raising the dead, laying down his own life and taking it again. In all this, not only did he prove his divine commission, but—what is of quite as much importance—his wondrous might. Has he given like demonstration of his power over those our unseen enemies who belong to the world of spirits ? Upon the hypothesis we have been considering—none at all ; *none at all*. And so we are adrift upon a sea of uncertainty ; for, however great his power in the sphere of visible life, we have not a single *exhibition* of it in the sphere of invisible life. The evidence of his sufficiency as a Saviour of *the soul* is incomplete—fearfully so. Just where we most feel our own incompetence, even there, the competence of our only dependence is shrouded in darkness !

But, when we see Jesus truly, literally, “casting out demons by a word,” *effecting* deliverance to their captives ; when we find these evil spirits not only obedient to his will, but trembling at his presence ; when we find their wretched victims made the Lord’s freedmen, following him and ministering to him with grateful devotion ; when we find the maniac of yesterday sitting at the feet of Jesus to-day, clothed and his right mind ; the evidence of Christ’s sufficiency is complete ! *All* things in his hand ! Lord over nature, providence, death, the grave, the world of spirits ! He who can provide for the body and protect it, he who can cause it to sleep in the dust and can raise it again—can protect the soul also, even from its most subtle adversaries ; and can comfort it ; and can train it ; and can perfect it ; and can save it ! This, and the plenitude

of his love, are enough! In this faith we can rest. In this, find *perfect* repose. To this faith he solicits us, encourages us, authorizes us, in each recorded act of his supremacy over unclean spirits. The Seed of the Woman bruising the Serpent's head! To such a Saviour, and *only* to such, we can each trustfully and safely appeal, like Stephen "full of the Holy Ghost", "Lord Jesus, receive my *spirit*."

ART. II.—THE MINISTERING OF CHRIST AND CHRISTIAN
MINISTERING.

By Rev. R. B. THURSTON, Stamford, Conn.

THE doctrine of Christ is a tree of life standing in the midst of the street of the city and spreading its branches every way, where men of every class may pluck its various and perennial fruits. It is so because of the manifold relations he sustains for human salvation. Paul declares, "God hath set" him "forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins, that are past." John declares, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil." He himself declares, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth;" and again, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." These are four distinct offices; the last is the root and sap of our subject.

The ministering of Christ is his serving, healing, and comforting those in want, distress, and sorrow. The passage in Matthew which announces it as a purpose warrants the remark, that it rises into his office as our Redeemer. It demands our consideration in four evident relations.

It was, in the first place, a blessing upon the constitution of the family. So, indeed, was the incarnation by which the Son of God became a member of a human household. Every father and mother, brother and sister, has reason for rejoicing that the Saviour of the world was borne with a mother's sorrow, and grew up in a father's care, a son and a brother in a human domestic circle. These relations are thus ennobled and hallowed; but the ministering of Jesus adds a yet more complete and sacred character to our home interests, and affections.

His beginning of miracles was the changing of water into wine at a marriage feast. It is altogether a low and narrow view of that occasion which intimates that he was accidentally present and disposed with merely human kindness to aid an indigent couple, just starting in life, with unexpected bounty. Not so. He was at Cana designedly, already in the pathway of his mission. His mother, half truly and half untruly—truly as to the fact, untruly as to the manner of the fact—believed that the time had come for his appearance in his public and glorious character as the Messiah ; and he did, indeed, then manifest his glory ; but it was with the least possible earthly display, and chiefly by showing the divine care and sympathy with men in the relations we enter according to the will of our heavenly Father. In the most impressive and delightful manner he set forth the great fact that the dispensation of grace is not hard and dry in its spirit, cold and ascetic, alien to human nature and affections ; but the reverse, harmonious with our social hopes and joys, cheerful and animating, full of sweet juices and sacred refreshment for a pure and exalted domestic life.

The same assurance is conveyed by that beautiful scene in which Christ, while teaching in a remote part of the country, blessed the little children. "Forbid them not to come unto me ; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Those parents must have been won before by his benignity to bring them in such affectionate confidence : his response more than answered their trust, and still extends the Messiah's tender sympathy to the parental heart.

In this connection also his most remarkable miracles are full of significance. When Jesus entered the dwelling where sickness and death had come before him, healing and life rebuked disease and restored the departed. The daughter of Jairus, the youthful delight of her circle, the flower of the household, the young man of Nain, the pillow on which the widowed mother leaned, Lazarus, brother of the sisters of Bethany, all were called back from remorseless death to be the strength and consolation of desolated homes and hearts. With equal tenderness and grace the ministering of Christ meets us at the marriage festival and accompanies us through all the joys and sorrows of the domestic sanctuary. It sweetens our happiness at the altar, and weeps with us at the urn where love sheds unavailing tears. With a peculiar and divine charm it comforts, ennobles, and consecrates our domestic relations.

The ministering of Christ was irrespective of classes. It was ministering to humanity, needy, sick, and sorrowful, in whatever relative condition.

It may be said, it is true, that the highest classes among the Jews, the rich, refined, and religious (in their own estimation) enjoyed the least of this celestial mercy ; that the affluence of its blessing flowed over upon the poor and the vile, " the publicans and sinners." This was true as to the fact, but not true in such a manner as to imply the least discrimination in the mind of Jesus. The gospel was preached to the poor, the bruised reed was not broken, the heavy laden were called, the Son of God sat at meat with the publicans, because the dispositions of those classes were more favorable to him. They were comparatively accessible ; they were attracted, and opened their doors for him.

With the higher classes it was otherwise. They resisted his influence upon themselves and upon the masses. They closed the doors of their houses and their hearts against the heavenly visiter. Christ could not minister to them ; for he always respected the laws of social propriety. He intruded upon no man's domain when he chose to shut the door and bar the gates of his castle. Mercy attacks no man's prerogatives.

Yet when, as it now and then occurred, opportunity was given him, he accepted the invitation of the Pharisee, and pursued his mission at the feast of the opulent among the proudest guests. He healed the servant of the Roman Centurion, the foreigner and man of wealth, as well as the mother of Peter's wife, and the daughter of the Syro-Phenician. There is no instance in which he showed deference to mere station, or failed to honor the intrinsic worth of human nature, however humble in condition or vile in character. He was not the partisan of the poor, nor of the rich. He turned from none on account of their ignominy, or their rank. No class could bend him from the high purposes of his mission to promote an exclusive and selfish interest. His whole life teaches us that the manhood of the meanest and wickedest man, as well as of the best and greatest, is to be esteemed as above all comparison with the mere accidents of any temporal position.

Again, the ministering of Christ was the expression of perfect human sympathies. By this is meant more than man has, and more than woman has—all that both have—all the sympathetic, tender and helpful affections which belong to entire humanity. The late eminent English preacher, Robertson, thus expresses the thought : " It is only a partial acknowledgment of the meaning of the Incarnation when we think of him (Christ) as the divine man. It was not manhood, (distinctively, that is, masculinity) but humanity that was made divine in him. Humanity has its two sides ; one side in the strength and

intellect of manhood ; the other in the tenderness, and faith, and submissiveness of womanhood : man and woman make up human nature. In Christ not one alone but both were glorified. Strength and grace, wisdom and love, courage and purity, divine manliness, divine womanliness. In all noble characters you find the two blended—in him, the noblest, blended into one entire and perfect humanity." It was this "entire and perfect humanity" of Christ which ministered to the guilty, suffering humanity of men, women and children, and through the due exercise of faith on the part of his followers, ministers still to every need and pain. On one occasion he said, "Who-soever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." We may reverse the order and say, that he is brother, and sister, and mother to every one that doeth the will of the Father, to every humble and contrite spirit. He has the traits of all : he manifests the peculiar kindness and sympathy which every one needs. Hence he bears himself with the manly firmness at the house of Jairus, and weeps with a woman's tenderness on the way to Lazarus' grave.

The exhibition of this entire and perfect humanity in one point of view sheds light on the variety of his beneficent miracles. Other signs and wonders might have authenticated his commission from God as a teacher and a sacrifice ; but he came to minister to our material and social as well as moral nature—to our human nature in all the breadth of its necessity. It was therefore specifically in the way of his purpose to feed the hungry, heal the sick, give sight to the blind, make the lame walk, cast out devils, and restore reason to the distracted, as well as forgive sins ; and all with equal love ; for there is no suffering to which we are exposed, physical, mental, or retributive, which is beneath the notice and compassion of our Creator and Saviour.

One of the most touching and instructive incidents of his life occurred at the house of Simon the Pharisee. He was there an invited guest ; but Simon evidently did not appreciate his character and neglected some of the ordinary courtesies of the time. While they reclined at meat in the oriental manner, a woman who was a sinner came to Jesus and washed his feet with tears and wiped them with her hair, kissed them and anointed them with ointment. The Pharisee looked on with silent scorn, saying in himself, "If this man were a prophet he would know what manner of woman this is." But our Lord, knowing her, and also the passing thoughts of his self-righteous host, first rebuked him by the parable of the

two debtors and opened to his mind a new principle of judging and acting, then said to the humbled, sorrowful woman who "loved much," "Thy sins are forgiven. Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace." Here Christ ministered with equal faithfulness and gentleness to the very extremes of social life. It was indeed a ministering which shaded into his office of teaching, we can not always define where the one ends and the other begins, but it well illustrates the spirit of his entire ministry, whether bearing witness unto the truth, or relieving helplessness, distress and grief. It shows him meeting with equal aptitude the proud son, and the fallen, weeping daughter of humanity.

The ministering of Christ as thus exhibited fills an indispensable place in the divine purposes of the Incarnation. What are those purposes? It may be said—to comprehend them all in one—that the great end for which the son of God came in the flesh was that man might become again the child and heir of God. This includes several particular ends. Instruction is one of them. Renewing of the heart is another. Redemption from the curse of the law is another, but still intermediate and subsidiary, not ultimate. The pure authoritative teaching of Jesus and his propitiatory death, in themselves apart, are perfect provisions for indispensable objects: still they do not supply ALL our need. "God is love;" and because he is love he is a Benefactor, a Comforter, a Forgiver, a Father. We become his children and heirs when we become perfect humanity—in our spheres ministering benefits, comforts, forgiveness, with a measure of his spirit equal to the capacity of our own being. Christ, therefore, is set before us as our model in perfect humanity—not a mere ideal, not a statue—but a real, sympathizing, tender, strong, helpful humanity; and we must "put on the new man."

In his ministering he comes nearer to us than in his formal, doctrinal teaching. In this he "spake not as man;" but in that he approaches our human nature's most accessible side. He softens the hard, unbelieving heart with gentle love before he conquers it with irresistible truth. Indeed, it is the spirit of his ministering entering into his instructions which makes them all aglow with love, and gives them the power of a sacred enchantment, to win and encourage all who are of a broken heart and a contrite spirit. He came to seek and to save the lost; and by miracles of beneficence he persuades the guilty that he has power to forgive sins.

In each of the three points previously discussed the divine fitness of his ministering to the great ultimate design of his advent appears.

God founded the family in Eden. Sin shattered the sacred institution, bringing exquisite pain and grief into the abode of love and purity. Redemption restores it. Where has the serpent wrought a more fatal destruction than in the domestic sanctuary? And there God sent his son, there Christ performed his mightiest works, that there might be a "family of God in heaven and earth named after him."

In like manner it was according to the purpose of the Father's mercy that Christ in his ministering everywhere overlooked the distinctions of conventional rank, but recognized everywhere the claims of humanity itself. As all the structures which human hands have built, from the hovel to the palace, disappear from one who looks upon the earth from a great elevation, and its varied surface becomes a level to his eye; so all the factitious distinctions of society from slave to emperor vanish from Christ, when beholding us from the height of his celestial purpose; and his compassionate love descends impartially upon the wide plain of wicked, suffering humanity. He came that all men might "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free," all becoming in him children of God, and therefore brothers one of another; and it is essential to this salvation of men as men, that he labored for all with an impartial regard, blessing all alike, even as the sun is as warm and brightening to the violet, crushed by the foot, or plucked by childhood's hand, as to the overshadowing elm and the cedar of Lebanon. He does not thus, it is true, obliterate all the diversities of exterior human conditions; but he shows, with a tenderness and at the same time with an authority which to our view the resources of the Godhead can not heighten, what manner of spirit they must exercise one towards another, whatever their temporal relations may be, who become the children of God in his kingdom of grace.

It is in equal fitness with the purpose of the Incarnation that Christ ministered with the affections of "entire and perfect humanity." Let another extract be made in connection with the passage already quoted. "It is the feminine side of this whole humanity, as moulded by Christianity which the virgin worshipers have deified, because Christ has been too exclusively represented as distinctively the model man. With a half thought of Christ, safe you are not. Christianity has in it an awful gap, a void, a want, the inevitable supply and relief to which will be Mariolatry. So the Romanists have

gone to Mary for the woman's heart, whereas this is perfect in Christ as well."

The importance of this idea may not at first glance be obvious to every one ; but, in view of facts that occur from time to time in our own country and more frequently in England, is it not probable that with all the light of evangelical Protestantism there are mothers, daughters, and sisters who have contemplated Christ as indeed a kind and faithful man as well as an all-sufficient Redeemer ; while yet they have felt themselves as women at distance from him, and have yearned for a sympathy of their own womanly nature flowing in the channels of the divine ministering ? Hawthorne in the romance of the *Marble Faun* has given a striking expression of that idea. " Ah ! " thought Hilda to herself (an American woman of genius, meditating at a time of deep perplexity beneath the dome of St. Peter's). " Why should there not be a woman to listen to the prayers of women ; a mother in heaven for all motherless girls like me ? In all God's thought and care for us, can he have withheld this boon which our weakness so much needs ? " Theodore Parker entertained a kindred sentiment. It should be remembered to his credit that with all his errors he held fast the doctrine of a personal deity ; and he was accustomed to pray to " our Father and Mother, God. " He was wrecked because he did not see God in Christ.

Now in the view which has been exhibited of his ministering Christ comes as near to the *Maries* and *Marthas* as to *Peter* and *John*. In all that can be peculiar to their humanity he is himself in perfect sympathy with the daughters of men. They need not ascribe to the Mother of Jesus the attributes of divinity and pay a forbidden worship at her altar to solace a heart which he himself can not satisfy. Loving and trusting him in all the mysterious anxieties and yearnings of womanhood, they are no more sisters and mothers to him than he is sister and mother to them. He was no more consoling, no dearer, to the sisters of *Bethany* than to them. This fills the " awful gap, " this supplies the want in our Protestant Christianity of which *Robertson* complained. This renders the Incarnation in its applications, and uses as broad as the human nature to be redeemed and restored to the likeness of God. The ministering of Christ after we are redeemed and renewed is still integral and vital to the gospel as meeting the necessities of every heart, as filling with perpetual radiant efficacy the old words of *Isaiah*. " In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them, " as showing what the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty should be and shall become.

We pass from the ministering of Christ to Christian ministering. The doctrine and the duty appear in the light of his office. His office is example and law for his followers. It takes up a natural obligation of humanity, enlarges, sanctifies and glorifies it in the economy of redemption.

When the wife of Zebedee came to our Lord worshiping and desiring for her two sons the first places in his kingdom, the occasion was furnished which he improved for showing the contrast between his own kingdom and the dominion of the Gentiles, and for ordaining one of its permanent and universal principles. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you ; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant ; even as the son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Here let the service and office which are thus ordained be more specifically defined. Paraphrasing the language of the patriarch of Uz, who evidently spoke both as a magistrate and as a man of God, it is delivering the poor that cry, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help. It is winning the blessing of him that is ready to perish, and causing the widow's heart to sing for joy. It is putting on righteousness as raiment and judgment as a robe and diadem. It is becoming eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, and a father to the poor. It is searching out the cause which is not known, breaking the jaws of the wicked, and plucking the spoil out of his teeth, till the ear which hears blesses us, and the eye that beholds gives witness unto us ! It is an integral part of the religion which James pronounces "pure and undefiled before God and the Father, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." It is the active, personal charity of those whom our Saviour will place on the right hand in the judgment scene, who shall have clothed the naked, and fed the hungry, and visited those that are sick and in prison. It is Howard's "circumnavigation of charity," not ordinarily of course like his ever continental spaces to cities and establishments where the accumulated miseries and crimes of kingdoms have their seats, but along the parallels of our own little social spheres, on the meridians of our own relations to human need.

It does not turn us away from our secular callings. It does not forbid the enjoyment of our social preferences and affinities in their just extent. It does not obliterate the distinc-

tions created by fortune, or education, or station ; but it qualifies and limits them. On the one side it forbids us to make them injurious to the partakers of our common humanity, who share with us its rights as well as its sorrows by holding them as means of a selfish and oppressive, personal, or class aggrandizement. On the other side it transfigures and glorifies them by making them conduce to the good of all, constituting those who are thus favored the almoners of God's favors to all—the great, the ministers—the chief, the servants of all. In a word, Christian ministering is exhibiting the spirit of Christ by following his example in actual life, blessing the needy of every race and every house, rejoicing with them that rejoice, and weeping with them that weep.

It is not too much to say that this duty is exalted by our Lord himself to a fellowship with the sacraments of the gospel. It is the meaning of the washing of the disciples' feet, that solemn and significant act in the passover chamber which preceded the institution of the Holy Supper. Christ says there in the spirit and almost in the terms of the passage recorded by Matthew : " If I, then, your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you. Verily, verily I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord ; neither he that is sent, greater than he that sent him. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." We have escaped the popish observance, the annual washing of the feet of beggars by the humiliated, not humble hierarch of Rome, which is a hideous distortion of a sacred scene ; but we have also let slip too much the sacred service to which we are thus solemnly appointed, and which is fulfilled by the perpetual ministering of saints, the humblest act of all being put for the comprehensive sign of all.

Ministering is a function of the church, provided for in her apostolic organization, and enjoined in the articles of her government to the end of time. Deacons were not appointed to be bearers of the sacramental elements in decent solemnity, but to distribute the alms of the church, to provide for the widows, to make the care of the poor a special charge, that none be neglected. The actual ministering of Christian charity is their New Testament office.

Paul shows by numerous precepts, and even more by the place of them, that in his theory of the Church Christ-like ministering is an integral element. " We, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another. Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is

given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith ; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering." Then follows a wonderful mingling of precepts which enjoin all forms of charitable serving, and all the most spiritual offices and obligations.

The history of the primitive Christians shows that they were not slow to learn this lesson in the school of Christ. The following illustrations are borrowed from Coleman's *Christian Antiquities*, and related nearly in the words of that author : Of Gorgonia it is stated, " Job-like her gate was open to every stranger. She was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and a mother to orphans. Her estate was as common to the poor and as much at their service as every one's is to himself." " Cyprian sold the estate which he inherited to supply the necessities of the poor." The church at Rome in the third century supported more than fifteen hundred widows, besides the afflicted and needy ; the church at Antioch a still greater number. The liberality shown at Rome led an officer in the time of persecution to believe that the Christians had great treasures at their command. Laurentius, one of the deacons, that is guardians of the poor, was commanded by the Prefect of the city to deliver up the treasures of the church. He demanded three days, and having assembled in the courts and porches of one of their churches the immense multitude of the aged, infirm, lame, blind, diseased, destitute poor who received aid from the Christians, he called upon the Prefect and said, " Come, see the treasures of our God—a great court full of vessels of gold, and talents heaped up in the porches." The Prefect followed and was shown the assembled poor. " Behold the treasures I promised you. I add to these the widows and orphans ; these are our pearls and precious stones, the crown of the church. Take this wealth for Rome, for the emperor, and for yourself." Early in the fourth century a dreadful plague, followed by famine, ravaged the cities of the East. Then the zeal and piety of the Christians became manifest to all ; for in such distressing circumstances they were the only persons who exhibited sympathy and humanity in their conduct. They continued the whole day, some of them in the care and burial of the dead ; for numberless were they for whom there was none to care ; others collecting the multitude of those wasted by the famine, distributed bread among all ; so that the fact was cried abroad ; and men glorified the God of the Christians, constrained as they were by the facts to acknowledge that those were the only really pious, and the real worshipers of God."

By such examples of the early followers of our Lord, Christian ministering is commended to the church through all ages. Their benevolence was marvelous. The bright records of modern charity, with here and there an illustrious exception, are dimmed in the glow of their out-shining generosity and devotion to the needy.

It may be suggested here that the public charity of our modern civilization modifies this duty. It is one of the immortal glories of the church that the state has learned from her to make provision for the dependent and helpless. Pagan civilization has never yielded such fruit. But while there is a sphere of vast importance for the charity of the state, the church can not remit her own members to the public charge. Her obligations to them appointed by her risen head and subscribed in mutual covenant, are perpetually binding. In this connection President Dwight says: "In every church a charitable fund ought to be begun and continually supplied by continual collections. Of this fund the deacons ought to be the standing almoners, as being by the authority of God designated to this office. . . . The charity in question was immediately instituted and required by God, and is independent of all human institutions. No conformity to any regulation, no obedience to any law of man, can go a step towards excusing us from a law of God."

We know, indeed, that there is much of this eminent gospel grace; and it is far from our thought to diminish the sum or the value of it. Recent years have witnessed its wonderful development. In the forms of organized charities, extended to almost every class of the ignorant, friendless, and distressed, and along countless paths of individual benevolence, it is becoming more and more a moral characteristic of the age. It does not, however, embrace all who have means among its almoners, nor all who are needy among its subjects. There are suppressed, and there are loud and bitter cries of distress. There are multitudes who would exceedingly exalt their own character and piety by personal participation in works of Christian service and love. There is great need of the ministering of Christian sympathy in cases where there is no necessity for material aid; and unquestionably it is the fault and the spiritual loss of many otherwise excellent members of the church, that, though charitable by proxy, they neglect in person the duty enjoined by the Master in heaven. Giving money by others' hands alone does not fill out the duty nor discharge the conscience.

All should minister. None even of those most burdened

and perplexed with the exacting claims of business, is exempt from this great law of humanity and of the gospel. None can fail to be socially and morally improved by going about and doing good with the spirit of Christ. In this office his disciples can more closely follow him than in any other. We can not give our bodies to be expiatory sacrifices for sin. We are not, in these times, called to martyr crowns. We can go but little way in imitating the Saviour's infallible and authoritative teaching ; but in ministering we can do everything which he did, except working miracles and forgiving sins. We can bestow a heartfelt sympathy ; we can exert a strong and strengthening helpfulness for those in weakness, want, and sorrow.

It can not be questioned that the religious character of many men of business would be improved by personal participation in this Christian office. They are enterprising, bold, commercially just, sometimes both generous and severe. They need to be tempered by that for which now they take little or no time, personal fellowship with humanity in its suffering, the flowing forth of sympathies like Christ's, in the haggard presence of want and distress. This for many would exalt and transfigure character, as Christ at Cana transfigured the water into gladdening and strengthening wine.

There is another benefit which results from such personal ministering. It arrests the moral evil to which we are exposed from the constant pursuit and rapid increase of riches. The arms thus bestowed subdue the lust which makes gold a canker of the soul, eating as if it were fire. We need not fear the vastest accumulations of opulence, if love to man and to the kingdom of God still in advance appoints the uses. Wealth will be transmutable into heavenly treasure ; and the unrighteous mammon will secure friends who will receive us into everlasting habitations. Every Christian man of business should therefore be "as the Son of man, a minister and a servant."

Eminently, however, ministering is woman's office. Her constitution and sphere of life point directly to it. Man must subdue nature, fell the forests, make the wilderness a garden, dig in mines, forge the iron, plough the ocean with steamships, track the continents with railroads, build houses and warehouses, and factories, hamlets and cities, found institutions, maintain governments, and wage wars of righteousness, "the wars of the Lord." It is woman's part to cool the fevered brow, to soothe the irritated spirit, to bind with her own magical love wandering affections, to reclaim devious steps, to

strengthen the faltering in virtue's paths, to be more than princess, or queen, as sister and mother in the family dwelling, to be the angel of the hospital, sadder than the field of carnage. Paul's description of the widow, indeed, for whose maintenance and honor a special provision was to be made, is but a defining of this office. "If she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saint's feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." With the change of a single word, it has been set forth in the following terse measure :

"The rights of women—what are they?
The right to labor and to pray.
The right to watch while others sleep.
The right o'er others woes to weep.
The right to succor in distress :
The right while others curse to bless.
The right to love while others scorn.
The right to comfort all who mourn.
The right to shed new joy on earth.
The right to feel the soul's high worth ;
The right to lead the soul to God,
Along the path the Saviour trod."

All this pertains to woman's relations. She also has the tact and delicacy which are essential in aiding and comforting those in distress of body or mind. Man is rough, and often does works of kindness in a blunt way that half spoils them ; but she does them with an ease and charm which doubles their value. She has access too where he is peremptorily forbidden to approach ; she is safe and irresistible in her mercy because she is woman ; and Mercy, the old puritan appellative, is one of her fitting names.

Gratefully also she should make ministering her office. She is more blessed than man in Christ. Man was not the father, woman was the mother of the Saviour. Look the world over ; the burden, the shame, the toil, the curse of sin, have fallen heaviest on her. It has been a curse to be born a woman. Man has maintained a dishonorable lordliness in evil, and she has borne the yoke of bondage. But Christ has lifted her out of the enthrallment ; and in giving her this release he has won more faith in her heart. There are more daughters than sons of the church. Woman is more blessed in the ministering Redeemer, because she is more needy and more willing. In peculiar gratitude and love she should enter into the service which he has appointed. When Christ had healed the mother of Peter's wife, the sacred narrative adds, "She arose and ministered unto them." Such is the office of all the daughters of

her sex, healed, emancipated, sanctified in Christ ; and they are lifted too high in a selfish elation, if they forget that office.

The incident in Peter's house also shows that ministering passes from relief of the suffering into kind attentions to friends. Indeed, true Christian courteousness is a flowering of the same spirit in all social intercourse at home or abroad ; and duly observed it would bring most precious peace and delight to many a discordant and embittered household.

The exercise of this eminent grace by many must be chiefly at home. Where poverty makes life incessant labor, it is little more than they can do ; but family ministering in the spirit of Christ and in all its forms is above price.

But there are daughters of affluence. There are wives and sisters in mansions of abundance and elegant delights, whose life is the sweet round of indulgencies. They have time, culture, resources for wider ministering to the poor, the unfortunate and the wicked. They must choose, and they are choosing every day, between a life which is a perpetual benison to humanity in its woe, and a life which is a frittering away of the heart's wealth, and there is reason to say sometimes, of Christian graces on empty frivolities that kill time, on gilded shams of a fashionable career that kill souls. It is one of the darkest omens for many of the higher social circles that they choose so self-indulgently, so selfishly, so cruelly towards their unhappy and crushed sisters, so unlike Christ. Can they be partakers of his mind who will not walk in his steps ? They will have their reward. God knows what must be the doom at last of those who are only idle glittering butterflies of this world's summer time. They who have the spirit of Jesus assuredly will follow his example. They will not waste their resources and consecrated powers for usefulness on the whole who need no physician : they will seek out the destitute and the sorrowing. They will present in its substantial teaching a parable of the Saviour's bringing to the feast of their love the lame and the blind who can not recompense them again—a grace which is not fashionable now—and they will have their reward among that honorable company on whom Paul's benediction rests, "Help those women which labored with me in the gospel, with Clement also, and with others, my fellow-laborers, whose names are in the book of life."

The discussion of the subject now requires us to consider some special relations of the office of Christian ministering, developed by the times in which we live.

I. In this connection we speak first of those secret-orders

whose objects are to secure a species of social and moral culture, and to relieve some of the ills of life by mutual service and benefits due. We refer to the Sons of Temperance, the Odd Fellows, and the Masons.* Full and accurate statistics of these Orders would be a valuable contribution to popular knowledge. We have sought for them in vain.

A few years since the Sons of Temperance were numerous ; and the cause to a large extent fell into their hands. After a period of decline they are now in many places renewing their efforts. It is not probable they will regain their former importance.

The Odd Fellows are a mutual benefit association, embracing the principle of health insurance. They pay dues to the sick, provide watchers, bury the dead, educate orphans. In the year 1860 they numbered in the United States more than 3000 lodges and 177,000 members. The annual receipts were about \$116,000. The benefit system has, however, in the process of time become burdensome, and many lodges have ceased to exist.

Masonry is by far the most important institution. It has antiquity and strength. At the present time it numbers in the United States about 200,000 members, and the Order is flourishing. It inculcates benevolence, but it is voluntary, not prescriptive ; doing good to all men, especially to those who are of the household of masonry. It purports to be "A beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols." "Truth is its center." Its sentiments are derived from the Bible. The fundamental characteristic of a true Mason must be. "trust in God." The Lodge is a scene of worship. The scriptures, religious hymns, and prayers have place in the forms. It is asserted they have been the means of conviction and conversion. A Grand Master declares masonry "is the church's child." It is safe to say a consistent mason must be an excellent neighbor and citizen, not to say also an evangelical Christian. The "utility" of masonry is affirmed to be that "in every nation a mason may find a friend, and in every climate a home."

The chief danger of masonry to be apprehended from our point of view is, that men may be induced to put the Lodge

* The writer of this article is not a member of either of these fraternities. Its purpose requires him neither to attack nor defend them. He has studied them from an external position to learn what all may know, and to present intelligent views of influences and workings which are of no small importance to the world and to the church. The children of light can find in them lessons of practical wisdom and stimulation to New Testament duties.

in the place of the Church, and because they are good masons, to rest in a groundless hope of salvation. Some evangelical members of the Order have admitted this danger. Others deny that it exists. It is an incident, not an aim ; and perhaps it can no more be alleged as a charge against the institution than the self-deception of the church-member who thinks his soul is safe because he sustains a becoming profession, can be alleged against the church.

The orders we have referred to, constitute a moral phenomenon of the age. For reasons based in religious philosophy they could exist only in communities where divine truth has gained power. They deserve the careful study of every thoughtful Christian ; for they have points of contact with the church, and bear upon her interests. They undertake to perform in their way some part of the service which has been enjoined upon the sacred institution. They are reachings of our common humanity after a portion of her privileges. In view, moreover, of certain deficiencies which have been too common in the churches, it has been sometimes openly asserted that the secret orders do a work which they have failed to do according to their mission, and are so far better institutions for humanity. In the same degree as the impression is produced that in relation to certain yearnings and necessities of our nature they are preferable to the church, the kingdom of Christ must suffer. Yet they are not to be unqualifiedly denounced for this. If they outrun the church in one class of the duties of a christianized humanity, she is culpable and cannot upbraid them.

It is related that a church having adopted a rule forbidding its members to unite with any secret association, commenced a course of discipline with one for that offence. His defence was, "I am a poor man. I have suffered long and severe sickness. I and my family were in want. Not one of the Church has visited us or relieved us ; but my brothers of the Lodge have watched with me every night and supplied every want." Then, in the light of the New Testament, not the member, but the church was arraigned for trial at Christ's bar. "If the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision ? And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfill the law, judge thee who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law ?" If the church neglects the duty of extending assistance and consolation to her suffering members, or remits them to the cold public charity of the almshouse she can not but suffer great loss before the world. In the New Testament form, and in the discharge of all her functions the church is a mutual relief as-

sociation, voluntary in this, that the love of Christ and of the members of his body is the fountain of abundant relief; and she is the best of all institutions because she embraces both sexes and the children, and thus meets all the wants of our manifold humanity, the social and spiritual as well as physical, and also the yearnings of the renewed heart which the state and secular orders can not satisfy.

The conclusion is plain. For the very reason that other social and moral orders exist, and such as could have no existence except as following in the wake of divine revelation and religion, it is of transcendent importance that the church be true to the sacred principles of her organization, a living spirit of Christ-like charity, going about doing good as various as human necessities, her hands filled with bounty and balm, while her voice utters all the accents of Jesus' love. Then she will realize the scriptural ideal, built up on the doctrines of the cross, and with her warm, all-embracing ministering taking her place unapproachably in advance of all human institutions for the supply of the needy and the comfort of the sorrowing. The Christian, because he is a Christian, much more than a mason, should "find in every nation a friend, and in every climate a home."

II. Christian ministering should be employed in similar practical relations, to counteract the influence of Roman Catholics in Europe and America. Education and charity are means which they adopt with great success. A recent English publication has stated that "the fraternity of St. Vincent de Paul numbering in Europe 700,000 men are wholly occupied with visitation for the purpose of collecting and distributing alms, and securing property by will for the church of Rome." The order founded by St. Vincent, who is described as an excellent man, are named Priests of the Missions, because according to his intention it was a part of their function to "spend eight months of the year in country towns and villages to imbue the peasantry with religious knowledge." A recent number of the North British Review asserts that the society is now ruled from Rome by the Jesuits in the interests of the Pope; and that it has been used for years among the masses to defend the temporal power and oppose the Italian kingdom.

The labors of Romish women in London are said to be "even greater and more productive than those of the men." Of them the Christian Work writes: "It would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the patience, kindness, and humanity they exhibit in their duties. Their ministration of the sick is

especially beautiful. It would be impossible not to believe that these agents are working with strict conscientiousness." An incident is related in which Protestant and Catholic charity are contrasted. A Protestant lady called on a woman miserably poor, having several children weak and ill. After making inquiries, she instructed her needy sister to pray for resignation, and gave her tracts, saying, "Read these; they will be of more value to you than money." A few days afterwards a Romanist lady called, descended to the kitchen and spoke kindly to the children, dressed a wounded limb, prepared food for the family, and subsequently brought meat and medical comforts. She repeated her calls and invited the poor woman to the convent. In six weeks mother and children had joined the church of Rome.

A writer in New York who took up the subject at this point says, "In the matter of education the craft and energy of Catholics are even greater than in their dealings with the poor. . . . They have multiplied schools for the poor and have erected magnificent seminaries for the education and accomplishment of the rich; . . . professing that it is no part of their system to make proselytes to the Roman church, but never ceasing to use every subtlety and allurements to influence the religious belief of their pupils." This writer accuses Protestants of unpardonable remissness in respect to the educational influences which surround their children. His article is an endeavor to arouse them to a great and impending danger, and a lament over the supineness of good men and ministers; but it is entirely silent as to one of the great methods of effectually opposing such craft and energy: it neglected the opportunity which lay directly in the way. Yet the truth is patent. Charity for the poor, instruction for the ignorant, relief for the distressed, sympathy for the disconsolate, are Christian methods of doing good. The gain by such means is in a high sense legitimate gain. If Catholics adopt them with a "conscientiousness which it is impossible" to doubt, yet for a mistaken form of faith, Protestants are beyond measure condemnable if they do not adopt them with equal conscientiousness for the sake of the truth. A sacred emulation should be stirred up. It may be hard to decide that Catholics are more guilty than such Protestants as bear the Saviour's name, and neglect his works. We may repeat here the words of Paul: "Shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law." If Catholics will do the humane and Christian ministering, and evangelical Protestants will not do it, we shall have

no right to complain if Rome carries off the converts. The philosophy and the Christianity of measures is to "take the wind out of her sails," by making our own charity even more tender and all-embracing.

We do not forget how often it is said Catholics are inaccessible. We judge otherwise. We must not hold ourselves as Protestants stiffly aloof and justify it by saying the ignorance and bigotry of Papists place them beyond our reach. There may be difficulties; but no men are beyond the reach of good influences. By Sabbath and other charitable schools we can at least compel Rome to educate her children; and that of itself is to subvert her power as a secular and persecuting system of government. By literal services of charity and sympathy we can preserve our own who may be exposed to papal allurements, and we can melt our way into the blindest minds and hardest hearts. No class of human beings is utterly insensible to kindness. The Irish bosom can swell with genuine gratitude. But the effectual love must be not in word only, but in deed and in truth. It must be as practical as Jesus' ministering. There is profound Christian philosophy in that scene of romance in which Ophelia learns that to gain a moral influence over her heart, Topsy must be touched lovingly. No secular fraternities of whatsoever name, and not the Roman church should find opportunities for playing off their substantial kindness to human need against the most ardent attachment to the faith once delivered to the saints. Protestant women, mothers and sisters of home circles, must be genuine Sisters of Charity. The Romish name carries with it a great truth, as well as a hideous perversion. We perish if we let go the truth in disowning the error. England and America are numerous enough and rich enough to employ the full means of evangelizing the masses with triumphant success.

The great missionary enterprise everywhere must ultimately include ministering. Boards may send forth men with instructions to preach the gospel and found churches. But this must be followed by education and ministering, or there will be lack of results at the last. Human nature with its relations will be too strong for any missionary theory which is narrower than the whole broad gospel; and this includes ministering. It is one of the integral elements in the divine economy for the salvation of the world; and God in the most wonderful manner by his providence is calling the church to redoubled diligence.

III. The great war from which our country has just emerged

embraces Christian ministering among its high moral lessons. It has called forth the spirit of charity towards our soldiers in unexampled manifestations. In ships and fortifications, following tedious marches, thronging around hospitals of the sick and wounded, calling wearied regiments to song and prayer, hovering along the fiery front of battle, have gone the ministering angels of the churches, dispensing succor for the body and consolation for the spirit. It is a new mission of the church, not new in its principle for it is old as her life, but new in her awakening to a just view of her position and obligations. It is a great movement of the Christian spirit.

But this is not the most marvelous development. Ethiopia has stretched out her hands, and behold what God hath wrought. In a vision of the Apocalypse, after the smoke of incense with the prayers of saints had ascended up before God, the angel took the censer and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth, and there were voices, and thunderings and lightnings, and an earthquake. It is the symbolic history through which we have passed—prayer answered by convulsion and carnage. Good men have prayed in fear, and desire, and doubt of their duty; and the bondmen have prayed in their agony, knowing that God would hear; and now the sword has broken the yokes of bondage and the ministering of Jesus' love has followed the march of armies to another race. What Christians and a Christian nation ought to have learned to do in peace, ministering righteousness and mercy to all men, He who executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed has done along the desolating track of war. The baptism of fire and blood has cleared away the political and religious sophistries that cast a fatal spell upon the piety of the church, and the humanity of the nation; and the freedmen clothed, instructed, ministered unto, lift up their songs of deliverance in the sanctuaries their oppressors have forsaken. The angel of a patient and waiting faith prepared the way for the angel of wrath; the angel of wrath has opened the way for the angel of mercy; and thus Christ, anointed for this end, now preaches by his servants good tidings unto the meek, binds up the broken hearted, proclaims liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, proclaims the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God.

For long this ministering must go on. It is true the emancipated race must ultimately, like every other, work out their own welfare; and it is false philanthropy which would overlook the fact; but four millions of persons, passing suddenly from bondage to freedom, without property, uneducated, impressi-

ble, surrounded by adverse circumstances, need to receive and must receive the forecasting care and bounty of the whole community. Indeed the very emergencies of our country demand that all which Christian charity has already undertaken for them shall be continued and enlarged till their own industry, intelligence and piety, self-sustained, shall add to the strength and glory of the State. Divine providence so orders this grand transition that the cause we have struggled for through four bloody years now binds us to new labors and contributions of benevolence and patriotism, that we may secure also victories of righteous, enduring, glorious peace.

Still beyond this, the war has cast upon the charity of the North the poor whites of the South. It is doubtful if slavery inflicted its direst evils upon the colored race. It did not respect our own lineage. It has systematically made even millions outcasts, indigent, ignorant, vicious, wretched, haughty, the "trash" of slaves. The leaders whom they trusted have most perfidiously made them the fuel of the great conflagration. In their blindness they have fought against their friends in the cause of their enemies, till the time for their redemption has come. In order now to secure an intelligent, industrious, virtuous, homogeneous, loyal white population, who shall constitute the ruling masses of the South, maintaining the amity and grandeur of the nation, perpetuating with us a more glorious republic than we have saved, we are called to a ministering such as the world never witnessed.

Government have their attention directed to this. A bureau for the care of the freedmen and refugees has been established in the War Department, having at its head one of our noblest Generals, who is a Christian hero as well. Two great societies and other agencies which appear to be of less importance, are now in operation, each for its own class, and looking to the benevolence of the North for their support. Through them the relief of present necessities, the opening of profitable industry, and institutions of education and religion are extended to two vast portions of the Southern population. The contributions of the ministering spirit which were sent forth almost spontaneously in the emergencies of the war, by millions of dollars, should continue to flow in the channels which are wisely provided; and such charity will be powerful among the influences which shall cement indestructibly our national institutions. God wills it that in freeing one we shall save two races over broad States. The sword of righteousness has opened the paths for the footsteps of mercy; and the triumphs of war are crowned with the responsibilities of peace and charity.

The war has disproved the old slander that the North worshiped only money. It remains to disprove it in the prosperity of returning peace, by such use of treasure that neither our politics nor our commerce shall even seem to sink into that idolatry. A writer in South Carolina remarks : " Freedom can not tolerate an unenlightened nation in her domains ;" and he estimates that ten millions of dollars a year are required from the North for education.

IV. Christian ministering has a vital relation to the progress of sound doctrine and genuine piety in old and well established communities. It is a fact which the church everywhere deplores, that large numbers who live under their shadow never enter the sanctuaries of God. They are not won by the Sabbath-school nor the pulpit. The question is asked again and again with painful uncertainty, " what shall be done?"

One answer at least is nigh. Carry them the gospel in the hand of Christian ministering. They have heard the doctrinal voices of the church afar off ; and they dislike them. They have seen the skirts of saintly robes at a distance as if flaunting them away. Let the humane side of the gospel be presented in the offices of practical religion to which Christians are appointed to win them.

Incident is the best statement of this Christian philosophy. A violent infidel siezed with lingering sickness directed that no Christian should be admitted to his presence. Sinking into poverty and distress, a poor pious neighbor, who had often experienced his abuse, in pity resolved to brave his anger simply to relieve his physical suffering. This unexpected kindness softened his hard heart, prepared the way for the gospel, and the unbeliever died in the faith of Christ.

In this way it was Christ himself approached the cold stubborn heart of humanity ; first his loving kindness, then his preaching, then his death ! In the same order by the gentle, gospel ministering the church are instructed to advance his kingdom of truth and grace. Such service is one of the Scriptural demonstrations of the power of the gospel. Men may and will doubt the value of creeds, when the professed care for the soul is not accompanied with practical sympathy and charity in view of the severe emergencies of the present life ; but they have no armor to resist the coming in of love which is not in word only but in deed and truth. Let the suffering body be relieved, let the troubled mind be comforted, and they will listen concerning the salvation of the soul.

All this exposes the weak side of many Calvinistic churches,

not to say of Calvinistic denominations. They have not been so zealous and successful as some others in presenting the humane and sympathetic side of Christianity. The ministers are not few who can speak from personal knowledge of church members, as well as of "them that are without," languishing in lonely poverty, and even in almshouses, and wondering that Christians of a happier lot never ministered to them; and for the cause of which this is an index very numerous families are lost from evangelical congregations.

Double the private ministering of Christians around their own homes, and it will accomplish a good which doubling missionary societies must fail to accomplish. It will effect what no laborious gathering of statistics of non-attendance can do, what no eloquence in the pulpit can achieve. It will lead the angel faith within unbelieving doors. It will attract to the house of God those who have first met the angel of love within their own dwellings. It will multiply and diffuse the blessings of the Sabbath-schools. It will make waste places blossom as the garden of the Lord. Thus will old prejudices against the church be done away; while the diligent exercise of Christian graces will strengthen and adorn the character of her members.

The foundation and some of the relations of Christian ministering have been set forth in this paper; but the discussion is not complete without the assertion that that doctrine is one of the integral and essential themes of the evangelical pulpit. It is comprehensive in its scope, varied in its applications, and strictly vital in its consequences. It is the office of the ministry to preach it, and of the whole church to exemplify it. It has even been asserted for substance that practical Christianity "consists in ministering." This is fatal one-sidedness; but, on the other hand, we have not entire Christianity without ministering. Let it not, therefore, be inferred that this article depreciates the importance of sound doctrine. Its very object is to vindicate Orthodoxy by exhibiting a great doctrine of the New Testament in its true place in the shining galaxy of Christian truths.

There are good men who regard the present as a time of great danger because of loose doctrine. It is a time of many great dangers; and one of them is of loose, self-indulgent, selfish and negligent living. Against this the pulpit is bound to speak.

It is also a fact beyond mistake that great interests of the kingdom of Christ, and great questions of the State and humanity are now embraced within the principle of sacred ministering. The ministry and the church must be not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.

It is true we can not exaggerate the importance of the doctrines of the cross, as usually designated ; but we *can* study them too exclusively. The Christian must be sound at the heart ; and he must also be just, pure and benevolent in life. The church must abide in Christ as the branch in the vine ; but the branch must also bear fruit, or it will be taken away for the burning. Piety must have the good Samaritan character. That which is only of the Priest and Levite has no credentials acceptable in heaven. It avails little to recite the Catechism without the faith which is proved by its works. They give slender evidence of regeneration who hold an evangelical creed with the fist of wickedness, or whose charity can only say to the needy, "Depart in peace ; be ye warmed and filled." Two great commands, and one of them looks towards men, express the love which is the fulfilling of the law.

In rightly dividing the word preachers must set forth this humane and practical side of the gospel in due and constant proportion. If they fail, as in great sections of Christendom they have failed, the church inevitably becomes fatally corrupt in doctrine as well as in practice. Other things being equal, it is unquestionable that those pastors will ultimately be most useful in the ministry, who are most zealous and successful in persuading their congregations to fulfill the office of Christian ministering.

We do not know how much doctrinal error a man may hold in his head, yet with the heart believe that Jesus is the Son of God and be saved ; for we are not told, as to this ; but we do know, for we are told, that they who have not ministered to Christ in ministering to his brethern will stand at the left hand in the judgment. How then can ministers give account if they do not adequately teach their people, while professing to preach Christ, the very conditions according which he will pronounce sentence at the last tribunal ?

Wonderful is the Saviour of sinners—wonderful in divine power and glory—wonderful in the humility of manhood ; example for the highest ; consolation for the saddest ; companion of the lowliest. No more is he the Redeemer of men by his passion than Leader by his life. No less do they become his disciples when walking in the steps of his ministering, than when baptized with the blood falling from his cross—greatest when ministers to their brethren, chiefs when servants of all, kings and priests of his kingdom and gospel when with his spirit perpetuating one of his own offices.

ART. III.—ANALYSIS AND PROOF-TEXTS OF JULIUS MULLER'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY.

[Continued from page 360.]

PART THIRD OF THE SYSTEM.

THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION.

§ 63. *Introduction.* Redemption in its widest sense is the restitution, by divine causality, of the ruptured fellowship between God and man : it is salvation. It comprises three points : the divine purpose to rescue man ; its objective realization ; and the subjective reception (appropriation) of salvation : Col. i. 14 ; Gal. iii. 13 ; 1 Cor. vii. 23 ; Luke i. 68.

FIRST DIVISION.

GOD'S PURPOSE TO REDEEM.

§ 64. *Free Grace.* The return to fellowship with God can only proceed from God's grace, since man is laden with guilt and fettered by sin. This is the grace, mercy, love of God : Rom. iii. 24 ("grace," here is the work of redemption imputed as the source of forgiveness) : Eph. i. 6, 7 ("grace" the eternal purpose to save) ; Eph. ii. 5, 8 ; Titus iii. 5 ; ii. 11 ; Rom. ix. 15, 18 ; 1 John iv. 10, 19.

§ 65. *Grace for all ; Salvation only in Christ.* The divine love does all that is needed on its part to save all ; it is a universal benevolence : John iii. 16 ; Rom. xi. 32 (concluded all in unbelief, that is, by the testimony of Scripture, by the course of his historic revelation : 1 Tim. ii. 4 ; 2 Pet. iii. 9 ; Ez. xxxiii. 11. Fellowship with God is inseparable from the mediation of Christ, the only mediator : 1 Tim. ii. 5 ; 1 Cor. iii. 11. Christ is given and appointed for all, as certainly as the divine love is ready to save all : Col. i. 20, 28 ; 1 John, ii. 2 ; Rom. v. 18. But this does not imply a predestination of all to salvation.

§ 66. *The Problem of the Doctrine of Predestination.* Among those to whom the gospel is preached, there are innumerable persons who are hostile or indifferent : Rom. x. 16 ; 2 Thess. ii. 10 ; iii. 2. Or they receive it only externally, without knowing its power in their inner life : John xii. 37 ; Matth. vii. 22,

23. Or they fall away after being made partakers of the gospel of the new life : Luke viii. 13 ; Rom. xi. 20 ; Heb. vi. 4-8 ; x. 25-31. To explain such cases is the object of the doctrine of predestination. The Biblical passages, cited to prove predestination—*gratia particularis*—are : Eph. i. 4—argumentum a silentio—no condition is named : Rom. ix. 11—here the condition of election seems to be excluded. [?] The reference is first to temporal goods, and then, typically—God does not bind himself to the law of descent : John vi. 37, 44—here the reception of salvation is carried back to the divine appointment : John xvii. 2, 9 ; Rom. viii. 30—the object here is to strengthen believers by the assurance of final victory : Phil. ii. 13 ; 1 Cor. iv. 7 ; Acts xiii. 48 ; xvi. 14. Difference of *infralapsarians* (Augustine), and *supralapsarians* (Calvin, [?] Luther, Zwingli.)

§ 67. *Solution of the Antagonism between the Universality of Divine Grace and Particular Calling.* Death does not decide the future lot of every man. (1) Damnation is connected with the rejection of Christ : 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8 ; Matth. xxiii. 37, 38 ; John iii. 36 (this wrath was then on him before) : Mark xvi. 16. (2) The proclamation of the divine judgment is most intimately connected with the appearing of Christ ; previous sins are put under the head of being overlooked : John iii. 18 ; Acts xvii. 30, 31. (3) The possibility of conversion beyond the bounds of the present life is hinted at in Matth. xii. 31 (the sin against the Holy Ghost ; Christ warning the Pharisees that they stood near this abyss) ; 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20 ; Rev. xxii. 2 ; Rom. x. 14, 15. Augustine refers to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi) as evidence that death decides man's lot ; the object of the parable is to show our responsibility for our earthly life : Rom. ii. 12-16—heathen “perish without law ;” the passage is hypothetical, not having respect to the system of redemption. *

§ 68. *Adjustment of the Antagonism between the Universality of Grace and the Resistance of a Portion of those who are called.* God from eternity ordains to everlasting life those who he knows will believe in Christ and persevere in this belief—*ex*

* It is somewhat difficult to see how the alleged “antagonism” here spoken of is adjusted by Müller's hypothesis. The diminution of the number of the lost would not solve the specific difficulty. The doctrine of predestination affirms nothing as to the comparative number of the lost and saved. Müller does not hold that all are saved. Calvinism finds its resting-place in referring the whole to the sovereign will of a holy and yet gracious God. The Westminster Confession, Ch. xx. 3, says : “Elect infants, dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word.”

prævisa fide: John iii. 16; Matth. x. 22; Rev. ii. 10. And yet, as man has no power to evoke this faith, it can only be produced by a divine working through the Holy Spirit: John iii. 5; Rom. viii. 15; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Eph. ii. 8-10 ("grace" is here causative, expressing the divine causality.) The difficulty is resolved by ascribing to man a receptive susceptibility, which may be nurtured or suppressed; so that the Spirit is the productive energy, while the freedom of man receives and co-works. Divine grace is the positive cause: man's relation is that of receptivity. In Rom. ix. the leading idea is that no man can have a claim to salvation on the score of justice.

When men are said to be prepared for destruction, and God is said to harden them, it is presupposed that there is in them a heart opposed to God: Matth. xiii. 14, 15; Rom. xi. 7; viii. 15; 2 Thess. ii. 11; Isaiah xix. 14; lxiii. 17. It is involved in the moral order of the world that the same appointments which avail for the salvation of the willing, produce a deeper corruption and obduracy in those that oppose themselves: Matth. xiii. 12; Luke ii. 35.

§ 69. *Assurance of Personal Election.* The doctrine of Predestination gives to believers the assurance that an eternal purpose of God presides over the temporal growth of their spiritual life, and will lead those who hold fast the faith, through all suffering, to final blessedness: Matth. xxi. 22; xxiv. 31; Rom. viii. 28-39—"the called" in Paul's usage implies those who accept the call: John x. 26. Herein lies the warrant for the assurance that divine grace, so much as in it lies, will complete the work once begun: Phil. i. 6; 2 Tim. ii. 13.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE PURPOSE OF REDEMPTION FULFILLED BY CHRIST.

CHRISTOLOGY.

§ 70. *Introductory.* Galatians iv. 4. When the time was fulfilled, and the world was prepared, internally and externally, God sent his Son to redeem. The powers of darkness reigned. Epicureanism and scepticism prevailed. In the Roman empire was a boundless egoism. Judea had lost its national independence. A longing for the Messiah was awakened. In heathenism was a wide-spread anticipation, though lacking all ethical elements, of a real union of the divine and the human.

Christology comprises the doctrines respecting the Person of Christ, and the Work of Christ.

FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE PERSON OF THE REDEEMER.

CHAPTER FIRST.—OF HIS NATURES.

§ 71. *Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Logos.* The human race, to attain a holy and blessed fellowship with God, needs a Mediator; for it can not deliver itself, and God's holiness forbids its direct reception into his communion. If this mediation is complete, the Mediator must not only do and suffer for many, but must unite in his own person the divine and the human. In Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Logos became flesh, became man: 1 John i. 1, 2; iv. 2, 3. This is revealed in the Scripture as the absolute miracle of love; and it is not to be grasped by the mere understanding: Rom. viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9, 10; Phil. ii. 4-7; 2 Cor. viii. 32 ("being rich," not a possibility, but a fact.) The reality of the union of both natures implies, that the Son of God in becoming man was subject to all the limitations involved in the essence of human nature, and the exigencies of individuality: Heb. ii. 14; Gal. iv. 4; Luke ii. 52. His whole earthly life from its beginning presupposes the fact of the incarnation of the Logos: Luke i. 32, 35. And in fine, this union, as it is an act of the highest love, abides unchangeable: John v. 27; 1 Cor. xv. 47; Phil. iii. 21, (this "body of glory" was possessed by Christ from the ascension): Acts xvii. 31.

§ 72. *Biblical Proof of the Real Divinity of Christ.* That Christ is of divine nature, the incarnate Son of God, is not a matter of direct experience, but fact which only he himself could know and declare to others: Matth. xi. 27 ("all" here in a soteriological sense). Passages in which Christ is directly called God; the following are certain: Heb. i. 8; Rom. ix. 5; 1 John v. 20 (1 John i. 2). Other passages are doubtful on critical grounds. Among the divine *attributes* ascribed to him, omnipotence is especially emphasized: Eph. i. 22 (refers to redemption): 1 Pet. iii. 22; John iii. 35; Matth. xxviii. 18; Phil. iii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 28. With this is connected his power to be present everywhere as he will: Matth. xviii. 10; Eph. i. 23. Eternity is also emphasized, not only as meaning a life before his earthly existence, but as implying his existence before the world: John iii. 13; vi. 46; viii. 58; 1 John i. 1, 2; 1 Cor. xv. 47-49; John xvi. 21. Among the divine works which the Scriptures ascribe to the Saviour, the first is the giving eternal life to those who believe in him: John iv. 14; vi. 33. Raising the dead, and judging the world, which presupposes omnipotence and omniscience, are referred to him in

a special way : Matth. xxv. 31 ; vii. 22 ; Phil. iii. 21 ; John v. 27–29. And in fine, Christ is often spoken of as the object of divine worship : John v. 23 ; xiv. 13 ; Phil. ii. 10 ; 1 Cor. i. 2 ; Rev. v. 13 ; Acts vii. 59, 60 ; 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. Passages which refer to the essential relation of Christ to the Father : Matth. xxii. 43–45 ; xi. 27, 37 ; Gal. iii. 4 ; Heb. iii. 6. The predicate Son of God unmistakably designates in many places his community of essence with the Father : Matth. xi. 27 ; Gal. iv. 4 ; Hebr. i. 2 ; iii. 6 ; John iii. 16 ; Comp. Phil. ii. 6 ; formula of baptism, Matth. xxviii. 19.

§ 73. *The Union of the Divine and the Human in Christ as defined by the Church, Unio Personelis* ; in this, the divine is active, the human is passive ; the personal element, being one, must be from the divine nature ; the human nature in Christ is impersonal ; the divine is unchanged, Christ during his earthly life had the unbroken possession of all divine attributes. *Communicatio idiomatum*, that is the two natures, though distinct, impart their properties to each other, and this in three ways : (1) *genus idiomaticum*—the natures impart to the person ; (2) *genus apotelesmaticum*—the person imparts to the natures ; (3) *genus majestaticum*—one nature imparts to the other, yet only the divine to the human, and not the converse. The Reformed (Calvanistic) theology denies this last *genus*, so as to retain the difference of the two natures.

§ 74. *Criticism and Modification of the Church Theory*. Divine properties are never in the Bible ascribed to the human nature of Christ ; eternity and immutability, omniscience and omnipresence can not be thus ascribed. His incarnation involved a *kenosis*, a voluntary parting for the time with his divine attributes and glory ; and yet the knowledge of God was at the basis of his human life : Phil. ii. 6, 7 ; 1 Cor. viii. 9 ; John xvii. 5. His power of working miracles was given to him in virtue of his Messianic office ; hence before his public life he worked none : Acts v. 38. The imparting the Spirit to Christ at his baptism by John has its peculiar significance in relation to his working of miracles : Matth. iii. 16. Hence, too, in the temptation, there is special reference to this power ; Matth. xii. 28. Under the same analogy comes his indwelling power of knowing the future, and of inspecting the hearts and thoughts of men : John v. 25 ; Matth. ix. 4. Yet he was not omniscient ; Mark. xiii. 32. If from the fact that the Scripture ascribe to Christ, under his human name, divine attributes, we infer (with the Lutherans) that the properties of the divine nature were really imparted to the human ; then, too, we must infer (which they deny) that his human qualities were impart-

ed to his divine nature from those passages in which human properties are ascribed to Christ under his divine appellations : 1 Cor. ii. 8 ; 1 John i. 1.

§ 75. *The Union of the Logos with the Human Nature in its Beginning and Completion.* There must have been an unbroken identity of self-consciousness, between the eternal being of Christ as the Son of God and his earthly existence as the Son of Man : John iii. 11-13 ; xvi. 28 ; xvii. 5. It is impossible to conceive that there were in him two centres of self-consciousness. He had a knowledge of the divine nature such as no mere man could have had : John xvii. 25 ; Matth. xi. 27 ; yet there was not the immediate vision of God, as in eternity : John vi. 46 ; viii. 38. In his glorified state the union of the divine and human still continues : John xiv. 10 ; x. 13.

CHAPTER SECOND—CHRIST'S MORAL PERFECTION AND ITS CONDITIONS.

§ 76. *Christ's Supernatural Birth.* He was conceived by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary : Matth. i. 18-25 ; Luke i. 26-38. The Redeemer of the race must himself be a true man : Gal. iv. 4. As he was to redeem, he must not need redemption ; he must be free from all sinfulness : Luke i. 35—i.e. the divine dignity of Christ rests upon his supernatural generation, yet not in this alone. His birth was a creative act of God, breaking through the chain of human generation ; he had no earthly father.

§ 77. *The Holiness of Christ.* There was such possibility of sin as is implied in human freedom, but the temptation could come only from without : Matth. xv. 19. The positive ground of the holiness of Christ is in the free and constant self-determination of his will, consisting in the most intimate union of his will with that of the Father in the form of unconditional submission : Matth. xxvi. 39 ; John v. 30 ; vi. 38 : Hebr. ii. 17, 18. So Christ in his life represents the perfect type of humanity, which is defaced in all the descendants of Adam : Rom. viii. 29 ; 2 Cor. v. 21 (sin, not sin offering, but sin personified ; "made" expresses the full idea of substitution) ; Hebr. iv. 15 ; vii. 26. The assurance which the church has of the perfect holiness of Christ rests (1) upon the total impression made by his life in the Gospels ; (2) upon his own testimony to his sinlessness : John viii. 46 ; xiv. 30 ; (3) indirectly upon his unity with the Father and his relation to the world as Redeemer ; (4) upon the testimony of the apostles, in whom we see the imposing impression his holiness made upon those who knew

him best ; 1 John iii. 5 ; 1 Pet. i. 19 ; ii. 21. See also the accounts of the temptation of Christ : Matth. iv. ; Mark i. ; Luke iv. Comp. Luke xiii. 18, 19 ; Mark x. 17, 18 ; Matth. xix. 16, 17.

CHAPTER THIRD—THE ESTATES OF CHRIST.

§ 78. *The Contrast between the State of Humiliation and the State of Glory.* The state of humiliation reached its limit in the death on the cross ; with the resurrection begins the state of glory : Phil. ii. 8–11. In the resurrection, apart from its special importance in relation to the redeeming efficacy of his death, Christ reveals his victorious power over death : John x. 18 ; 2 Tim. i. 10 ; Acts ii. 24, 31. Thus, too, he gives a basis in fact for the glorious hope of his followers as to their own resurrection : Rom. viii. 11 ; 1 Cor. xv. 20–22, 45, 49. The glory of Christ after the resurrection is latent and incomplete until his ascension and sitting at the right hand of the Father : Rom. viii. 34 ; 1 Pet. iii. 22 ; Acts i. 9, 11 (a sign and image of Christ's glorious transition). The biblical representation of Christ's glorification, as a reward of his obedience rests upon the participation of the human nature in the divine glory : Hebr. ii. 9 ; xii. 2 ; Phil. ii. 9–11 ; Eph. iv. 10 (of the burial and ascension). That the risen Saviour passed into glory without again dying is presupposed in Rom. vi. 10 ; viii. 33 ; Phil. iii. 21 ; Col. iii. 1 ; Acts iii. 21. The apostolic preaching laid the greatest stress upon the resurrection : 1 Cor. xv. 14 ; 1 Pet. iii. 22 (presupposes the ascension ; the last passage shows that Christ has part in the government of the world). Christ's body as he rose from the dead was material : Luke xxiv. 49 ; John xx. 27 ; Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 50 ; with the ascension was assumed the glorified body.

§ 79. *The Church Doctrine of the Two Estates of Christ.* The Lutheran view is incorrect in making the incarnate Logos, and not the Logos as Divine, the subject of the estate of humiliation. The Lutheran divines differ from the reformed in teaching "the descent of Christ to hell" for the sake of preaching the gospel, relying on 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19 ("prison," the Hebrew *sheol* ; "spirits disobedient," those drowned in the deluge, as standing for the worst of men ; *Χηρίσσω* is used only of proclaiming the gospel) : 1 Pet. iv. 6 probably also belongs here ; it refers to those who died without the gospel before Christ. In Col. ii. 15, the subject is God and not Christ ; in Eph. iv. 9 the reference is probably only to the burial.

SECOND HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE WORK OF THE SAVIOUR—OPUS CHRISTI SALUTARE.

§ 80. *Introduction.* The work of Christ is represented in the most comprehensive way in the doctrine of his Three Offices of prophet, priest and king. This is not tropical, but has the highest reality; and it is grounded in the connection of Christ's work with the Old Testament theocracy and its offices; Christ is the end of the law. All three offices relate to the mediation between God and man. Calvin first used this method; Ernesti (1760) discredited it; it was revived by Schleiermacher.

ART I.—THE PROPHETIC OFFICE OF CHRIST

MUNUS PROPHETICUM.

§ 81. *The Essential Functions of the Prophetic Office.* Christ calls himself a prophet: Luke vii. 16; xiii. 33; John iv. 19; Matth. xiii. 57. The central idea of Christ's prophetic office is found in his teaching; in the revelation of God by the word: John xvii. 6, 8, 26; Mark i. 14. His miracles and prophecies stand in undeniable, though subordinate connection with his work as teacher: Luke xxiv. 19. He did not set forth a complete code of laws, but insisted on the feelings and motives which always teach Christians what corresponds with the divine will: John xiii. 34; Matth. v. 20–48; Luke x. 27–37. He made himself, as the Redeemer, the subject of his teaching: thus in John throughout; also Matth. xi. 25–31; xiii. 16, 17; Luke iv. 18, 19, 21; xv. 4–10; also in his parables. Christ's human life, as the living law, also formed a real part of his teachings. He did not merely repeat the old law, but set up a higher ideal than Moses.

§ 82. *The Miracles and Prophecies of Christ.* Miracles naturally accompany a divine revelation; the height of the revelation will be most full of miracles. Redemption stands in the same relation to the spiritual realm as miracles to the realm of nature; hence they almost always have a symbolical character. They naturally ceased after the kingdom of God was firmly established. Prophecies are the miracles of knowledge; they have the same relation to history that miracles have to nature; but they do not disturb man's permanent and essential relations to history, any more than miracles do his relation to nature. Their object is to strengthen faith, and to draw attention to the divine order and plan in history.

ART. II.—THE OFFICE OF CHRIST AS HIGH PRIEST.

§ 83. *Necessity of the Sufferings and Death of Christ to reconcile the Human Race with God.* Under the New Testament the propitiatory sacrifice is the High Priest himself, who offers the sacrifice: Rom. ii. 25 ("righteousness" here is the judicial righteousness of God): 1 John ii. 2; iv. 10 (viz. by his death as a sacrificial offering): 1 Pet. ii. 24 ("bore our sins," i. e. its consequences, guilt and punishment, *per metonymiam causæ pro effectu*): Hebr. vii. 27; ix. 12; x. 4–10. Christ came to found a kingdom of God in which the holy will of God should be fulfilled by the inward working power of his spirit in the freedom of love: Gal. iii. 23–26; iv. 3–5; v. 18; Rom. viii. 2–4 ("law of spirit of life" is the gospel with its justifying faith and regenerating grace): John viii. 51, 52; Jas. v. 19, 20; Rev. ii. 11. Man's sin and guilt are in the way of his reception into this kingdom. To receive man in his sins would annul his awe before the holy will of God, and make a kingdom of blessedness without holiness, which is inconceivable. Nor can the obstacle be removed by keeping man away from the fellowship of God (death, in its widest sense, until he has expiated his sins: John viii. 51, 52; Jas. v. 19, 20; Rev. ii. 11. Man in a state of sin can only increase his guilt; he has not the power to put away sin. Sin, too, as a principle of life opposed to God, involves an infinite guilt, which no endurance of penalty can exhaust. Hence man needs first of all forgiveness of sin; and this in the New Testament is every where connected with the death of Christ on the cross: Matth. xxvi. 28 ("testament" means covenant sacrifice, or propitiatory sacrifice; "sins" by metonymy for punishment of sin): Rom. iii. 25; Eph. i. 7 ("redemption" from sin and guilt). The working principle of the whole economy of redemption is the love and grace of God; (§ 64) he ordained the death of Christ to redeem from the guilt of sin: Rom. v. 8; viii. 39; 2 Cor. v. 18; 1 John i. 9, 10.

The Anselmic theory is based on the idea of a duality of the divine Attributes of love and justice, which is incorrect; God's justice has its origin in love. If God does not really remit punishment, there is no grace. God can actually forgive the penitent, but only as he at the same time gives effect to his displeasure, shows his holy wrath against sin. This can only be done by Christ as Mediator, taking upon himself in free love the punishment which man deserved, so as to uphold the righteousness of God in his forgiving love.* In forgiveness

* Müller does not discuss the relation of this view to the old Protestant

not only is punishment remitted, but the sense of guilt is also taken away.

§ 84. *The Vicarious Relation of Christ to Humanity.* That Christ endured the pangs of death for us, in our stead, is directly asserted by the Scripture in many ways: 2 Cor. v. 14, 21; (*ὕπὲρ* in verse 14 includes the cause, and also means "instead of," "for the good of"); 1 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. v. 6-8; Eph. v. 2; Gal. ii. 20. The same is implied when the giving of his life is described as a ransom, the price of our deliverance from death: Matth. xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 6; 1 Pet. i. 18; Gal. iii. 13 (he was, then subject to the curse of the law in our stead): John i. 29; 1 Pet. ii. 24. The same idea is decidedly expressed where his death is represented as a sacrifice for our sins: 1 Pet. i. 2; iii. 18; Rom. iii. 25; Eph. v. 2; 1 John ii. 2; iv. 10; Hebr. ix, 10. 28. Comp. Isaiah liii. This substitution of Christ is referred only to the human race, as destined to be united with him: Gal. i. 4; Eph. i. 25, 26.

The divine life is not subject to suffering, but only the created human life; hence Christ could only suffer as he was man. Suffering, especially death, is only the consequence of sin, and so Christ, the holy, could suffer death only in our stead. His vicarious position is in consequence of his real union with the human race. Their life must be in him: he is the immanent source of their spiritual life. As thus united to man, he endures, not the guilt (for that can not be transferred), but the consequences of guilt, that is, punishment.

§ 85. *The Work of Atonement Completed.* The whole life of Christ is interwoven with elements of vicarious suffering; the height of this suffering physically is in his death. The Scripture also definitely refers to his personal vicarious sufferings in Gethsemane and on the cross—he was forsaken of his Father: Matth. xxvii. 46; xxvi. 38-44; John xii. 27. It is not despair, nor the feeling of being an object of God's hatred; for Christ still says, "My God," and "It is finished." But still he must experience, so far as possible, the internal state of those whom he represented. The "cup he drank" was that he was given up to the powers of darkness.

As God thus subjects the Mediator, as our representative, to punishment so as to uphold the authority of his holy will in his kingdom, and thus solemnly manifests his displeasure on account of the sin of the race—he releases mankind so far as they come to Christ, from death as the penalty of sin, and from

(Anselmic) theory, which he condemns. He certainly here concedes what is most significant in that theory.

their state of estrangement : Rom. v. 9, 10. Christ by his death expiates the total guilt of the race ; and God reconciles with himself all who accept of him : Rom. viii. 25 ; Heb. ii. 17 ; 1 John ii. 2 ; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19. Expiation, *ἱλαδμός* is to be distinguished from reconciliation, *καταλλάσσειν* ; expiation precedes, reconciliation follows ; expiation is for guilt, reconciliation refers to the relation of man to God : the former refers to the thing, the latter to the person. The phrase " God is reconciled " is not Biblical. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (viii. 9, 10) the reconciliation begins after Christ is raised to heaven.

§ 86. *Some other Functions ascribed to the Priestly Office.* The so called *active obedience*, as well as the *passive*, is reckoned as a part of Christ's satisfaction. But to restore man to communion with God requires only that the wall of separation made by guilt be broken down, without any other merit, self-wrought or imputed. Further, the active obedience imparts from the scholastic theology the idea of merit as needed, but if guilt be removed, God's love can be imparted without merit. Again, Christ's passive obedience would be unnecessary, if his whole active obedience were imputed as if it were self-deserved. The holiness of Christ is the necessary condition of his expiation. The cited passages do not bear out the theory : Matth. vi. 17 ; Phil. ii. 8 ; Rom. v. 19. The intercession is also reckoned to the high priestly function : John xiv. 16 ; Rom. viii. 34 ; 1 John ii. 1, 2 ; but this last passage shows, that it is only symbolical of the perpetual efficacy of Christ's expiation. The Epistle to the Hebrews views the whole of Christ's work under the aspect of intercession. Other passages (Luke xxii. 32 ; John xvii.) do not refer to the atonement.

ART III.—THE OFFICE OF CHRIST AS KING.

§ 87. *Munus Regium.* After the Messiah had expiated the sins of the world by his death on the cross, he received power to send his Spirit to found his kingdom in its full reality : Acts ii. 33 ; Eph. iv. 8–11. Christ also exercises his regal office in preserving and propagating his kingdom, by means of the external diffusion and internal strengthening of his church : Eph. i. 2 (refers to redemption) ; iv. 16 ; v. 23 ; Col. i. 18 ; ii. 19. By the inner workings of his Spirit (who glorifies him by taking and sharing what is his : John xvi. 14) ; he begets and fosters the life of his subjects in fellowship with him : (John xiv. 17 ; xvii. 21) ; and he also appoints, by the gifts of his Spirit, offices in his church, and still transforms natural into spiritual gifts among those who are the organs for calling men into his king-

dom : Eph. iv. 7, 8, 11-15 ; 1 Cor. xii. 15. His third regal function is in the completion of his kingdom in the resurrection and the last judgment—whereby his followers come to the complete possession of the everlasting benefits of his kingdom : Matth. xvi. 28 ; xxv. 31-46 ; Luke xxii. 29, 30 ; 2 Tim. iv. 1. What Paul says of Christ's giving up the kingdom to the Father, means that his exclusive royalty ceases, and that his followers come into direct relation to the Father, the royal dignity of Christ, however, being not annulled but preserved : 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25 ; Rev. xi. 17 ; Luke i. 33 ; Dan. ii. 44 ; vii. 14. This kingdom, from its very nature can make use only of spiritual means : Rom. xiv. 17 ; Luke xxii. 25, 26 ; 2 Cor. x. 3, 4. In this regal office Christ can have no successor nor vicar. The *regnum naturæ* of the old theology is unsupported : there is only the *regnum gratiæ* and *gloriæ* : Matth. xi. 27 ; xxviii. 18 ; Hebr. ii. 8 ; John xvii. 2.

THIRD DIVISION.

THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION.

§ 88. *Preliminary.* If the application of redemption were the pure act of man, God's work would cease with the provision. But this is opposed to the idea of Christ's regal office, and to the general result about man's sinful state in § 59. The grace which provides, also applies, redemption. This is begun here, completed hereafter : the eschatology is not essentially new.

FIRST HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE BEGINNING OF THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION.

ART. 1.—IN THE INDIVIDUAL.

§ 89. *Introduction.* Here belong (*ordo gratiæ*) all the divine agencies which have respect to the application of redemption ; the sending of the Spirit is included. Grace (*χάρις*) is used in the New Testament almost exclusively for God's working (act of will) in relation to salvation in Christ ; partly his purpose, partly its execution. In other passages it sometimes designates the cause, sometimes the effect : John i. 16 ; 1 Cor. i. 4 ; xv. 10 ; Eph. ii. 8.

FIRST STAGE.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION.

§ 90. *Prevenient Grace.* (*Gratia præparans*, and *preveniens*, the same.) Under this come the Old Testament, includ-

ing the Mosaic law, and all that God does to enliven man's consciousness of the moral law by the word and through the church : Rom. iii. 19, 20 ; iv. 15. Man can resist this grace : Hebr. iii. 16 ; Matth. xxi. 32. His determination here, as a general rule, decides whether he will accept or reject Christ, when offered in the Gospel : John v. 46 ; vi. 45 ; Matth. xiii. 12.

§ 91. *Repentance : Conversion.* Repentance, change of mind, (*μετάνοια*), sometimes signifies entire removal (Luke xv. 10), but it generally refers, in a narrower sense, to what precedes justifying faith (Acts xix. 4 ; Mark i. 15), e. g. striving to conform to conscience, sorrow, (*contritio*) ; condemnation of the past life (1 Cor. xi. 31). Man must go through the pangs of repentance, if he is to have part in Christ : Rom. vi. 5, 6 ; Col. ii. 11. Godly sorrow for sin really exists only where there is faith, and in this sense penitence follows faith, especially in struggling against the old life : 2 Cor. vii. 9, 10. In the Roman Catholic theory faith comes first, and then *contritio cordis*, *confessio oris*, *satisfactio operis* ; in the Protestant system condition precedes faith.

SECOND STAGE.

THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION IN ITS POSITIVE BEGINNING.

§ 92. *The Renewing Energy of the Holy Spirit and Human Freedom.* Renewal includes the putting off the old man, and putting on the new—*mortificatio and vivificatio*, and is conditioned by the feeling of one's own helplessness. Hence there is an opposition of the natural man, which can only be broken by the power of the Holy Spirit, but yet not without man's co-working. For man, though fallen, has susceptibility to conscience and divine truth (see §§ 46, 59, 68) ; else he would not be responsible for rejecting salvation : Luke xix. 44 ; xiii. 24 ; John iii. 18 ; Matth. xxiii. 37 ; Phil. ii. 12. The following passages deny man's participation in conversion, in this sense, that they teach that man can not in his own strength begin the work, but God's grace begins and man is to yield to its quickening energy : John v. 24, 25 ; viii. 34 ; xv. 5 ; Eph. ii. 1, 5 ; Col. ii. 13, to be taken figuratively, see Eph. v. 14 ; Rom. vi. 17 ; Phil. ii. 13. Human freedom is receptive in relation to grace ; grace works first. The Holy Spirit determines the will, indirectly, illuminating the mind so that it can see the vital sense and redeeming power of the Gospel (2 Cor. iii. 5 ; 1 Cor. ii. 14 ; John xvi. 13 ; Eph. i. 17-19) ; moving and softening the feelings in their deepest ground, and thus leading the

will to yield : Rom. viii. 26, 27 ; Gal. iv. 6. The word of God is in the divine order, the instrument of the Spirit : Rom. x. 17 ; 2 Cor. iii. 8 : 1 Pet. i. 23 ; Jas. i. 18.

§ 93. *The Divine Call.* This is made to every one who in any way obtains a knowledge of the truths of the Gospel : 1 Thess. ii. 12 ; 2 Thess. ii. 14. It is earnest : Luke xv. 4-10 ; xiv. 23. Not all the called are chosen : Matth. xxii. 14. In the Gospel, the call is viewed as more external : Matth. xxii. 14 ; xx. 16 ; in the epistle it usually includes acceptance—believers are the called (*κληῆτοι*) : 2 Tim. ii. 9.

§ 94. *The Justification of Man through Faith in Christ.* To attain the blessed possession of fellowship with God, man needs first of all the divine forgiveness (not imputing to him his sins), to take away guilt and punishment in his relations to God ; so that his whole sinful past life may be regarded as done away with by divine grace, and the burden rolled off from his conscience ; Rom. iv. 6-8 ; Hebr. x. 2 ; Isaiah i. 18 : xliii. 25. The objective ground of the divine forgiveness is the atoning work of Christ received by a simple act of faith : Matth. xvi. 18 ; xxvi. 28 ; Rom. iii. 22, 25 ; Eph. i. 7 ; Col. i. 14 ; Rom. iii. 22. In justification there is inseparably united with the forgiveness of sins (the negative element) the elevation of man into a new relation to God (the positive side) involving the closest fellowship, that is the adoption as sons, which rests on union with Christ : John i. 12 ; vi. 51 ; Rom. iii. 16, 17 ; viii. 16, 17 ; Gal. iii. 26 ; iv. 5 ; Eph. i. 5. As Christ in his state of glory, beginning with his resurrection, revealed himself through the Spirit to the faith of his followers as the Son of God (Rom. i. 4), so by this same faith they are raised to a participation in the glory which he has with the Father—they, too, become sons of God, renewed by his Spirit in the act of faith : John iii. 5 ; xvii. 14, 16, 22 ; Jas. i. 18. Justification is the act of God, whereby he imparts to the man, who by faith receives Christ (justifying, saving faith) the divine judgment, that the guilt and punishment of his sin are removed, and that he is an adopted child of God, and the object of his loving favor : Eph. v. 26, 27 ; Rom. viii. 33. Hence it follows, that the righteousness of faith must be considered as imputed to the Christian, because that freedom from guilt and acceptableness with God on which he relies never correspond with the actual state of things in his earthly life, where sanctification only begins : Rom. iv. 5-11, 22, 25 ; x. 4 (righteousness is here the quality which fits man for the kingdom of God) : Phil. iii. 9 ("righteousness" here, is the righteousness of man recognized by God). It is an imputed right-

eousness (Rom. x. 5-8 ; iv. 3-9), but not merely declaratory, in the sense, that it is immanent in God, with no effect or change in man. For the consciousness of God's grace attends justification ; this is the testimony of the Spirit : Rom. viii. 4, 13. This doctrine is not hurtful to sound morals ; for repentance must precede, and sanctification follow. Rationalism opposes it, because it makes no essential distinction between the natural and the spiritual life. The Roman Catholic view is opposed to Rom. x. 5-8 ; especially Rom. iv. 3-9.

§ 95. *The Justifying Power of Faith.* Faith is not merely knowledge, and feeling, but also an act (as it can be commended), receiving and trusting in Christ, and renouncing self ; and to this corresponds an act on the part of Christ, imparting himself and receiving the believer. Thus is brought about a real union with Christ, which makes the inmost centre of the believer's life, represses the power of his and expels it from the centre of the soul into a merely phenomenal being. The believer no longer stands for himself, but is brought into fellowship with God through the grace in Christ : Gal. ii. 20. The inmost substance of the believing life consists in this union with Christ ; and hence the Scripture says, that man is justified in Christ : Acts xiii. 39 ; Rom. viii. 1 ; 1 Cor. vi. 11 ; 2 Cor. v. 21 ; Phil. iii. 9. Since the innocence and sonship which are received by faith, will, in the future life, be perfected, the divine justification may, as a general rule, be regarded as also an anticipation of this future perfection : Gal. v. 5.

§ 96. *The Regenerating Power of Justifying Faith.* The faith that justifies is the source of the new life ; there springs from it, by an internal necessity, a state of mind sanctified by its tendency towards God, in antagonism with the selfishness that before prevailed : Rom. vi. 1-4 ; viii. 1 ; 2 Cor. v. 17. If any one claims to have this faith, without any moral change, his faith is a mere imagination : 1 John i. 6. Justifying faith in Christ is the subjective principle of regeneration, with which begins the dying of the old man and the life of the new : John i. 12, 13 ; iii. 5 ; Gal. iii. 26 ; 1 John v. 1, 4, 5 ; Col. iii. 10.

THIRD STAGE.

THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION IN ITS CONTINUATION.

§ 97. *The Sanctifying Work of the Holy Spirit.* The Holy Spirit does not withdraw from his work in man, and leave him to himself, but dwells in believers : Rom. viii. 9 ; 1 Cor. vi.

19 ; iii. 16 ; 2 Tim. i. 14. The Spirit works according to the laws of moral agency and of psychological development. His influence is constant (Rom. viii. 14), and all progress in holiness, springing from faith, is by his aid : Gal. iii. 22 ; Eph. iii. 16.

§ 98. *Sanctification.* In regeneration by justifying faith, the power of sin is not at once annulled, but broken in a decisive manner : Rom. vi. 6, 12, 14. Man is thus sundered from the fellowship of a world which is estranged from God, and such a consecration is identical with justification (Rom. xv. 16 ; 1 Cor. i. 2) ; and there follows from it a progressive sanctification by a gradual process : Rom. xii. 1, 2 ; Eph. iv. 15, 22-24. As the renewed man is internally at one with the divine will, the state of sanctification is a state of freedom, in contrast with the bondage, under the law of the man who acknowledges its authority, and yet is really estranged from it : Gal. v. 1, 13, 18 ; Rom. vi. 14 : vii. 6. Good works are the result of regeneration, and must agree with the law and be measured by it ; but yet they are not the fruits of the law and its authority, but the fruits of the Spirit ; Gal. v. 22 ; Eph. ii. 10 ; 2 Thess. ii. 17 ; Tit. ii. 14 ; Hebr. xiii. 21. Strictly speaking, our good works are mixed with sin, and we are acceptable only in Christ : Matth. iii. 17 ; Eph. i. 6. The work of Christ is able to take away the guilt of the old life and all its effects ; but a total apostacy from Christ, rooting out all divine grace, would require another redemption, such as is not provided : Hebr. x. 26, 27 ; vi. 4-6 ; 1 John v. 16. The possibility of a total apostacy is undeniably recognized in the New Testament, in the solemn warnings against it that run through almost all the epistles, and in the scriptural declaration about its actual occurrence : Rom. xi. 22 ; 1 Cor. iii. 13 ; Gal. iii. 3 ; 1 Pet. v. 8 ; 2 John, 8 ; Hebr. x. 38. The thought of this possibility vanishes only in rare cases of the highest Christian sanctification : 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. From this total extinction of the state of grace are to be distinguished those partial backslidings, which do not wholly break up the internal union with the powers of the spiritual life ; these frequent instances are to be restored by renewed repentance and faith : Gal. iv. 19 ; v. 4 ; 1 Cor. v. 5. Against a total apostacy, is urged the use of the phrase, "eternal life," in John iii. 36 ; vi. 47—but this refers to its nature, not its duration ; further the promises in 1 Cor. i. 8 ; Eph. i. 13 ; iv. 30 ; Phil. i. 6 ; John x. 28, 29—but these presuppose the holding fast of faith ; also 1 John iii. 9 ; v. 18 ; which give the ideal conception of the new life.

ART. II.—THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION IN THE COMMUNITY OF BELIEVERS.

FIRST SUB-DIVISION.—THE CHURCH.

§ 99. *The Working of Christ in Forming a Fellowship.* Every man comes to Christ through the influence of those who are already in the church. The instinct of Christian love is to form such a fellowship. The Holy Spirit manifests himself, at the beginning of his work, as the founder of an organized fellowship; the New Testament speaks of him as the source of unity and communion: Eph. ii. 18; iv. 5; Phil. ii. 1, 2; Acts ii. 43–47. The individual, by himself, can not attain the ends of the new life. The church, too, must be organized to act as a power in human history. Christ appointed what is essential in such a body: Matth. xxviii. 19, 20; xviii. 15–17; he promised to his church perpetuity: John x. 6; Matth. xvi. 18. The higher the elements of the spiritual life, the stronger will be the impulse to fellowship.

§ 100. *The Nature of the Church.* The church is (1) the society (*cœtus*) of those who have a common character, that is, a living faith in Christ: Matth. xvi. 18; Eph. ii. 20, 21; v. 26, 27; John x. 26, 27; Tit. ii. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9 (the predicates “living stones,” “regal priesthood,” etc., refer to the invisible church). Those thus united are a holy, priestly people. (2) An organization of believers—a *societas communis*: Eph. iv. 16. Christ is the only head of the church, not merely because he is the object of the common faith (for thus he is its ground and corner-stone), but in his regal office, ordering its organization, and directing its destiny: Col. i. 18; Eph. v. 29. The very idea of the church implies its universality. The Roman Catholic says (Tuesten, citing Irenæus), *Ubi ecclesia ibi spiritus Dei*; the Protestant, *Ubi spiritus Dei, illic et ecclesia*.

§ 101. *Nature of the Church in Comparison with other Societies.* The New Testament speaks only of one church in this life; in the future life it ceases to be, for its common bond, faith, is merged in sight. The idea of the kingdom of God is wider than that of the church; for this kingdom is a kingdom of glory also, while the church is militant, and has an essential relation to this world, and is triumphant as overcoming the world. Even in this life, the kingdom of God is wider than the church, comprehending all that is affected by religion; in this sense, the state belongs to it. The church, as distinguished from the state, is to diffuse salvation; the state is to guard all the manifold interests of a sound, human

development ; but it needs the church, for sin is the root of all disturbance of justice and order. The state is based on natural character ; the church is for the race : Col. iii. 11 ; Rom. x. 12. Sects belong to the church, if the latter be understood as comprising all those who are baptized and who confess Christ ; but the tendency to universality is implied in the very idea of the church, both in respect to faith and life. Sect may spring from a too wide or a too narrow principle. The church can not become a mere state institute without forfeiting its true character ; the state has a narrower, a comparatively negative sphere ; it does not produce, it guards.

§ 102. *The Invariable Characteristics of the Church in its Historic Changes.* Its external forms may and do change ; but it must ever hold fast the means of grace, especially the word of God in the Scriptures, and the two sacraments ; the internal essence of the church would be lost, if it were robbed of these.

§ 103. *The Division of the Christian Church into Particular Churches.* A permanent division in the church may be made by political power, or by a departure from the essentials of the faith. Each Protestant church, though forced into the necessity of forming a particular body, must still maintain its consciousness of unity with other churches, which do not deny the head. The hope of reunion is vital. The church in its nature is one : John xvii. 20–23. Separation is justifiable only on the ground of purity of doctrine ; the criterion here is this—that doctrine is pure which leads to faith in Christ.

§ 104. *The Visible and the Invisible Church.* Spiritual predicates necessarily belong to the church, as it is founded in the spiritual life in Christ ; hence it is invisible. On the other hand, the church is unfolded in the world, the invisible becomes visible. Unworthy members do not impair its essential reality, so long as true faith determines its character. Nor is its unity annulled by the existence of separate churches, so long as they recognize each other in the common faith. The apostles bring together the invisible and visible, yet so that the predicates of the church apply fully only to the invisible : Eph. iv. 16 ; ii. 21 ; v. 27 ; 1 Pet. ii. 5. The church has fallen into separate communions ; no one of them can be the real, true church. But yet it is also true, that the one holy church, the body of Christ, has at no time ceased or can cease to exist on the earth : 2 Tim. ii. 19 ; Matth. xvi. 18 ; xxviii. 20. The true church is the invisible, made up of all those who share in the life that is in Christ, dispersed in the different communions ; but no human judgment can infallibly determine

who belong to it : 2 Tim. ii. 20. This church is holy, one, and apostolic ; in it alone is salvation. The Bible gives it the highest predicates : 1 Tim. iii. 15. The visible church is—*cœtus eorum, qui nomine sive externa professione, sunt membra ecclesiæ christianæ* ; the invisible—*cœtus eorum qui et re membra sunt ecclesiæ christianæ*. Two elements belong to the church. (1) A congregation united for the highest end of life ; (2) fellowship in giving and receiving. The essence of the fellowship is faith in Christ.

SECOND SUB-DIVISION.

THE MEANS OF GRACE ENTRUSTED TO THE CHURCH :

MEDIA SIVE ADMINICULA GRATIÆ.

§ 105. *Introduction.* In the strictest sense the Word of God, and the Sacraments are the ordained means of grace ; the power alone is absolutely necessary, but not the Sacraments. Augustine says : *accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*. The means of grace are a necessary part of a historical revelation ; the spiritual demands a body. In the Catholic church the Sacraments preponderate over the word. The Catholic ministry is a ministry of the Sacraments ; the Protestant, of the Word.

§ 106. *The Divine Word as Means of Grace.* Its special power is owing to the fact that it reveals to us the grace of God, and that in it Christ speaks to us ; and so it is fitted to awaken divine life in the soul. All other books that lead to salvation derive their virtue from this book. A mystical efficacy, *extra resum*, has been incorrectly inferred from Hebr. xiv. 12, 13.

§ 107. *The Idea of the Sacraments.* This is to be derived from the sacraments themselves, viz, baptism and the Lord's Supper : Comp. 1 Cor. x. 1-4 ; where the two are brought together. The Roman Catholic idea of the sacrament is vague. In a sacrament the spiritual must be represented by the visible : this is not the case, g. g. in marriage. The Catholic view makes the sacrament an *opus operatum* ; the Protestant view demands faith in the recipient. In the sacrament, the external sign does not merely represent the spiritual grace, but it seals and pledges it ; and this power it has, in virtue of the promise of Christ. In the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper, the sign is so closely united with the thing signified, that this is received even by the unbelieving ; but this is denied by the Reformed church. The classical use of *sacramen-*

tum has here no application : the vulgate renders *μυστήριον* by sacramentum : but this is not applied in the Scripture to the sacraments.

§ 108. *Baptism is General.* Baptism is the sacrament of the beginning of the new life, or of regeneration : Tit. iii. 5. By it, through faith in Christ, is sealed the forgiveness of sins, justification and participation in the influences of the Holy Ghost : Acts ii. 38 ; xxii. 16 ; Eph. v. 26 ; Tit. iii. 5 ; Rev. vi. 3, 5 ; Matth. xxviii. 19 ; John i. 33. In its full sense, baptism is effectual only through and by faith : Acts viii. 12 ; xviii. 8 ; Gal. iii. 26, 27. Hence in its real idea, baptism is reception into the fellowship of Christ (Acts xix. 5 ; Gal. iii. 27) ; and, what is inseparable from this, into the fellowship of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost : Matth. xxviii. 19. As baptism pledges these blessings, which belong to the church, and as it is administered by the church, so it also makes the baptized to be members of the church : Acts ii. 41 ; 1 Cor. xii. 13. Baptism is valid, and that of one church is to be recognized by others, when it is administered according to the rules of Christ. Baptism, faith, and receiving the Holy Ghost, properly belong together, but may be sundered by time and circumstances : Acts viii. 15–19 ; x. 44. Since John iii. 5, does not refer to baptism, there is no Scriptural proof of its absolute necessity : at any rate, all the apostles, excepting Paul, believed and received the Holy Ghost, without baptism as instituted by Christ. Even the Catholic church in cases of necessity allows the desire for baptism instead of the rite. Protestants deny the Catholic doctrine, that original sin and actual sins are washed away in baptism.

§ 109. *Baptism of Children.* New born children can not have faith or know the word ; nor does the sacrament of itself produce faith. Yet the old Protestant theology held, that faith was actually present (Luke i. 15, is not to be urged). Faith and the word are pre-supposed in baptism : Matth. xxviii. 19 ; Mark xvi. 15. The birth of every child in the Christian church implies a direction of divine grace, that the family and the church must train it up under the constant influence of Christ and his salvation : Matth. xix. 13–15 (these were not new-born children : nor did Christ call them to baptize them).

The Scriptural proof of the necessity of infant baptism is insufficient : Matth. xix. 13–15 ; Luke xviii. 6 ; Mark x. 14, 15 ; John iii. 5 (these passages do not relate to baptism) ; Matth. xxviii. 19. Nor can it be shown that the apostles baptized infants : 1 Cor. vii. 14 (the “holy” does not imply baptism, otherwise the argument of the apostle would be futile) : the way in

which they speak of baptism (see previous sections) and the testimony of early church history, put it almost beyond doubt that infant baptism was not practiced in the apostolic church. And yet the church introduced infant baptism from the best of motives, that it might receive the children born in its bosom from the very first into the covenant of redemption. Thereby the church became the church of the people (Volkskirche), and can remain so only by continuing to practice it. The faith signified in baptism may spring up later, and be based on it; for the difference of time is not essential. In fact baptism then needs as its complements, education and confirmation; in confirmation, the subject adds his own personal faith or confession, and so enters into full covenant with God.

§ 110. *The Lord's Supper.* This is the sacrament for the nurture and growth of the new life, by means of a peculiar, internal reception of Christ. The words of the institution (Matth. xxvi. 26, 59; Luke xxii. 19, 59; 1 Cor. ii. 23) taken literally might lead to the idea that the body and blood of Christ are actually imparted; but the expressions in Luke and 1 Cor. rather imply a symbolical transaction; as it is also incredible that Christ should have offered at the institution, his literal body to be eaten. The passage 1 Cor. ii. 23 is irreconcilable only with a tropical interpretation. John vi. 51–58, does not refer to the Lord's Supper; yet it may aid in understanding its nature what Christ imparts to believers is a real participation in his human nature penetrated by the Logos; and on this depend the possession of eternal life, and a part in the resurrection; this takes place only where faith is active: John vi. 35, 40, 47, 52, 54; the unbelieving partake to their own condemnation: 1 Cor. xi. 27. Of this real self-impartment of Christ (which is the mystery of the Lord's Supper), the Scriptures testify in many ways, especially in John xv. 1–6; xvii. 23; Gal. ii. 20. Christ obtained the power to do this by his sacrificial death: John xii. 14. The institution of the Lord's Supper is to be viewed thus: its circumstances and words, and its symbolical character, have distinct reference to the death of Christ as Redeemer, and to the new covenant thereby made between God and man: 1 Cor. xi. 26; Christ is really present and imparted. Since all believers here receive the same nourishment, the Lord's Supper is the highest and most sacred bond of Christian fellowship: 1 Cor. x. 17. A reference in the institution to Exod. xxiv. 6–8. The Roman Catholics teach transubstantiation. The Lutherans say, that the sign and thing signified are inseparably united—in, cum, et sub pane, accipitur corpus Christi. Calvin denies this.

union and says—*cum pane accipitur corpus Christi*. The former says, that the unbelieving receive the matter of the sacrament, which the later denies, saying that faith is the only organ for receiving this heavenly gift.

SECOND HEAD OF DOCTRINE.

THE COMPLETED APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION: ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 111. *Introduction*. The completion of redemption is not something absolutely new and strange, but rather the unfolding of what has already begun; the Scripture says that the specific benefit to be bestowed, life in the pregnant sense, or eternal life, is already imparted in this life: John iii. 36; v. 24. The Scriptural eschatology is pervaded by a marked realistic character, in relation to the body, the resurrection, etc., in striking contrast with the abstract and tenuous notions of modern speculation. All is concentrated upon the relation to God in Christ. And yet, from the nature of the case, the representations are chiefly analogical and symbolical.—*Division*: 1. The State of the individual immediately after death: 2. The point of transition, when the internal and external completely correspond: 3. The eternal life of believers in the kingdom of glory.

ART. I.—THE STATE OF THE REDEEMED IMMEDIATELY AFTER DEATH.

§ 112. *The Immortality of Man*. The abstract idea of immortality is different from the biblical idea of eternal life; for the latter includes fellowship with God. But all men are immortal, by virtue of their being, not merely soul (*psyche*), but spirit; personal beings, made in the divine image (See § 39, 40). Each man is thus an end to himself, and not merely one of a race. General belief in immortality (Indians, Egyptians, Greeks, Etruscans). It was known in the Old Testament; though its full contents are revealed only in the New: Gen. ii. 3; Job xix. 25–27; Enoch and Elijah; Ezek. xxxvii.; Isaiah xxvi. 19; Daniel xii. Philosophical proofs from immateriality, and the kosmic law of change and not annihilation.

§ 113. *The Intermediate State between Death and the Resurrection*. The completion of the life of the redeemed comes only with the resurrection, since this completion requires a spiritual body (1 Cor. xv. 44) which is given at the resurrection; till then they await the full redemption: Rom. viii. 23. And yet death can not interrupt the fellowship with Christ: John viii. 57; x. 28, 29; xi. 25, 26; 1 Thess. v. 10; Rom. viii.

38, 39 ; in this sense there is no death for believers : John vi. 50 ; viii. 51 ; xi. 25, 26. Paul and Christ both testify that the state of the redeemed immediately after death is higher than that of the present life : Luke xxiii. 43 : John xiv. 2 ; 2 Cor. v. 8 ; Phil. i. 21-23. The idea of a sleep of souls is not found in 1 Thess. v. 10, for the sleep here spoken of is a life in Christ. The idea of *hades*, as a place of restricted existence after death, as held by many nations, and implied in the Old Testament, is confirmed in the New Testament (Luke xvi. 23 ; 1 Cor. xv. 55 ; Acts ii. 31 ; Rev. xii. 14, 15) ; yet with the difference implied in the above passages with respect to all believers, for they are freed, by faith in Christ, from this state of bondage, which belongs only to the natural life : Luke xvi. 23 ; 1 Cor. xv. 55 ; 1 Pet. iii. 19. This state seems to be provisional, in that the soul there exists without a body ; 2 Cor. v. 3. But yet it may have some finer organ of self-manifestation hidden in this life ; and this idea is not excluded by 2 Cor. v. 3. But yet the bodily side of its existence attains full reality only when all that is internal becomes externalized, and all that is hidden is revealed, that is, in the resurrection : Col. iii. 3, 4. What Christ says to the dying thief about Paradise (Luke xxiii. 43) is not to be understood of a locality ; it is the promise of a blessed state.

ART II.—THE CLOSE OF THE PRESENT PERIOD OF THE WORLD AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW.

§ 114. *The Return of Christ and the End of the World.* The first coming of Christ in one aspect, that of its internal dignity, immeasurably surpassed the Messianic hopes and prophecies ; in another aspect they were not wholly fulfilled : Acts iii. 21 ; 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26 (refers to the judgment and not to the *apokatastasis*) : Rom. viii. 24. The work of redemption embraces the external, as well as the internal, side of our life, and it is only completed as we are delivered from the state of pain and change, and raised to a state of glory : 2 Cor. iv. 7, 16 ; xv. 25, 26 ; 2 Cor. iv. 7. This transfiguration is the hope of the church (Rom. viii. 23), and it will be fulfilled when its king is revealed in his glory : Col. iii. 4 ; 1 Cor. xv. 48, 49 ; 2 Thess. i. 10 ; 1 Pet. iv. 13. This revelation will be at the end of the world, prepared for by great changes in nature and history, and also by the rising up of the principle of evil to higher degrees of hostility : Matth. xxiv. 29, 30 ; 2 Thess. ii. 3-12 ; 2 Tim. iii. 1-5. The time is not disclosed : Matth. xxiv. 36 ; 1 Thess. iv. 15-17 ; v. 12 ; 1 Cor. xv. 52 ; 1 Pet. iv. 7. The end of the world (*αἰών*) is the end of the present

time-world; but there is connected with it a renewal of the present form and order of the world (Matth. xix. 28), and a glorification of creation, so that it may be a fitting abode of the glorified children of God: Rom. viii. 21; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1; Matth. xiii. 49; xix. 28; xxiv. 3. In the prophecies of the Old and even of the New Testament, the times are not distinguished: Matth. xxiv; Mark xiii; Luke xxi.

§ 115. *The Resurrection of the Dead.* The whole of human nature is to be redeemed and glorified. This is so essential, that the New Testament represents regeneration as a pledge of, and preparation for the resurrection: Rom. viii. 10, 11; 1 Cor. vi. 13, 14; John vi. 54. This resurrection is general, both of the evil and the good: Matth. x. 28; John v. 29; Acts xxiv. 15: yet in the New Testament the redeemed are chiefly referred to in the descriptions: John v. 29, comp. Dan. xii. 2. Christ himself effects the resurrection of believers: 1 Cor. vi. 14; xv. 12; Rev. ii. 17. The glorified body is wholly ensouled by the Spirit of God: Rom. viii. 11; in it the full idea of the body is realized, as completely expressing what is in the spirit. This body in its essence is identical with the present body, the latter is the veiled germ of the former, the former is the glorious development of the latter: 1 Cor. xv. 37, 42, 46. That in the present body which is so unchangeable and glorified is not its material particles, the flesh (*σάρξ*), for this belongs only to the present world: 1 Cor. xv. 47; Gen. ii. 7; iii. 19; Job x. 9. Flesh and blood have no part in the kingdom of God: 1 Cor. xv. 50. The fundamental *form* or principle of our bodily organism, its immutable essence (which here appropriates earthly materials) shall in the resurrection appropriate higher and unchangeable materials, and be developed into a beauty and glory of which we have now no conception: Matth. xiii. 43; xvii. 2; Luke xx. 36; 2 Cor. iii. 18.—Believers living in the world at the time of the resurrection will pass to the glorified state without undergoing death: 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Cor. v. 4.—The bodies of the wicked will correspond, like those of the righteous, to their internal state and character.

§ 116. *The Last Judgment.* The completion of the Christian life, the manifestation of the kingdom of God in its glory and untroubled bliss, requires as an essential condition entire separation of its members from the godless: Matth. xiii. 24–30, 40–42; xv. 32. The divine justice must connect punishment with sin. Internally this is found in remorse, spiritual blindness, and the stings of passion; but the external lot must also correspond with the internal state: Rom. ii. 7, 8. With the

general resurrection, the last judgment is associated, as an act of the glorified Son of Man : Matth. xvi. 27 ; xxv. 31 ; John v. 22, 29. The decision of the destiny of each individual is determined by the real worth of his life and deeds : 1 Cor. iv. 5 ; 1 Tim. v. 5, 10, 24, 25 ; Luke xii. 48. Mere external professions of faith can not save ; Matth. vii. 21-23 ; xxv. 41-46. True believers do not come into judgment : the last day only reveals their real character, and their different degrees of faithfulness : John iii. 12 ; v. 24 ; Col. iii. 4 ; Matth. xxv. 34 ; Luke xix. 16-19 ; 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42. The essential points in the last judgment are (1) the idea of retribution : (2) the separation of the pious from the godless.

§ 117. *The Hypothesis of a Restitution of all Things.* That this can take place between death and the end of the world (Scleiermacher) contradicts the Bible, since then there would no longer be any occasion for the separation made by the last judgment. Hence it has no support in Acts iii. 21, and 1 Cor. xv. 22-28, for both these passages relate to the coming of Christ to judgment. (From Acts iii. 21, the phrase, restoration—*apokatastasis*—is derived.) Comp. Phil. ii. 10, 11 ; which also proves nothing, for the *ἵνα* strictly expresses only the divine will in general, and not its execution.—Restricting the view to the human race, it might seem favored by Rom. v. 18, 19, and xi. 32 ; but these passages strictly declare only the power and tendency of the work of redemption, without annulling the condition that lies in human freedom. Comp. on the other hand, Mark ix. 44 ; Matth. xii. 32.—The arguments urged on grounds of reason are insufficient : 1. A finite will can not eternally resist God ; but with the possibility of resistance is conceded that of everlasting resistance. 2. An eternal conflict gives no complete and harmonious system of things ; but the disturbance of the harmony is annulled by punishment. 3. The love of God : but we can not infer from this what would annul the freedom of the creature. 4. The redeemed desire the salvation of all dear to them : but shall man be more merciful than God ? Here, too, man will praise the divine love. These arguments all rest on inadequate views of man's freedom, or of the evil of sin.

ART. III. ETERNAL BLESSEDNESS IN THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

§ 118. This blessedness in its inmost essence consists in the vision of God : 1 Cor. xiii. 12 ; 2 Cor. v. 7 ; Matth. v. 8 ; 1 John iii. 2. This vision is entirely different from our present mode of knowledge : the nature of God will then be as

clearly revealed to the spirit, as here the external objects are revealed to the senses. This fellowship with God includes the fellowship with the God-man: and the life of the blessed will also be a fullness of relations with all that is finite and created, and the most intimate communion with those who belong to the kingdom of God. With the resurrection of man there is also to be a corresponding renewal of the visible world: Rom. viii. 19-22; 2 Pet. iii. 10-13; Rev. xxi.

ART. IV.—THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE WORLD'S PROGRESS IN SCIENCE, CIVILIZATION, AND THE ARTS.

By **REV. ALBERT BARNES**, Philadelphia.

It is assumed, of necessity, by Christianity, that it has truths to disclose of great importance to mankind which the race at the time when it was revealed, had been unable to discover. 1 Cor. i. 21. Man had, indeed, made great progress in science, in civilization, and in art. The best talent of the world had been employed in investigating the works of nature, and in inquiring into the relations of man to the Creator, and to another state of being. When Paul stood on Mars' Hill, he was, in respect to all that contributes to human comfort, and that marks the progress of the race, almost in a different world from what one would have been in the rude age of Tubal Cain, Jabal, and Jubal. A period of four thousand years had elapsed since the creation, and all that man had accumulated on the subject of religion and philosophy, had culminated in Greece. The experiment, continued for so long a time, and under such circumstances, whether man could find out the knowledge of God, and a way of salvation, might be regarded as having been fairly made. If it were submitted to man himself to designate a sufficient time to make such an experiment, he himself would admit that four thousand years must be regarded as ample for the trial; if it were submitted to him to select the circumstances under which the trial would be best made, he could hardly imagine that that trial could have been better made than in Greece. Yet, after the experiment had been thus made, the gospel claimed to have truths indispensable to mankind, far in advance of all that man had been able to discover, and which it was now assumed could not be discovered by the

unaided human mind in the investigations of science, in the progress of civilization, and in the discoveries in the arts. The fact that it had such truths, and that it answered questions which had been propounded by Greek philosophers for which no solution had been found, will not be disputed even by those who endeavor to explain the gospel on some other supposition than that it is a revelation from heaven. It is claimed to be a fact by all who believe that Christianity is a revelation from God ; it is shown to be a fact by the progress which the race has made *under* that new system as compared with its progress under the influence of the Grecian philosophy.

Eighteen hundred years have since passed away, and during that period the race, in science, civilization, and the arts, has made advances far more rapid than in any eighteen centuries before, or than in all those four thousand years. The world is, in most important respects, a different world from what it was in the days of Pericles and Plato. The telescope has extended its boundaries indefinitely in one direction, and the microscope in the other. Science is a different thing now from what it was then ; civilization is different ; art is different. Our houses are different ; our domestic arrangements are different ; our means of passing from place to place, by land or sea, are different ; our knowledge of distant lands and oceans is different ; our means of recording, transmitting, and perpetuating truth, are different ; our knowledge of the substances which compose our world, is different ; our views of war are different ; our means of cultivating the fields, and of conducting the operations of commerce, are different. Except in architecture and sculpture, there is nothing in which the world is not now immeasurably in advance of what it was in the best days of Greece. A Greek of the age of Pericles would be lost now in the arrangements of civilization around him, not less than one of the age of Tubal Cain would have been if translated suddenly to Athens. We use no Greek ploughs in our fields ; no Greek chariots in our journeys ; no Greek implements in preparing our food, in writing our books, in transmitting intelligence from place to place ; no Greek weapons of war, no Greek ships in battle. We make no use in our schools of their Treatises on Natural History, Astronomy, Medicine, or even mental philosophy ; nor do we copy their style of domestic architecture, or refer to them for instruction in the mechanic arts. *We* are in a different world from that in which the ancient Greek was, and it might be interesting to speculate how long it would take Pericles or Plato to learn to act, and move, and speak, and *live* in our age.

It is a fair question whether, admitting that Christianity was in advance of the world at the time when it was communicated to men, it still holds the same relative position. Is it still ahead of the world? Is it abreast of it? Or has it fallen in the rear? Has it been superceded by the discoveries which men have made in science; by the progress of civilization; by the advances in the arts? Has the world reached a point in its progress in which it can "get along" without the gospel? Have the powers of the human mind been so developed during the eighteen hundred years that man can now successfully grapple with questions which were too profound for even the cultivated mind of Greece; and have the secrets of nature been so explored that the knowledge which she has to impart to man, and which eluded the inquirers in the Academy, the Porch, or the Lyceum can now be found in the laboratory or the observatory; in the study of the German, the French, or the English philosopher? Or, to put the question in a form more favorable to Christianity, and in a form in which its friends would demand that it should be put, Has Christianity itself been an important element in the progress which the race has made, and are the institutions of the present time—the forms of civilization, the advances in the arts, and the comforts of life, to be traced so far to Christianity that it may claim that it has been among the direct causes in effecting these changes? If it be assumed or conceded that *this* is so, then, also, it may be fairly asked whether it has not done its work, and may not now be dispensed with in the further progress of the race; and whether it is not now to take its place with the systems adapted to a ruder age, which passed away when the results had become incorporated in permanent human institutions, or when they had been superceded by better systems?

These questions could be suggested with reference to some forms of scepticism, different from those of ancient times, and which are likely to be the forms of unbelief in the coming age. They are not questions which would have occurred in the times of Celsus or Porphyry; they are not the questions which Hobbes, and Shaftsbury, and Bolingbroke would have asked, but they are questions which are likely to lie at the foundation of such views of Christianity as are taken by Strauss and Renan, or such as find their exposition in the pages of the Westminster Review.

There is another question, however, as suggested by these remarks, which may be asked from a Christian point of view. Assuming, as the Christian must, that Christianity was ahead of the world at the time when the revelation was made, and

that in its doctrines it still holds the same relative position, it is a fair question whether, in respect to its means of perpetuity and propagation, it still maintains the same relative position, or whether the apostles had advantages in this respect which the church has not now, or which could not be employed with success in the present condition of the world. All history has united in the record of a very rapid diffusion of the gospel in the times of the apostles ; it has referred to the means which were employed, and which were then successful ; it has delivered such an unmistakable testimony on the subject that it required all the powers of Gibbon to furnish a philosophical explanation of the fact on the supposition that the gospel is an imposture. But is it true that the church in this age, in view of the present stage of the world in civilization, in science, and the arts, can engage in the work of propagating the system under circumstances as favorable to success as were those which existed in the times of the apostles ?

These, indeed, are not the same questions, but they are in the same line, and are alike suggested by the relation of Christianity to the present age. It may be difficult to furnish an answer to both in the same argument, but perhaps the considerations suggested in relation to the one will involve all that is demanded in the other.

The points necessary to be considered in order to a proper elucidation of the subject are, the fact that Christianity, from the nature of the case, is a fixed and unchangeable system, or that it makes no progress from age to age ; the fact that while Christianity is thus fixed and stationary, the world makes progress in science, civilization, and the arts ; the fact that, in the circumstances of the case, they unavoidably come into collision with each other ; and the inquiry on what subjects they are likely to come into collision now as compared with former ages, or, the present relation of the one to the other.

The first point is, that Christianity, from the nature of the case, is fixed and unchanging. It makes no progress in the disclosure of doctrines to be believed ; it was perfect as a system of redemption when the Redeemer died, rose, and ascended to heaven ; as a system to be explained and understood, it was complete when the volume of revealed truth was finished on Patmos. No new facts were to be added to the record ; no new doctrines were to be revealed ; no changes were to be made to adjust it to a future condition of the world ; nor were the doctrines to be modified to adapt them to new prevailing views of science or philosophy. The system for all time is to

be found in the volume of the New Testament ; and the system, when the last record was made there, was precisely what it will be in the last and most cultivated periods of the world. The work was ended when that volume was completed, for man had all that he ever would have as constituting the record of Christianity. No new books were to be added ; no new prophets were to be sent ; no additional work was to be done to supplement the atonement. Whatever consequences may follow from this position, the defender of Christianity is bound to maintain it, and in the utmost strictness of the expression, the enemy of Christianity may hold him to it.

It is not necessary to argue this point, for its truth springs out of the very nature of the system. It is, moreover, fairly implied in the New Testament itself. The writer of this article believes that the Book of Revelation was the last of the books of the New Testament that was written, and that it occupies its appropriate place as the closing book in the revelation of God to mankind, and although the solemn passage with which that book closes undoubtedly had immediate reference to that book itself, yet, with the view above stated in regard to the proper place of this book in the entire volume of revealed truth, it is not improper to regard it as applicable to the whole volume :—"I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book : and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

If this is a true position, it follows that the defender of the Christian system can not, as in other systems, avail himself of the progress which the world makes, to relieve himself of difficulty, and to adjust the system to new discoveries and inventions. A system of astronomy, of chemistry, or of anatomy, may be adjusted from age to age. Erroneous views long entertained in regard to the circulation of the blood, or the movements of the heavenly bodies, or the elementary substances of nature, may be detached from the system, and the new views made to occupy their place, though it may require that long-cherished and honored systems shall be abandoned, and names long-cherished with reverence shall cease to be among those which influence mankind. Such has been in fact the progress of the sciences, nor is there any one of the sciences that can now be regarded as so fixed that it may not be modified or revolutionized by new discoveries. If a fact is discovered that is at variance entirely with a prevailing theory

of astronomy, anatomy, or chemistry, it is not fatal to the science itself. The system may be at once adjusted to the new fact, and the change constitute an epoch in the advance of the science. Not so, however, in regard to the Bible, and to the Christian system. If the world in its progress discloses facts that are irreconcilable with the Bible on just principles of interpretation, it is fatal to its claims as a revelation from God. We can not go back, as in the case of astronomy, and *adjust* the historical or doctrinal statement in the Bible to the new discoveries.

It follows from these views, (1) That the proper work of man in regard to Christianity is to ascertain, by a fair interpretation of language, what the system *is*; not to determine what it *should* be. The work of the Christian theologian is to sit down to the New Testament simply as an interpreter of language, as the learner in science sits down to the study of the works of nature to learn what nature *is*; not to determine what it should be; to explain a world, not to make a world. The principle suggested by Bacon in the first maxim of the *Novum Organon*,* is as applicable to Christianity as it is to nature, and lies as certainly at the foundation of all just views of theology as it does of all just views of science. By the proper study of language, according to the received laws of exegesis among men, the theologian is to ascertain what the system *is*, and having done that, his work is ended.

(2) It follows that the friend of revelation is not at liberty to modify the system; to accommodate it to prevailing theories in philosophy; or to adjust it to new facts as they shall develop themselves in the progress of human affairs. No power can change the system but that power which originated it; and the authority to modify it so as to adjust it to human belief, or to facts as they are developed in science, has not been entrusted to mortals. Truth is uncompromising and unaccommodating. It will not bend. It can not be made different at one time from what it is another. The proposition that in a right angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares on the two sides, is a truth not peculiar to one age or nation; not to be expressed in one language only; not to die away among obsolete maxims in the advancing periods of the world; and not to be modified or changed though truths of surpassing magnitude on other subjects are disclosed to human view. So the Christian theologian is

* Homo, naturæ minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum de naturæ ordine, re vel mente observaverit; nec amplius scit, aut potest.

bound to believe in regard to revealed truth ; so the unbelieving world may require of him, in regard to each and every portion of the revealed truth of God, that he shall hold it precisely as it was revealed.

There are, however, one or two remarks which may be made to show that this rule is not quite as rigid in its actual application as it seems to be. In another part of this article we may show that the rule is, in fact, as rigid and stern in respect to science as it is in respect to Christianity.

It is not to be assumed, then, by the Christian or the infidel, that we have, in fact, in our creeds, and in our interpretations of the Bible, *precisely* the system which was revealed. That we have the true *record* in the Bible unimpaired, we believe ; that we have the proper interpretation of that record, is not to be assumed as certain. Christianity has been transmitted to us from a far distant age. It has come in contact with all the philosophical systems of the world. Its outward form has been moulded much by philosophy ; much by its alliance with the State. The synods and councils which have determined the creeds of the church, have been, like other assemblies, composed of imperfect men :—often more under the influence of philosophy than religion, and more under the influence of ambition than either ; often ignorant of the plainest rules of exegesis ; and often seeking rather to establish a hierarchy, than to promote the kingdom of Christ. As a matter of fact we know that during that long period there is almost no absurdity of doctrine or interpretation which has not been embraced by the church ; almost no error which has not been sanctioned by synods and councils ; almost no truth the belief of which has not exposed him who held it to persecution from the church. Christianity has thus come down to us through a descent of eighteen centuries, collecting, in its progress, whatever of good or bad there might be that could in any way be made to adhere to it ; adopting as its own the opinions in mental philosophy, and the doctrines of science, true or false, which have prevailed in the world ; and uniting all in its symbols of faith—a vast and monstrous agglomerate of original sacred truth and of the errors and absurdities which the world has accumulated in the lapse of ages. It is a ship—not now just starting out of port, fresh and new, and clean, but one that has sailed afar, and that has collected whatever of barnacles and sea-weeds that could be made to adhere to it. Those barnacles, and that sea-weed, must be detached from it if the ship is to be made to traverse safely distant seas again.

A great part of the work of the church in modern times

has been to *detach* from it the errors and corruptions which it had accumulated in the long period of its history. This was, in fact, the main service which Luther rendered to the church, restoring it in a great measure to its pristine beauty and vigor. This is the service which has been rendered by modern sacred criticism ; this the work to be done by the efforts to restore the text of the Bible, and by the canons of interpretation in their application to the word of God.

Luther, indeed, performed a great work, for Christianity in the Protestant form was a different thing from what it had been as presented to the world for a thousand years. But we are not to *assume* that the work was wholly done by him, or that in the Westminster, the Helvetic, and the Savoy confessions, in the Thirty-nine Articles, or in the Heidelberg Catechism, we have Christianity *precisely* as its Author designed to communicate it to mankind. We are not to assume that all the received views in the church now are true views, and are in no manner to be modified. We are not to assume that the texts of Scripture which the Westminster Assembly affixed to the Larger and Shorter Catechisms are all properly applied, and are to be held as proof-texts now, or that the doctrines which they are designed to defend *are* in fact doctrines of the Scriptures at all. We are not to assume that the views held in the church in regard to the past history of our world, and the interpretations which, in defense of those views, the church has attached to certain statements of the Bible, are therefore correct. Nor are we to assume that, in the language of the Pastor of the church in Leyden, there are no more truths "to break forth out of God's holy word."

All this is matter of fair investigation still ; and when a new fact in science is discovered that seems to conflict with a statement in the Bible, or when an old record in Egypt or Nineveh is exhumed that *seems* to carry the history of the world back to a remoter period than that assigned by Usher, we are at perfect liberty to inquire whether the common interpretation of the Bible, though received for ages, is the correct interpretation ; whether, as in the case of astronomy in the time of Galileo, the church has not been mistaken in its views on the subject ; and whether the Bible, by the fair laws of exegesis, is capable of being reconciled with the new discovery in science, or with the new historical fact that has been disclosed to the world. If it can be, Christianity may avail itself of it ; if it can not be, it must be abandoned. This "play," therefore, if we may thus express ourselves, is open to the friends of Christianity, while the statement is held to be true in its most rigid form that, in

itself, it is a fixed and unchangable system, incapable of progress or change.

While Christianity is thus fixed and unchangeable, the world makes progress in science, civilization, and the arts. It is bound by no such rigid laws as those which pertain to an unchangeable system ; it holds no theory in philosophy, and no creed in regard to the sciences, which may not be modified, and adjusted to the highest advances which the race can make. As a matter of fact, the world makes progress. It drops erroneous systems by the way. It readily incorporates new facts into the system. The old Ptolemaic system, not without a struggle indeed, gives way to the Copernican system in astronomy, and in the new system there is no difficulty, without changing its character, in assigning its place to each new planet as it is discovered ; to any number of comets and asteroids ; to new systems of worlds lying beyond our own planetary system ; or to any number of nebulae, floating in the distant ether, not yet resolved into worlds. There is nothing therefore, like a fixed and unchangable system that seems to bind the race in its career. In science man seems to be free ; in religion a fettered slave.

While this statement, however, is made in regard to science, civilization, and the arts as progressive, it is important to understand precisely in what sense it is true, in order that we may appreciate the manner in which the one comes in collision with the other.

Science then, in itself, in the highest sense of that term, is as really as fixed and unchangeable as Christianity. The business of science is not to *create* ; it is to *discover*. The maxim of Lord Bacon, already referred to, represents man as merely "the minister and interpreter of nature." The student of nature does not create the truths in his department any more than the theologian does in his, nor is he any more at liberty to change or modify the facts in his department than the student of the Bible is in his. Moreover, each and all the sciences, using that word in the largest sense, save the science of history, were in themselves as perfect and complete at the beginning of the creation as they are now, and the struggles, the changes, the errors, the advances, the stoppages, the modifications recorded in Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences, are strictly parallel with the history of theological science ; with the toils of plodding theologians ; with the labors of synods and councils ; with the struggles, the changes, the errors, the advances, and the stoppages in the efforts to

form the system of Christian theology as it now exists in the world. A treatise on any one of the sciences, if correctly prepared at the beginning of the world, would be a correct treatise now, just as a creed that would have fairly represented Christianity when the volume of inspiration was finished, would be a correct creed now. There are no new truths; no new facts; no new principles that have been introduced in the one case any more than in the other. A correct treatise on astronomy, for example, written when "the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy," or when the Chaldeans looked out on the heavens and mapped the world above us with strange figures and forms, would be a correct treatise now. The worlds are the same; the laws of their great movements are the same; their magnitudes, distances, periods and revolutions are the same. Kepler did not create the great laws, the discovery of which has given immortality to his name; Galileo did not bring into existence the satellites of Jupiter; nor did Newton originate the principle of universal gravitation. So far as known, no new worlds have been added to the system; it is absolutely certain that no modifications have occurred in the laws by which it is governed. A treatise on anatomy in the time of Galen, if correct then, would be perfect now. There have been no changes in the structure of man that would demand a revision or a modification of the system. Not one new bone has been added to the human frame; not one new muscle, nerve, or tendon has been laid down; nor have any new channels been grooved out for the flow of the blood. Had Galen presented to the world a true theory in his time of the circulation of the blood, it would have been as correct now as is the theory of Harvey. A treatise on chemistry when, under the Caliphate at Bagdad, the followers of Mohammed were on the point of such great discoveries, would be a correct treatise now. No new substances have been added to the sixty or more of which the universe is composed; nor have there been any new laws in respect to the proportions in which they combine, and the chemical changes which occur in the air, the earth, and the waters. The treatises of Solomon when 'he spake of trees from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, and of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes' (1 Kings iv. 33), if they were correct treatises then, and stated the true laws that governed in his time in the vegetable and animal world, would be correct representations of that world now, and, if preserved, would have rendered useless all the toils of Linnæus, a Buffon, and Cuvier. The

electric fluid when it glittered and played on the mast of the ancient mariner, was the same that it is now, when, arrested and guided, it makes its way over hills and plains, or along the beds of oceans, lighting up the world with intelligence. In like manner a system of metallurgy when Tubal Cain became the "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron" (Gen. iv. 22), or of music in the time of Jabel, "the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ" (Gen. iv. 21), or of agriculture in the days of Jabel, "the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle" (Gen. iv. 20), would be a correct system in each department now. The instructions of the schools have added nothing to the principles on which the metals are spread over the earth, nor have they increased or diminished the quantity. Mozart and Handel have added nothing to the laws of the Octave; nor has Liebig introduced one new substance as entering into scientific agriculture, or modified one on which its success depends.

Yet, in the ordinary sense of the word *science*, the world does make progress, and in reference to science as *known*, and to theories which are regarded as just expositions of nature, it need not be said that the world is immeasurably in advance of what it was in the time when the gospel was revealed to mankind. All the old treatises on sciences have passed away. They are valuable only as marking the progress of the race, and as enabling us to compare the present with the past. No one feels bound to defend these ancient expositions of nature, as the Christian theologian feels bound to defend the ancient records of his faith; no one is charged with heresy in science if he discards the teachings of the ancients altogether. The friend of science is free. He is bound by no ancient exposition of nature; nor does he hesitate, on the discovery of a new fact in nature—in astronomy, in chemistry, in anatomy—to set aside at once all in the received systems that is inconsistent with that fact, and to set himself at work to *adjust* the system to the new revelation. He does not *create* the fact, and, therefore, he does not create the science: he modifies the system as received in accordance with that fact, and allows it to exert its full influence in forming the opinions of mankind in all time to come. He discovers; he does not make. Columbus discovered America, he did not create it, and the fact of its existence was the same before he discovered it as afterwards, and would have been the same if he had not lived. Adams and Le Verrier indicated the place of an unknown planet in the heavens. They did not create it. Its existence was the same before they made it known as afterwards; and

would have been the same if they had not suggested the fact of its existence to mankind. From the beginning of the creation that distant star had walked its rounds on perhaps the outer limit of our solar system, by whomsoever of God's creatures observed, yet unobserved by men. The laws of Kepler are the laws by which the universe has always been controlled. He discovered them; he did not create them. With some apparent irreverence he said that as God had waited for nearly six thousand years for him to disclose those laws to men, so *he* could afford to wait until the credit due to him for the discovery should be awarded to him by the world. Meanwhile when God was "waiting" for him to make the great disclosure, and whether the world would, or would not, award to him the glory of the discovery, these laws were acting on the system, and would have been the same if he had not come upon the stage to discover them, or if the world had refused to admit his claims.

Thus science advances. Not that it changes. Not that it has any new facts. Not that new matter is formed, or that new properties are given to the atoms that compose it, or that new continents or new planets are made that man may be glorified by their discovery, but that the original great laws and facts of science, in themselves as fixed and unchangeable as the truths of the Christian system when the New Testament was completed and brought to view, are arranged, explained, and properly located in the respective systems of each, displacing the errors of the past, and advancing to that state when, "man, the minister and interpreter of nature," shall have brought the systems of science, as far as the human powers will permit, into harmony with the system as it reposed eternally in the mind of the Creator.

Such being the facts in regard to the two systems, it was inevitable that they should come into collision, and that they should be liable, at any time, to cross each other. The nature of that collision must depend much on the false views which are, at any time, attached to the Christian system—as the sailing of our ship would be affected much by the barnacles and sea-weed attached to it, and on the views of philosophy and science that prevail at any one period of the world. The work of adjusting the two, therefore, must vary from age to age, as the nature of the warfare between the two must vary in different periods of the world. The battle, under a new form, may be to be re-fought in each successive generation. The triumph of Christianity at one time is, by no means, a permanent

triumph. or even in itself a proof of permanent triumph; and the apparent triumph. at any time, of infidelity is by no means a demonstration of permanent and ultimate victory. Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian act their part and disappear; Hobbes, Chubb, and Morgan follow. and then vanish from the stage; Volney, Gibbon, Hume. attack the system, and retire from the conflict; Strauss and Renan—Hegel and Comte, follow after. A host of scientific warriors rush on the stage for an attack on the fixed and unchangeable system, deriving their means of attack from a system that is in itself as fixed and unchanging as is claimed for Christianity itself. and the warfare assumes new forms, and is to be fought with new weapons. Whether these two systems. equally fixed and unchangeable, are *really* in conflict, or will be found ultimately to coincide and harmonize, is the question which is now before this age. It is too early to determine it with such certainty that the two parties shall agree. The Christian theologian believes assuredly that it will ultimately be so; the scientific sceptic is not less confident that the prospect of ultimate harmony, if it ever existed, has vanished forever.

For the purposes of this article, it is important to designate, in few words, the varying nature of this conflict. Historically, the conflict is divided into three periods: from the time when the gospel was first preached, to the age when it became permanently established in the world; the middle ages—the times when, amidst much darkness in science, and much error in religion, the human mind was struggling into light; and the present age.

In the first of these periods, the nature of the conflict was marked and definite, and the conflict is never to be renewed. The systems with which the gospel came into collision have passed away, and will not be revived.

That conflict was a conflict between Christianity and Judaism on the one hand, and Christianity and the Greek and Roman philosophy on the other.

In Judea, Christianity came in collision with religion alone. The Jews had no literature besides their sacred books; they had no science, no philosophy. Beyond what is in their sacred records they have contributed nothing of value to the progress of mankind, either in war or peace; and the collision, therefore, in Judea was wholly on the subject of religion. The views which were then regarded as antagonistic to Christianity, have ceased to influence the world beyond the small number that constitutes the remnant of the Hebrew people, and the conflicts which Christian apostles waged with Jewish Doctors have ceased forever.

In Greece, in Rome, the conflict was of a different nature. It was partly with religion ; partly with priestly power ; partly with the state ; partly with philosophy. It is only in the latter aspect that our subject requires us to notice it. It was, so far as this point is concerned, a conflict with " philosophy," not with science. The Greeks had little science ; the Romans less. It is not too much to say that, in respect to physical sciences, the most eminent of the Greek philosophers would not have been qualified for admission into the lowest class of any American college (Comp. Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences, vol. 1., B. I.) ; nor have they contributed anything that now enters into the instructions in our laboratories and schools. The conflict, therefore, in Greece, and the same was true substantially in Rome, was with an acute and subtle metaphysical philosophy. It was not on questions started in the laboratory or the observatory, but in the Academy and the Porch. In Judea it was substantially the question about the atonement ; in Greece it was the question about the elevation of the race. The Greek philosopher knew of but one way of reforming men, of meeting human ills, of obtaining the favor of God. It was by mental culture ; by development ; by conformity to a just standard of morals. Christianity proclaimed that men in this way could not find out God, but that the entire hope of the race for reformation, elevation, and salvation, was in the doctrine of Christ crucified. This was foolishness to the Greek. It was not on his line in reference to the means of elevating man, and he spurned and rejected it.

Those old controversies have passed away. All that there was in the philosophy of Greece that was opposed to Christianity, has ceased to influence mankind, and the philosophy will not be revived. Celsus and Porphyry have done their work, and done it well ; and except as they are exhumed to illustrate the history of the church, or are explored by some theological teacher who regards all wisdom as found among the fathers, the whole has gone into the " extinct controversies " of the past.

The second of these periods embraced the middle ages ; the times when, amidst much darkness in science, and much error in religion, the human mind was struggling into light. The history of this is a history of nearly all the persecutions under the Papacy. The peculiarity of this period, so far as there was a collision between Christianity, science, civilization, and the arts, was, that the church adopted certain interpretations of Scripture as infallible ; that it regarded the Bible as making statements on the structure of the universe, as well as

on the plan of salvation, which were equally to be received as a part of the creed of Christendom, and which were to be defended in the same manner as any other articles of the creed; that it claimed jurisdiction over all the subjects of knowledge, as it did over the wealth and power of newly-discovered kingdoms; and that to doubt the authority of the church on subjects of science, was a heresy of the same nature as to doubt the doctrine of the Trinity or the incarnation.

Each successive discovery in science, therefore, brought the church into contact with the world, and led to persecution. The collision was not with Christianity as such, but with Christianity as it was embodied in the prevailing interpretations of the Scriptures, and in the articles of a church claiming to be infallible. Thus in the case of Galileo. His offence in holding the doctrines of the Coperican system, was not against the Bible, for the Bible, properly interpreted, has revealed nothing on the subject, but was against the *interpretation* put on the Bible by the church. The church had adopted the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, and to call the truth of that in question was, in the judgment of the mass, an attack on the Bible itself. Through this long and gloomy tract of ages, science struggled in dark and obscure places, restrained and intimidated by the fears of a collision with the church, as freedom struggled everywhere, restrained and awed by the fears of the Papal power. The one was held in check as really as the other. Here and there a solitary individual, like Roger Bacon, pursued his studies alone. Each new discovery involved the dangers of a conflict with the church; each advance made was imperiled by the apprehension of infringing on some article of faith. Nature was explored with the apprehension of a revelation there that would be in conflict with the infallible revelation as interpreted by the church, and each new discovery was made by *stealth*, and with the fear of the rack or the stake before the eyes. Science emerged into light and freedom only when those shackles were burst asunder, and when men acted on the idea that science was to be pursued in an independent manner, and that the observation of the stars, and the examination of the component elements of nature, were not to be restrained by any interpretations which had been affixed to the Bible.

The world was slow to learn this. In fact, the lesson is not yet wholly learned. The investigations of modern astronomy, as in the time of Galileo, have been pursued in the face of a prevailing belief that these disclosures are against the teachings of Revelation; all the investigations of geology have

been made, on the one hand, by a hope that the results would be found to be in conflict with the Bible, and, on the other by an apprehension that disclosures would be made that could not be reconciled with the statement in Genesis. Geology and astronomy have achieved their triumphs only by setting aside interpretations of the Bible which have been received in the church for ages, and the inquiries which are now pursued in regard to the work of creation, the antiquity of man upon the earth, and the origin of the races, are pursued, on the one hand with the hope, and on the other with the fear, that the result will be found to conflict with the teachings of the Bible. It has been, and is, a slow work for man to learn that his *interpretation* of the Bible is not necessarily the teaching of the Bible ; that to detach a false interpretation from the word of God is not necessarily an assault on the Bible itself.

We have fallen on other times. A new era is opened upon the world, and Christianity and the world now come into collision in a form wholly different from the collision in the times of the apostles, and in the middle ages. The defender of Christianity has a different work to do from what he had in the time of Porphyry and Celsus ; in the time of Morgan and Chubb ; in the time of Volney, Gibbon, Hume. To the church at large ; to the Christian ministry ; and especially to those who are preparing for the work of the ministry, nothing can be of greater importance than to understand the nature of the conflict which is to be before the church in the next age.

A few remarks here seem necessary to place this part of the subject in a proper light :

1. It is, as before intimated, always a fair question, when there is an apparent collision between the Bible and science, whether the collision is, in fact, between the scientific truth, and the *Bible*, or between that truth and the prevailing and received *interpretation* of the Bible. The one is to be by no means assumed as synonymous with the other. To the utmost extent which the proper laws of interpreting language will allow, the friend of Christianity is to be permitted to apply those laws to determine whether the received interpretation of the Bible is the necessary, and the fair one. The Bible is, indeed, not to be made a "nose of wax ;" but it is equally true that the infidel is not to *assume* that the interpretation which *he* puts on the Bible is the true one, or that *any* interpretation found in creeds, or in treatises of theology, is necessarily the correct one. The whole question about the correctness of the text ; about the agreement of manuscripts ; about the changed use of words ; about the meaning of language as

modified in any particular country, among any particular people, or at any particular time, is a fair and open question—a question of simple interpretation, as it is in inquiring respecting the meaning of Homer or Herodotus. To the utmost extent to which the fair canons of criticism are applicable to any ancient book, the friend of the Bible may avail himself of those canons to *detach* a false interpretation from the word of God—to remove another barnacle from the ship that has in long voyages vexed many seas. Even if, which is almost demonstrably impossible, the followers of Lepsius, Gliddon, Nott, and Bunsen, could establish the fact that the human race has been upon the earth for a period of twenty thousand years, it would still be an open question whether the Bible, by fair interpretation, teaches the contrary, and whether the common interpretation of the church, though received for ages, *may* not have been founded on erroneous *data* in determining what the Bible teaches on the subject:—or whether it teaches anything. There is, indeed, a limit to this; but it is a limit to be determined in the case of the Bible, as in the case of any other ancient book, by a proper application of the rules of exegesis.

2. The warfare in our time between Christianity and the world in respect to science, civilization, and the arts, has changed. The old modes of attacking the Bible have been abandoned; and the old modes of defending it, are, therefore, to be abandoned. On all matters pertaining to the progress of our race, there are many 'extinct controversies'—old volcanoes that have been burned out, leaving nothing but scoriæ and ashes—and on no subject is this more true than on the subject of theology. Around those extinct volcanoes we wander now, safe, but with nothing to relieve the desolation. The time was when all was commotion there. The mountains heaved; the flames belched forth; the sky was lurid; rivers of burning lava flowed in every direction. All was consumed. Nor city, nor hamlet, nor tree, nor shrub, nor flower, nor spire of grass, was spared; and perhaps no living thing will now ever grow on the fatal spot. So with many of the old controversies in philosophy; in science; in religion. What could better resemble the scoriæ of such an ancient volcano than the huge tomes of the schoolmen; what could more resemble such a volcano in action, than the heat, and fire, and zeal of Thomas Aquinas, and John Duns Scotus? What shrub, tree, flower, or living thing can be culled from those blackened remains?

It is a material point thus gained when one is girding on the armor to fight the battles of his own age, to know exactly

where he starts, and what is precisely the nature of the warfare which he is to wage. It is much to know what is settled, and what is open still. The soldier now would spend his time to very little purpose who should furbish some piece of old rusty armor ; who should see that his helmet, and his shield, and his greaves, and his spear, were in good order ; or who should, as in other days, encase his horse in armor, and move into battle reflecting around him the rays of the sun. Those old suits of armor for horses and men do well in ancient Baronial halls, for we expect to find them there.

There are certain battles in regard to Christianity in its collision with the world which have been well-fought, and which are not to be renewed in our time, or ever-onward. Porphyry, in his day, had his field ; Celsus his ; Julian his. In neither case was it science, or sacred criticism. It was the ancient philosophy as then held, coming into contact with a new religion—Christianity. Those men did their work well. They did all that acute philosophers, sustained, in the case of Julian, by the might of imperial power, could do, to prevent the spread of the new system. That battle is not to be fought over again. The philosophy which they held, like the men themselves, has long since passed away, to be revived on earth no more. Volney had his field ; and did his work well. Seated amidst the “ Ruins ” of ages, and surveying the empires and systems that had passed away, he inferred that, in the course of events, there must be a succession of “ Ruins ” to the end of time, and that the existing empires, and systems of philosophy—Christianity among the number—would be added to the Ruins of the past, and be numbered among extinct systems. No one could do his work better than he has done ; and that attempt will not be made again. Paine had his field ; and he did his work well. With talents eminently useful when employed in vindicating the “ Rights of Man ; ”* with a power of language almost without a parallel ; with an acquaintance with the *Billingsgate* of the English tongue equalled by few and surpassed by none, he undertook to drive the Bible from the world by ribaldry and abuse. That battle has been fought. Whoever attempts hereafter to attack Christianity in that manner, will find that the work has been already better done than he can do it himself, and that the great point has been settled forever that religion is not to be driven from the world by scorn, ribaldry, and vulgarity. Voltaire had his field ; satire, learning, poetry, philosophy. He did his work well. Who

* Chief Justice Marshall. Life of Washington.

is to surpass him? Who is to equal him? Who shall hope to succeed in destroying Christianity by such means if the great Frenchman failed? What remains in that line but to reproduce his criticisms, to republish his philosophy, to repeat his sarcasms? Who can do that better than he has done himself? Hume had his field; and he has done his work well. By most subtle sophistry; by great calmness; by a spirit of apparent candor; by perplexing and involving a subject so as, even to this day, to exercise the ingenuity of the world to show *where* he was wrong, when the great body of men felt that he *was* wrong, he attempted to show that a miracle could not be believed to be true. Where Thomas Brown and Dugald Stewart have exhausted their powers to detect the sophistry, leaving it doubtful whether it has been detected, and where many a theologian has attempted to show that it *was* sophistry, and yet left the impression of Mr. Hume's argument more deeply imbedded in the mind than it was before, it can not be supposed that *that* argument will be presented in a more embarrassing form, or that as a metaphysical argument against miracles it is to gain any new strength in coming ages. Gibbon had his field, and well has he worked it. His province was history, and his investigations led him as a *skeptic*, as he probably intended they should, over the entire period when Christianity, from the feeblest beginning, made its way over the Roman world, and "sat down on the throne of the Cæsars:" when during the long and eventful ages of the Decline of the Empire, Christianity was seen moulding society, directing wars, founding empires, modifying opinions, changing the arts of life, introducing revolutions into laws, manners, dress, dwellings, schools; when it controlled the government and influenced the people; when it founded monasteries and colleges; when it poured its embattled legions on the Holy Land. It was no part of the work or the aim of Gibbon to falsify history even for the defence of skepticism. It was not his to state as a fact what had never occurred. We believe that as a historian he was, in this respect, among the most faithful of men. We do not believe that his skepticism, bitter as it was, ever led him, in a single instance, to pervert or falsify a *fact*, however much it might be opposed to his own views on the subject of religion, or however much ingenuity it might require to escape from the legitimate *consequences* of the fact. By unwearied study; by great learning; by an unrivaled command of language; by patient toil; by a comprehensive grasp of his great subject, he has placed himself at the head of historians, and from the time of Thucydides down

there has not been a man more upright, stern, honest, unbending, engaged in recording the facts of history. Yet faithful as to his facts, he traversed the entire field with a *sneer* on his countenance, and with a purpose to make the *facts* as they existed do all that they could be made to do to destroy confidence in the divine origin of the Christian religion. No one hereafter, if he attempts the work at all, will do it so well; and in *that* method of destroying faith in the Christian religion, no more remains to be accomplished.

These controversies have passed away, and these methods of attempting to destroy Christianity are fast ceasing to exert an influence on mankind. The collision now between Christianity and the world is substantially a new form of collision; the attack is from a new quarter, and with new weapons; the controversy is a more fearful one; the questions involved are deeper than those with which the church has heretofore grappled; the results of the conflict, so far as we can see, are to be final.

The points on which Christianity is now coming into collision with the world in its present stage of progress, civilization, and the arts, are principally the following :

I. The inspiration of the Bible; the question whether a "book revelation" is possible, and whether, if possible, the Bible is such a revelation, and is infallible.

II. The antiquity of the human race—the question whether, according to the commonly received teachings of the Scriptures, man has been upon the earth for a period of about six thousand years, or whether his history stretches back for a period of ten or twenty thousand years.

III. The origin of the race—whether the different types of men upon the earth have had a common origin, and have been derived from a single pair, or whether, as is maintained in regard to the inferior animals, men have sprung up in different centres, either as developed from inferior orders of beings, or from independent created "heads" of the different races upon the earth—the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Ethiopian, the American; in other words, whether the varieties in the human family can be reconciled with the undoubted doctrine of the Bible that the whole human family is descended from a single pair.

IV. The whole question of miracles—whether miracles are possible; whether a record of a miracle could be believed; or whether the laws of nature are so fixed and unchanging that there never has been, and never can be, sufficient evidence of the direct interposition of divine power to justify the belief that they have been ever set aside.

The importance of these inquiries and their bearing well understood by the enemies of Christianity, on revealed religion, will be readily perceived.

For the first of them—the inspiration of the Bible. It is clear that the whole question about a revelation at all, and about Christianity in particular, depends on this. Nothing can be plainer than that the Bible *claims* to be a supernatural revelation from God; that its teachings are above human teachings; that the real author of the Book is the Holy Ghost speaking through inspired men; and that its teachings constitute an infallible guide for man. Deny this; deny that it is inspired in any other sense than as Homer, or Ossian, or Shakspeare were inspired, and it is clear that the book at once loses its authority, and the system which it contains is placed on the same level as the system in the Koran, the Zendavesta, or the Shasters.

For the second of these—the antiquity of man upon the earth—it is plain, also, that the question *may* assume such a form as to involve the whole question of revealed religion. As before intimated, it may be a fair question whether the Scripture record extends back precisely to the period of six thousand years, or whether *if* it were demonstrated that man had been upon the earth ten or even twenty thousand years, the proper interpretation of the Bible would be found to be consistent with such a fact; but, beyond all question, there *is* a limit, probably much within the twenty thousand years of man's residence upon the earth, according to the Bible. The Bible *is* a history; a history of man. It professes to go up to the beginning—the period of his first appearance upon the earth. It traces the origin of nations; records the dispersions of the race; accounts for the origin of languages. In that history of living beings—of man—there *can* be no such long periods of successive repose, of slow development, of destruction, of new creations, and of sweeping off entire races from the earth, as occur in the mere geological history of the world, when an interval, unexplained, of a thousand, or a million of years, is scarcely to be taken into the account. In other words, by no possible propriety, by no fair rules of interpretation, can the liberty be allowed in regard to the history of *man* which is conceded on all hands to the student of geology in reference to the transformations on and within the earth before man appeared on it. The earth itself, so far as the account in the Bible goes, *may* have existed any number of millions of ages; man, according to the Bible, is a recent visitant to this world, and the time is not remote in the past when he was formed by his Creator to occupy a world made ready for his abode.

For the third of these points—the question whether the human race is derived from a single pair—it is manifest that the whole question of the truth of revelation and of redemption turns on this. The Bible records the creation of a single pair, and no other. It gives the history of the world as derived from that single pair, and no other. It records the migrations and wanderings of the descendants of that one pair to all parts of the world, and of no others : Gen. x. It treats the race as one. It regards that one pair as the head of the entire race, and affirms that the disobedience of that one pair affected all the dwellers on the earth as one race—not the Caucasian race only, or the Mongolian, the African, or the American, but the entire race. “In Adam all die :” 1 Cor. xv. 22. “By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin :” Rom. v. 12. “By one man’s disobedience many—*οἱ πολλοί*—*the many*—were made sinners :” Rom. v. 19. These expressions comprehend the race ; and the entire doctrine of depravity and of death, according to the Bible, is identified with the fact that there was a single pair at the head of the entire race. The same is the Scripture doctrine in regard to redemption. The race, according to that plan, is one :—one in origin ; one in apostacy ; one in guilt ; one in death. The work of redemption is not Mongolian, or Caucasian, or Ethiopian, but it pertains to man as man. In redemption, as in the fall, there is one Head—the counterpart of the other, each acting for the race.” “As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive :” 1 Cor. xv. 22. “Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead :” 1 Cor. xv. 21. “As by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous :” Rom. v. 19. In reference to this point, also, it is certain that it is indispensable to proper faith in the Bible. By no fair rules of exegesis ; by no possible torture of language, can the teachings of the Bible be made consistent with the belief that the different “races” of men upon the earth have each had a separate origin. “God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth :” Acts xvii. 26. This fact is not only affirmed, but everywhere implied, and well do the men who are assailing it understand its bearing on the question of the reception or rejection of the Bible in the world.

As to the fourth point—the question whether miracles are possible, this also is vital to all faith in the Bible. Mr. Hume understood this, and attempted, by a most ingenious metaphysical argument, to put the question about miracles, and faith in the Bible, to rest forever. It comes before the church and the

world now in a different form ; not less difficult to be met ; more likely to affect scientific men ; more likely to be popular. The doctrine that miracles are impossible as held now is founded on the alleged stability of the laws of nature. At first, in science, nothing seems more fluctuating or unsettled than those laws. The varying seasons ; the clouds ; the storms of ocean ; the work of disease ; the wantonness of the lightning's flash ; the play of the Aurora Borealis ; the irregularity of the term of human life ; the movements of comets and meteors, all these seemed to be independent of any fixed laws, and these movements were explained in the early periods of the world, as Comte (Positive Philosophy), has stated, by the supposition of supernatural agencies. Silently and gradually, however, these irregularities have been reduced to order and law, and man has approached, what Comte regards as the last stage, the Ultima Thule, of science, the Positive philosophy ; the point where no supernatural agency is to be recognized ; where no events are to be traced to an "unknown metaphysical cause ;" but where all that is known—all that exists—is an antecedent and a sequent, with no real causation, and, as far as known, no God.* That, apart from such speculations as those of the Positive philosophy, there is a tendency in our age to this result there can be no doubt. Thus far in the progress of science, the tendency has been, undoubtedly, to find fixed and unchanging laws prevailing, and the object of science is to ascertain and apply those laws. The studies of the astronomer proceed on this supposition ; the investigations in the laboratory ; the arts of navigation and agriculture ; even the doctrines of tides, and winds, and storms proceed on the supposition of the existence of unvarying laws. By all, therefore, that there is in such a tendency to universality ; by all that is done to reduce that which in former ages seemed to be irregular to the control of fixed laws ; by all the affirmations which scientific men make that the laws of nature *are* fixed and unchanging, there is an approximation, consciously or unconsciously, to the conclusion that miracles have never occurred ; that all the well-established *facts* which have taken place in the history of our world are reducible to the operation of fixed laws ; and that all the alleged facts that can not thus be reduced are to be classed among myths and fables.

And yet it is clear that no man *can* receive the Bible who does not believe in the exertion of miraculous power in our

* See the elaborate and very able article on "The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte" by J. S. Mill, Esq., now Member of Parliament, in the Westminster Review for April 1865.

world. From the beginning of the book to the end, it proceeds on the supposition that God has often interfered in human affairs by his own direct power; that there have been cases innumerable where all there *was* in the case, was an event, and the will of God behind it. The reader of the Bible walks in the midst of signs and wonders. He is in a supernatural world. He is in the constant presence of Deity :—God, in his sovereignty creating the world itself; forming man upon it; conversing with man; giving law in calm conversation, and amidst thunders and tempests; rescuing his people from bondage by his own power; making a path for them through the sea; overwhelming their enemies; shaking the nations; sending conquerors and prophets supernaturally endowed, until the whole is consummated by the appearance of the God incarnate—giving sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf; healing all manner of disease, and raising up the dead—himself raised from the grave to life, and borne up to heaven. Who *can* believe in Jesus Christ who does not believe in miracles? Who *can* believe that the Bible has the slightest claim on the faith of mankind who maintains that the laws of nature are so fixed and unchanging that a miracle is impossible?

It remains to enquire, in accordance with the main design of this article, what is the relation of Christianity to the present stage of the world in its progress in science, civilization, and the arts. In this part of the inquiry, it must be assumed that when the gospel was announced to mankind it had truths of great importance to communicate in advance of what man then possessed. Assuming this, the inquiry now before us presents itself in two forms : (*a*) Whether the gospel is, in this respect, still in advance of the world, or whether the world has so come up with it, or gone ahead of it, as to supercede it; and (*b*) whether, admitting that it is still in advance of the world in its disclosures, it has kept up with the race in its means of propagating itself, so as to be able, in this respect, to maintain its advanced position. These inquiries do not differ so materially that they can not be pursued together.

(1.) The first material point on this part of our subject is, that while the world has made great progress in other things, it has made none whatever on the subjects which constitute the peculiar teachings of Christianity. In reference to what the gospel claimed as its own, the world has struck out no light; has removed no difficulty; has answered none of the questions which perplex mankind. The effort to find out a knowledge of God, and a medium of access to him, and

a method by which the race may be elevated, and the effort to find evidence of the immortality of the human soul, seems to have exhausted itself in Greece. The Greek mind was perhaps better fitted for those inquiries than any other mind that God has made ; the Greek taste sought and found gratification in these profound inquiries ; the Greek language afforded a better medium for pursuing those inquiries than any other language which has been spoken among men. If, of all the tribes of men, we were to select that to which we should most confidently intrust the question, How much man by nature can find out about God ? we should unhesitatingly select the Greek mind as best fitted to solve the great problem.

It is not undervaluing the science of astronomy, of anatomy, of chemistry, of natural philosophy, of geology, to say that to this hour they have made no disclosures on those points which so occupied the minds of the ancients, and on which Christianity assumed that it had truths in advance of all that man had known. The science of astronomy, what does it reveal now about God, on those points, beyond what the Greek philosopher knew ? The astronomer points his glass to the heavens ; penetrates the deep blue ether ; reveals worlds and systems far beyond the reach of the naked eye ; discerns *nebulæ* lying behind *nebulæ* in the vast regions of unmeasured space, but he does not see God ; nor does he tell us whether God is merciful ; nor does he disclose a plan of redemption ; nor does he throw any light on the question about the immortality of the soul, and the future state of man. Forever may he look through that tube and not a ray of light will visit his soul from those distant worlds about what man is so anxious to learn, and in respect to that in which he feels himself so much in the dark. Who goes to the astronomer to learn how to be prepared to die ? The electrical machine may be revolved forever, and though it throws out flashes of light, it imparts no light on these great questions. In the laboratory of the chemist, brilliant as are his discoveries, who expects to learn any new truths about God, and the way of redemption, and the immortality of the soul ? The earth is explored to its utmost limits, and its utmost depths, but what has man, after these explainings and wanderings, to tell about God ?* The geologist,

* He [the miner] cutteth out rivers among the rocks ; and his eye seeth every precious thing. He bindeth the floods from overflowing, and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light. But where shall wisdom be found ? And where is the place of understanding ? Man knoweth not the price thereof ; neither is it found in the land of the living. The depth saith, It is not in me : and the sea saith, It is not with me. It can not be gotten for gold, neither shall silver

the man who has learned the history of the earth for some millions of ages, what has he to disclose that shall supercede the teachings of Christianity? What answer has he found to those questions which so perplex the human mind about the remedy for a fallen condition, and a preparation for another world.

It may seem to be a reflection on the present age, and it may require some hardihood to make the assertion, to say, that, after all, if a man wished to put himself into a position, where, without a revelation, he would find most that would calm his spirit, and sober his doubts, and elevate his conceptions of eternal things, he would go, not into the room of the anatomist; not into the observatory of the astronomer; and not into the laboratory of the chemist, but would visit the ancient Academy, the Porch, the Lyceum.

On this subject, then, we claim that the gospel is as really in advance of the world as it was when it was first communicated to men; that the world has neither gone beyond it, nor come up to it, nor made its teachings less necessary than they were eighteen hundred years ago.

(2.) Assuming that the apostles had truths to communicate to mankind in advance of what the world was then, and that, in respect to those truths, the gospel is as really in advance of the world in its present state of progress as it was then, it is important to remark that the advantages for propagating those truths, and for securing their permanent hold on mankind, are not less now than they were then. In this respect, Christianity has not fallen behind the world, but maintains its advanced position still.

It is usual to represent the apostles as endowed with peculiar and exclusive powers in propagating the truths of Christianity. It is not uncommon to feel that the church has lost much by the cessation of their peculiar endowments, in making an aggressive movement on idolatry and sin. It is not unnatural to feel that if the church could again be clothed with the power which it had in apostolic times, the conquest of the world to Christ would be easy and rapid, and it is conceivable that many a youthful soldier of the cross, panting for the conversion of the world, and resolving to devote himself to that

be weighed for the price thereof. It can not be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire. Whence then cometh wisdom? and where is the place of understanding? Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. *God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof.* Job xxviii. 10-23.

in the ordinary work of the ministry, or in a missionary life, feels a sense of discouragement in the fact that he must go forth with few of the advantages which the apostles had in their work. It is important, therefore, to enquire whether this is so. The question is, whether the apostles had advantages superior to ours ; whether, if we could put ourselves exactly in their position, it would be a gain in the power of acting on mankind ; whether Christianity, in the attempts of the apostles to propagate it, was in more favorable circumstances than it is now ; whether in *this* respect the world has got ahead of the church.

The relation of the apostles to the world may be regarded as positive and negative.

(a.) Positive. They had three things. *First.*—The power of speaking the languages of the world ; or, at once, and without study, the power of making known their message to the people of all lands. This seems to have been confined to none of them particularly, and it would appear that it had no limitation in regard to the languages spoken. No one could doubt that in the work of propagating religion, this would be an immense advantage. In the case of a missionary, the best years of his life are often consumed in efforts, often imperfect efforts, to place himself in the condition in which the apostles were when they entered on their work. *Second.*—They had the power of working miracles. They healed the sick ; they opened the eyes of the blind ; they raised the dead. This, too, seems to have been an unlimited power. That this was an invaluable power in propagating the new religion, and was designed to accomplish an important work, there is no reason to doubt. How far it contributed, however, to their real success, and whether it would be of value now, may be an open question. *Third.*—They had the advantage of freshness and novelty in the system which they proclaimed to the world. Whatever might be said in other respects of the system, it could not be denied that the statement that there had been a proper incarnation of the Deity in the land of Judea ; that the Son of God, in human form, had trod those hills and vales ; that he had moved with a healing power, as through a great hospital, through the land ; that in his presence the insane had become sane, the blind had been made to see, the deaf to hear, and the lame to walk, and that the dead had left their graves ; that he had died on a cross as an atoning sacrifice for men ; that he had risen to life again, and had re-ascended to God—all these were statements that were *fitted* to arrest the attention of men. Such statements had never been made to human ears and hearts before.

(b) Negative. We are to remember, in order to get a correct estimate of the relation of the apostles to the world, in the effort to spread the new religion, the following things: *First.*—It was an experiment; a trial not yet certain, except to faith. There had been no past experience in regard to Christianity; no history which could be referred to; no influence as yet on the world that could be an argument why men should receive it. It was a new system whose adaptedness to the wants of man had not yet been tried. *Second.*—There was, as yet, no public sentiment in its favor which could be appealed to, or which could be *assumed* as a ground for appeal. On the contrary the entire sentiment of the world was opposed to it. *Third.*—There was then no press for the rapid diffusion of their doctrines beyond the power of the living voice. We can scarcely put ourselves, even in imagination, in this respect in their circumstances. Accustomed as we are to the press; the printed page; the power of defending our sentiments through the press, and of arguing with men through the press, we can scarcely conceive what it would be if that power were withdrawn. *Fourth.*—The apostles had no Christian literature. Beyond the books of the New Testament, and in the beginning of their work not even one of these written, and, in the end of their work, not yet collected into a volume, there was no Christian literature. There was nothing to explain, to illustrate, and to defend their doctrines; there was nothing to edify the church; there was nothing to convince idolaters and unbelievers; there was nothing to instruct and guide the young. *Fifth.*—There were no schools, colleges, or seminaries of learning under Christian influence, and designed to train up a generation for Christ. All the schools that existed were Jewish or heathen; nor was there one where a Christian youth could be placed in order that he might be instructed in the ways of the true religion, or that contemplated the training of a generation for the service of God. *Sixth.*—There was, as yet, no established organization of believers into churches, or into associations, designed to bring a united influence to bear on the world. All this was the slow work of time.

It is to be remembered that whatever were the advantages of the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles, the immediate effect was not the conversion of sinners. In the life of the Saviour himself, there is no evidence that a single sinner was convicted by his miracles, nor in the labors of the apostles is there proof that one was converted by the miracles which they wrought, or by their power of speaking foreign languages. This was, indeed, a proof of the divine om-

gin of their religion. The multitude that came together on the day of Pentecost "marveled," were "amazed," and were "confounded"—*συνεχύθη*, (Acts ii. 6, 7) "because every man heard them speak in his own language," but the three thousand were converted by the preaching of Christ crucified. Miracles converted no one. Thousands saw the miracles of the Saviour who were ready to join in the cry "crucify him." Mere eloquence converted no one. 1 Cor. xi. 4: "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." 1 Cor. ii. 1: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God."

The sole ground of reliance by the apostles for the conversion of men was the great central truth that Christ was crucified for the sins of the world, accompanied by the power of the Holy Ghost. Comp. Acts ii. 16-21; x. 44; xi. 16; xvi. 14; 1 Cor. iii. 5, 7, and the New Testament *passim*. In not a single instance do they trace the conversion of a sinner to miracles, to the power of speaking a foreign language, to eloquence, or to learning. In each and every instance it is the power of truth, as applied by the Holy Ghost.

That power—that ground of reliance—we have now as much and as really as in the time of the apostles—as much and as really:—no less; no more. The truth is unchanged; the power of the Holy Ghost is undiminished; the promises that he will apply the truth when properly presented are as full and as fresh now as they were then. Each minister of the gospel, in Christian or in heathen lands, may go to his work as fully under the influence of this feeling, and as fully armed with power, as did the apostles; and as the power from this source was entirely in advance of what the world possessed in the time of the apostles, so it is equally in advance of the world in the stage of its present progress in civilization, science, and the arts.

(3.) The gospel has now the advantage of the *trial* made by it during the long period of eighteen hundred years. Like every other system, of course, it started without this advantage; like any other system, it may now avail itself of all that can fairly be derived from its history in vindication of its truth, and in aiding in its diffusion.

It has a history:—a long, a peculiar, a definite, a very marked history. It had its origin at a time when the great empire that had so long ruled the world was tending to decay; it lived through all the changes which occurred in its "Decline and

Fall;" it has been connected, in many cases closely identified, with the origin and growth of the great kingdoms that now control the world. It has a history as bearing on individuals; on families; on nations; on the course of events. It has a history in regard to trials; to conflicts; to persecutions; to death. It has a history of confessors, saints, and martyrs; a history in reference to its influence on domestic life, on education, on customs, and laws. That history is before the world, and can not now be changed.

It is true that, in close connection with real Christianity, often so apparently close as to be mistaken for it, there has been a history of false Christianity—a system of persecution, blood, and fire. The friends of Christianity are not insensible to that fact; they do not attempt to conceal it. In nominal connection with Christianity there have been wars, corruptions, vices, oppressions, persecutions. But these doings are not Christianity; nor is Christianity responsible for them. If, however, a man should strangely say, lost to all great principles of history and philosophy, that Christianity is responsible for these things, we ask, Why? How? Are these things prescribed and commanded in the book which embodies the laws and doctrines of the system—the New Testament? Did they characterize the life of its Great Founder? Were they enjoined by the teachings of his apostles? There *can* be no mistake on this subject. The nature of the system, as laid down in the New Testament, can not be misunderstood. The enemies of religion can tell what the religion requires as well as its friends, and often the best judges of what it demands are those who complain of the inconsistencies of its professed friends, and who hold them to the observance of a rule which they themselves seem little inclined to obey.

We know what the effect of Christianity is—its effect on the child, the wife, the man. We know what is its effect on domestic peace, industry, comfort. We know what is its effect in elevating woman, under nearly all other systems, sunk in deep degradation. We know what is its effect on general intelligence, industry and liberty.

We know what are its *affinities*; with what it naturally combines. We are very imperfectly acquainted with matter when we are told that it excludes other matter; that it has extension; that it is impenetrable. Each of the sixty or more elementary substances which compose our world, has its own properties, and we do not understand the nature of matter itself until we understand what the properties of those individual substances are. There is the power of attraction

or repulsion ; there are laws of chemical affinity that produce all the forms of matter, either when united with life, or when inorganic, which make up this beautiful world. We do not understand the nature of oxygen or nitrogen ; of phosphorus, of carbon, or of calcium—of any of the metals, until we know with what they combine, and in what proportions. A few of these properties are known ; the large majority are perhaps as yet unknown.

The same is true of systems of morals and religion. We know not what they are until we know with what they actually combine.

No man is surprised to find Mr. Hume proclaiming that suicide is lawful—that to turn a few ounces of blood from its usual channel involves no more guilt than to turn the same amount of liquid from its course in the rivulet ; no man is surprised to find him enunciating the doctrine that adultery must be practiced if a man would obtain the greatest good of life. His *principles* led to such results, and he had the hardihood and the honesty to avow it. No man is surprised to learn that the horrors of the French Revolution followed the promulgation of the doctrines of the French Encyclopedia. All the blood shed in the French capital ; all the crimes of the Revolution, were the regular results of the doctrines defended by Voltaire and his fellow-laborers. No man was surprised at the results reached in "New Harmony." The seed sown produced its appropriate harvest.

The same principle is applicable to Christianity. Like the chemical elements in nature, and like the systems of infidel philosophy, it has its proper laws of affinity ; and its nature is not known till those laws are understood. After an experience of eighteen hundred years, the world has learned what those laws are. Christianity combines everywhere with pure morality, with domestic peace, with temperance, with industry, with order, with law, with learning, with liberty. The press, colleges, schools, the courtesies of refined life, charity to the poor the needy and the outcast, find a natural ally in Christianity, and, wherever it goes, we know that these will be found in its train. What it has gained in this respect is a part of its *capital* ; and is not to be transferred to any other system.

(4.) We refer, as an illustration of the relation of Christianity to the world, to what, for want of a better name, may be called its *radiations*. We mean to denote by this term the influences which have gone beyond the direct agency of the system, and which have passed over on other systems, and made them in

a great measure what they are. The idea is, that the condition of the world has been materially modified by Christianity beyond its direct influence, and that to understand its exact nature and value, the extent of that influence should be known.

It has been shown in this article that the world has made great progress since the gospel was first made known ; that it is in many respects a different world from what it was when Paul stood on Mars' Hill in Athens ; that a Greek of the age of Pericles if he should now appear again would find himself in a different world. The remark which is now made is, that this change has been produced in a very considerable degree by what is now referred to as the *radiations* of Christianity ; those influences which have passed beyond its immediate sphere in the church, and which have affected surrounding objects. We refer to what makes a Christian nation different from other nations ; to influences and accumulations which could not now be detached from civilization without destroying the entire fabric.

It is probable that there is not one thing that now pertains to us in a Christian land, and which we value as a part of our civilization, which has not been made in a great measure what it is by the silent and accumulating influence of Christianity. The laws under which we live are different from what they would have been. The methods of administering justice are different. The ideas of punishment are different. The securities for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are different. The manners and customs of those among whom we live are different. Our domestic arrangements are different. The family is different. The provisions made for the poor and the needy ; for the sick and the wounded ; for the blind, the deaf, and the insane are different.

Now, it is impossible to ascertain how much of this is due to Christianity, for no man can prove that the world would not have made progress in this respect if Christianity had not been revealed. But no man can deny that a very considerable portion of the comforts which we enjoy from day to day are to be traced to the *radiating* influences of the gospel. Apart from what it is in religious doctrine, and apart from its influence in saving the soul, the world is different now from what it would have been had the Christian system never been revealed.

We claim all this as belonging to Christianity, and in estimating the relation of Christianity to the world in its present stage of progress in science, civilization, and the arts, we ask that all that Christianity has done in making science, civiliza-

tion, and the arts what they are, should be taken into the account ; that the question whether Christianity is still ahead of the world, whether it is abreast of the world, or whether it has fallen in the rear and can now be dispensed with, can not be determined unless we could strip from the institutions of social and civilized life all that they have derived from the Christian religion, and survey them as they would be then.

(5.) We refer, in illustration of the relation of Christianity to the present age, to what, for want also of a better term, we may call the *appliances* of Christianity. We refer to the question whether it has kept its relative position in regard to the means of propagating and perpetuating itself on the earth.

We have seen that there was little in this respect in the time of the apostles ; that Christianity had no press, no literature, no schools, almost no organization.

In reference to the means which the world has of perpetuating and extending what it has secured, there is a difference as great between the apostolic age and the present, as there is in the things which have been secured, at one period and at the other. Whatever may have been done in regard to ancient literature, to scientific discoveries, to valuable works of art, to civilization, to the methods of prosecuting war, as to the question whether those things might not, in the revolutions of nations, be lost to mankind, it is certain that nothing, in all time to come, will now imperil their existence. These great discoveries and inventions are secured in libraries, in public monuments, in the very necessities of common life. What now can destroy a great poem, or a valuable historical work, or a treatise on medicine or astronomy, multiplied as it is by the art of printing? What can destroy the printing-press, the compass, the quadrant, the steam-engine, the magnetic telegraph? Society, in securing these things, has secured also the means of their preservation, of their diffusion over the earth, and of their transmission to future times. Has Christianity in its movements also kept its relative position in this respect also?

Christianity, more than even science, has secured the press. It early seized upon it as a most important auxiliary ; it made it tributary to its great work of diffusing the doctrines of the Reformation ; it now employs it in the work of diffusing the truths of revelation in a large part of the languages spoken upon the earth. It takes the press with it wherever it goes ; it forms no plan for its own propagation or perpetuity except in connexion with the press.

Christianity has a literature of its own, as large, as important, as powerful on public sentiment, as the literature of any

other department of thought and action. One would perhaps be surprised, in attempting to remove what is properly a Christian literature from the alcoves of a great library, to find how large a part of the library would be detached by such an attempt; how much of that literature has been *created* by Christianity; how much that once controlled the world had been removed into a comparatively obscure and unfrequented part of the library by the changes which have been made by Christianity in public opinion.

Christianity has done much to control the literature which it has not directly created, and has made it different from what it would otherwise have been. A large part of the books of history, poetry, philosophy, science, are different from what they would have been if they had had their origin in lands remote from the Christian religion. Even Mr. Hume's history of England was moulded and modified by the fact that he wrote of a Christian nation; Mr. Gibbon's history is probably not precisely what it would have been if there had been no other nation in Europe but France.

The great names which adorn Christian literature are quite on a level with those which pertain wholly to the world. In history, in poetry, in eloquence, in compact and powerful reasoning, the names which Christianity claims as its own, are on a level, at least, with those which are claimed by the world. In poetry, is there a greater than Milton? In profound reasoning, is there a greater than Jonathan Edwards? In imagination, is there one superior to Jeremy Taylor? In eloquence, has the world any superior to Masillon, or Bourdaloue; to Robert Hall or Thomas Chalmers?

Christianity has surrounded itself with colleges and schools. It plants them wherever it goes. Taking the world at large, the colleges are, at least, under a nominal Christian influence. Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Cambridge, and Oxford; Bonn, Heidelberg, Halle, Göttingen, are to a great extent under Christian influence. In our own country, there is not one avowedly infidel college; nor could such a college be sustained. There was one founded under the auspices of a great State, and the patronage of a name that at one time wielded more influence than any other individual in the United States, but its own internal peace demanded the influence of religion, and it has taken its place by the side of the other colleges of the land. There is not a legislature in our land that would charter an infidel college as such, nor could it live a year if it was thus chartered.

Christianity has originated a new form of literature, wholly

its own ; a literature not known under any ancient form of mythology ; not known under any form of modern heathenism ; not known to infidelity ; not known to philosophy, and it has, at the same time, originated an institution most effective for applying that literature, and for securing its own influence over the young. We allude, of course, to the Sabbath-school, and to the literature which has been originated by that institution. This, if there were nothing else, would show that Christianity, in its efforts to perpetuate and propagate itself, is quite abreast of the world. The literature of the Sabbath-school may not be, in respect to quality, all that could be desired, but it may be doubted whether there is any other department of literature that is exerting as much influence on the destinies of mankind. Infidelity has no peculiar literature for the young, nor has it any institution where to inculcate its sentiments on the young. Mohammedanism and Buddhism have no peculiar literature for the young ; nor have they any peculiar institution for training up the young in those views of religion. Science, with great difficulty, prepares books for the young, but its literature in astronomy, botany, chemistry, designed to guide the young, as compared with the literature of the Sabbath-school, is meagre in the extreme. The Sabbath-school, and the Sabbath-school library, stand by themselves. Both capable undoubtedly of great improvement, they are, nevertheless, exerting a vast power on the coming generation, and it is difficult to see how a religion that has such an agency as the Sabbath-school *could be* exterminated from the world. One day during each week, of every month in the year, the children of this nation are brought directly under Christian instruction, with all the advantages, in theory at least, of calling into the service the best talent, the highest intelligence, the warmest piety, the most devoted zeal, existing in the churches. Through all the States of the Union, and in all the Territories, by agencies of its own, that literature is placed in the hands of the young, before other influences are brought to bear on them, to form their opinions, to make their hearts pure, to teach them to believe the Bible, and to love and serve God. Whatever else the world may do in its progress, we may be certain that it will not be in advance of this arrangement of Christianity to diffuse and perpetuate itself upon the earth.

If, in the course of the remarks in this article, suggestions have been made which will seem to any to justify the conclusion that a religion such as this is—a religion starting in advance of the world, and through ages of wonderful progress in civili-

zation, science, and the arts, still, after the lapse of eighteen hundred years, maintaining that position—a religion which has lived through all forms of furious and fiery persecution—a religion which has originated much that now enters into the ameliorated condition of the world in customs, manners, laws, and modes of life—a religion which, by elective affinity has attached itself to all that is good and valuable in human discoveries, and has refused a permanent connection with evil—a religion which now in its own means of defence and propagation is still in advance of the world—if it shall seem to any that such a religion can be best explained on the supposition that it had a divine origin, can any one venture to say that such an inference would be unjustifiable? Whatever may be true on that point, there is an inference in whose correctness all will agree. It is, that such a religion is to maintain its position only by keeping abreast of the world. The men who are to defend it in this and the coming generations are to be men who are “up to their age.” The arguments by which the philosophy of the Epicureans and Stoics was met by Paul at Athens are not *all* the arguments needed now. The weapons which led to victory in the contests with Celsus and Porphyry will not necessarily lead to victory now. The methods of the schoolmen are not all that is needed now. The arguments which seemed so formidable as urged by Turretin might not be as formidable now. Old weapons of war—greaves, and shields, and helmets, and catapults, were useful, but there comes a time when they find eternal repose in ancient halls and towers. There is a “living age,” and it is much for a man who is entering on life, and especially in a position where he will be called to defend Christianity, to know that there is such an age, and to know what it is. We are of the opinion that no small part of the ponderous tomes which press undisturbed the shelves of our theological libraries occupy precisely the position which helmets and spears and shields do in the Tower of London. The world has done with them, except in the studies of history, and in the plodding worthlessness of some old Monkbams, or Burn’s wandering antiquarian :

“ He had a routh o’ auld nick-nackets,
Rusty airn caps, and jinglin-jackets
Would held the Londons three in tackets,
A towmond guide ;
And parritch-pats, and auld salt-buckets,
Afore the flude.”

Theologians must deal with living men, and with living

opinions, and if they are not trained to this, they are not trained for the work of this age. The writer of this article is not very familiar with the course of studies now pursued in the theological seminaries, but there is a very definite impression formed, in its incipency, forty years ago, that the course pursued then was not adapted to that age, or fitted to enable young men to act their part well. Each returning year of that long period has deepened that impression, and led to a firmer conviction that a considerable portion of the time spent in that course was wasted time. In the conflicts with the world; in the collisions between Christianity, science, and philosophy; in the war with infidelity; in the strifes with living men and living opinions, it has never been found that it was of advantage that the entire work of Turretin was read and recited, or that the mind was frequently carried back to the times of the schoolmen, or of the Helvetic divines. Peace be to those ancient men in their graves; peace to their books that lie entombed in the alcoves of our great libraries. The ministry in the coming age must be prepared to meet men, living men, on the question of the inspiration of the Scriptures, and with arguments that will commend themselves to those trained in the principles of profound criticism; on the question about the antiquity of our race upon the earth, and with arguments not derived from synods and councils; on the question of the origin of man, and with arguments not derived from Stauffer or Turretin; and above all, on the whole question of miracles, and of a supernatural influence in the affairs of men. A more deep and subtle Pantheism in the form of Rationalism or Positivism lies at the foundation of the sciences of this day than the great mass of the friends of Christianity are aware of, and against all this, it may be unconsciously, the friend of Christianity struggles and contends when he attempts to impress its truths on the minds of men. We certainly would not have men in the ministry less pious, or less imbued with biblical learning, but we would have them prepared to meet the world as it is, and not go clad in the armor of a past generation only to find that the enemy which that kind of armor is fitted to subdue, has long been wandering in the land of shades among the knight-errants of the past.

One of the best movements of which we have any knowledge is found in the purpose to sustain three Lectureships in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, on subjects of science closely allied with theology. It is a significant fact that this movement was suggested by Laymen, though meeting, as we know, the entire approbation of the faculty and direc-

tors of that school, and that the importance of this additional course of study was so great in their apprehension that they have become wholly responsible for the support of the course. Other things being equal, we believe that that seminary of sacred learning only which thus feels the contact with the living world will meet the wants of the coming age ; that those institutions which do not feel this, and which resist such influences, will exhaust themselves in perpetuating a dead orthodoxy ; and in making the idea of " conservatism " the constant thought in theological training—leaving the world around to the influence of Rationalism, Positivism, and Pantheism.

ART. V.—SLAVERY AND CHRISTIANITY.

By DR. CARL JOSEPH HEFELE.

[The following essay appeared originally as an article in the *Kirchen-Lexikon* of Wetzer and Welte in 1853. In 1864 it was republished, with improvements, in a collection of Miscellanies. The author is a professor in the University of Tübingen, and is one of the most learned of the Roman Catholic theologians of Germany. R. D. H.]

SLAVERY is at bottom, what, as far back as 816, the Council of Aachen declared it to be, a daughter of the Fall ; a fruit of that lust of power, covetousness, and inhumanity which are begotten of the Fall ; a sister of the Cainitic fratricide. Since now Christianity as a recuperative economy for man seeks wholly to eradicate, and will eradicate, the moral consequences of the Fall, it must needs seek the abolition of slavery. Slavery, it is well known, rested originally upon the notion which prevailed amongst all ancient nations except the Hebrews, and was defended by the greatest philosophers like Aristotle, even by Plato himself, that the slave, belonging to a lower order of being, is, by virtue of his ignoble and grosser nature, designated by the Creator or by Fate for the service of another. But Christianity knows no such essential difference between man and man, nay, rather expressly denies it, and so annihilates the theoretical basis of slavery.

Inevitably, this low opinion of a slave, entertained by the whole ancient world, kept the slave himself degraded. The lack of all self-respect rendered him cowardly, cringing, malicious, and deceitful. Familiar with nothing lofty and noble,

he gave himself up to sensuality, and fully justified the picture commonly drawn of him as gluttonous, drunken libidinous, and especially hard-hearted and cruel in the oversight of other slaves. The sort of treatment he received corrupted his character, and his corrupted character called in turn for still harsher treatment. It was amongst the Romans, especially after about 200 B. C., that slavery, both in the magnitude and the severity of the system, had its fullest development; a citizen of rank, for the purpose of display, often possessing several thousand slaves of various nations. Especially intolerable and fatal to every better feeling was the treatment of female slaves, more than 200 of whom were frequently kept to make the toilet of a Roman lady. The slave stood naked to the hips in the presence of her mistress, liable for every offence to be wounded in her arms and breast with a sharp iron instrument kept in readiness for the purpose; nay, liable to suffer even if she had not the art to change the defects of nature into beauties, or was unable to renew the bloom faded either by age or dissipation. Hence it was that the palace of a Roman noble had often the appearance of a slaughter-house, being everywhere spattered with blood. Even the Emperor Hadrian, otherwise so humane, used to have his slaves deprived of one eye with a style, and any one of them had reason to call himself fortunate, if he was required only to inflate his cheeks that his master might the more easily smite him.

On this subject no writer has expressed himself so humanely, and so much like a Christian, as Seneca, through whose influence perhaps it was that Nero interested himself for the slaves, and established a court for the hearing of their complaints. Antoninus Pius did still more to soften the ancient legislation, taking away from masters the right of killing their slaves, except in self-defense, or in case they were caught in forbidden intercourse with their wives or daughters. Plutarch also has everywhere in his writings recommended humanity towards the enslaved.

But all this falls far short of the achievements of Christianity. Christianity taught the great truth that God is equally the father of all men. In Christ, St. Paul accordingly says, there is no difference between Greeks and Jews, between slaves and freemen; nor did the apostles make any difference in their preaching. Noteworthy in this connection is the passage: 1 Cor. vii. 21, 22. "Art thou called being a slave, care not for it: but even though thou mightest be free, use it (thy servitude) rather." That is, remain a slave, and use this thy condition for thy salvation, to prove thyself truly (spiritually)

free.* The converted master was required to treat his slave as his equal brother in Christ (Philemon v. 16): a great innovation which the apostle was not weary of repeatedly and strongly urging; and although the legal relation of master and slave, even amongst Christians, still continued, yet the nature of this relation was essentially changed and humanized. And since the entire removal of the institution was not yet possible, the apostle exhorts Christian masters to treat their slaves as though they were not slaves, remembering that they were themselves to give account to their own Master, with whom is no respect of persons (Eph. vi. 9). Believing slaves were also required by both Paul and Peter to be obedient to their masters, to the hard as well as the gentle (Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22-25; 1 Pet. ii. 18). Hence if no one of the apostles has directly enjoined the abolition of slavery, they have yet proclaimed those underlying principles, which must needs eventually effect that object. The recognized equality of all before God must find its answering image in the equality of all before the law.

After the apostles, the Apostolic Father Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of John the Evangelist, exhorted believing slaves not to be insolent on account of their equality with their masters, but for the honor of God to be more diligent in serving, that they might participate in a greater and better freedom. Nor should they desire to be ransomed by the contributions of the church, lest they should become the slaves of covetousness. On the other hand, Ignatius enjoins it upon bishops not to despise the slaves (Ep. to Polycarp, Chap. 4). From Origen (Cont. Celsum 3, § 44) we learn on the one side that the heathen flung it as a reproach against Christians, while Christians themselves made it their boast, that Christianity drew to itself slaves; and on the other side that very many converted slaves had had a considerable influence in the evangelizing of heathen families, especially of children and women. Nor does Origen know anything as yet of a formal abolition of slavery, but only its essential abolition, when he says, (Cont. Cel. 3, § 54): "We teach slaves how to acquire a noble spirit, that so the word may make them free." This inward emancipation, the moral and religious culture of slaves, must needs precede their outward emancipation, if the latter is not to be full of peril, and pernicious to the slaves themselves. But with the former secured, the want of the latter could be the more easily endured; and

* [This was the ancient interpretation of the passage, which lost favor at the time of the Reformation, but is now accepted again by not a few eminent commentators. TR.]

it is a fact that Christian slaves in large numbers distinguished themselves by their noble virtues.

The passage just now cited from Paul indicates that even Christians were slaveholders ; although Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 5 : 16) already bears witness that there remained no longer any difference between masters and slaves save that of outward relation, but that slaves were looked upon spiritually as brothers and fellow servants of Christ. Two generations before Lactantius, Pope Calixtus permitted Christian women of rank to marry believing slaves. That those who had been slaves might obtain ecclesiastical dignities, best appears from the example of this same Pope Calixtus, who was himself once a slave. But after Paul, no man in the ancient church rendered greater service in this direction than Chrysostom, who with earnest words insisted upon the Christian brotherhood of masters and slaves, urgently recommended the instruction of slaves, and demanded emancipation even, so far at least as this, that a man should hold at most but two slaves for his own personal service, while the rest should learn trades and be set free (*Hom.* 40 in *Ep. I ad Cor.* T. X. p. 385). Farther than this neither he nor the Church could go without encroaching upon the sphere of the State. A similar influence against slavery was exerted in the Latin church by Ambrose, Augustine, and Peter Chrysologus, Bishops of Ravenna († 458). Ancient history also reports many instances of formal emancipation. In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, for example, Hermes, Prefect of Rome, is said to have embraced the Christian faith, and when baptized to have liberated his 1250 slaves (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, Vol. I. p. 371). Chromatius, too, who was likewise a Roman of rank, when he became a Christian in the reign of Diocletian, emancipated his 1400 slaves (*Acta Sanct.* Jan. Vol. II. p. 275). In this same year also Saint Melania, and many other women, on becoming Christians, dismissed their slaves, or persuaded their husbands to do it; and even a few families of rank were not behind in this work. "Daily," says Salvian in the 5th century, "are slaves clothed with the rights of Roman citizenship, and permitted to take with them what they have laid up in the service of their masters." That such emancipation took place frequently in the East, is asserted by Gregory of Nyssa (*Vol.* III. p. 420, Ed. Paris, 1638).

The Christian spirit, so far as possible, also interposed to keep freemen from being reduced to servitude, and ransomed such as had been taken captive. Many pious bishops expressly set apart for this purpose a portion of the church rev-

enues ; nay, even the gold and silver vessels of the church were not seldom sold, and special collections taken up, in order to ransom captives, as for example by Cyprian.

Through the influence of Christianity the civil legislation likewise became more humane towards the enslaved. Constantine the Great empowered the regular judges to inquire into the complaints of slaves, and the offences charged against them ; punished masters for acts of cruelty ; forbade the crucifixion of slaves ; introduced a new, easier and simpler form of emancipation, to-wit, the *manumissio in ecclesia* ; and forbade the Jews to brand upon the foreheads of Christian bondmen the letters F. H. E. (= *fugitivus hic est*). Similar efforts were made by succeeding Christian Emperors, particularly by Justinian, who in the 6th century repealed many old slave laws which Constantine had left standing. By this time it was no longer a rare thing for slaves to enter the clerical ranks. If a slave became a bishop, he was *eo ipso* a free man ; but if only a presbyter, he was for a year after his consecration liable to be put back into slavery. Under the operation of the law of Constantine, so many slaves had by the shorter process, *in foro ecclesiæ*, been made free, or had by the ecclesiastical right of asylum been snatched from the grasp of their masters, that many complaints arose against the church on this account. Church Fathers and Councils accordingly set themselves zealously against this arbitrary self-emancipation and levelled against it the penalty of excommunication.

In this war against slavery the Church of the Middle Ages went still farther than the Ancient Church. The Germans made use of slaves in the cultivation of the soil, an employment which the free spirit of the people led them to shun. The proceeds of this industry the slaves retained in part for themselves, paying over only a certain proportion to their masters. The slaves accordingly had a household economy of their own, with considerable independence ; and yet they were absolutely the property, the mere bondmen, of their master, who might sell, exchange, or kill them. The Monastic Institution was especially distinguished for the influence it exerted in the abolition of slavery in Germany. Not only did the cloister slaves find themselves in a much better condition than others, but many cloisters had an express rule which forbade the holding of slaves as property, and in case property which included slaves was bequeathed to them, or one rich in land and slaves entered the cloister and gave it his property, the slaves were all set free. The Greek cloisters were the first to disallow slavery ; but in the 7th century, through Theo-

dore of Canterbury, this humane custom entered also into the Occident. Subsequently, in the 9th century, St. Benedict of Aniane, the regenerator of Monasticism, was especially active, under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, in labors for the freedom of all cloister slaves. About the same time St. Plato and his nephew Theodore Studites in the Greek Church gave still greater currency to the maxim that "a monastery should hold no slaves ;" and the influence of such men was felt not only within the cloisters, but also beyond their walls.

The priesthood were also active in the same direction. The church purchased many slaves, and set them free without reimbursement. It also frequently happened that persons born in servitude afterwards became priests and bishops, and were as much esteemed for their worth as the Princes of the Empire ; and so it became clear to German intelligence that before Christ bond and free are alike. Moreover there was early legislation among the Germans and Romans softening the rigors of the slave system. For example, the bishops who assembled in 650 at Chalons on the Saone persuaded the king, Chlodwig II. to decree, that thereafter no Christian slave should be sold out of the French kingdom. Other synods and popes ordained, that no Christian slave should be allowed to be sold to heathens and Jews, and that those who were already so owned should be redeemed. So was it ordered by the council of Macon in 581, in its 16th canon, with the additional provision, that any Christian might for twelve solidi purchase any slave owned by a Jew, whether the Christian bought to emancipate, or bought to hold. According to the 17th canon, if the Jew sought to lead his slave into apostasy, the slave was to be free and the Jew punished. This law of Macon and other old statutes against the Jews and their traffic in slaves were re-enacted by the council of Meaux in 845, at which time an old ordinance of Toledo was renewed, to the effect that no heathen slave should be sold to an unbeliever, but only to a Christian, that there might be a possibility of the slave's conversion. So likewise, a hundred years before, a Roman Synod under Pope Zacharias in 743, forbade all Christians to sell a slave, either male or female, to a Jew ; and Charlemagne altogether interdicted the sale of slaves in any secret manner, outside of the open market. In 697 the Synod of Berghampstead in England, in its 15th canon, ordained, that if any one gave meat to his servant on a fast-day, the servant should be free. But in spite of these laws the selling of slaves to non-Christians was not wholly done away with. The Venetians particularly persisted in it, although Pope Zacharias

on pain of excommunication forbade the selling of Christian slaves to the Mohammedans, with whom especially the Venetians traded. Under the weak administration of Louis the Pious the slave-trade increased again considerably. Against this Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, set himself vigorously, and in concert with other bishops, falling back upon the ancient laws, ransomed from the Jews for twelve solidi many Sarmatian slaves, who had received baptism within the boundaries of the French kingdom. The Jews complained of Agobard to the Emperor, bribed an imperial minister, and procured the enactment of a law, that no one should baptize a slave without the consent of his master. The archbishop appealed to the example of the apostles. Whether he carried the day or not, is unknown ; but probably he did, since in the later legislation, while it is forbidden to admit a slave to holy orders without the consent of his master, of baptism nothing more is said.

And so it came about, that towards the end of the 10th century, within the boundaries of the old French (Carlovingian) kingdom, the sale of slaves, at least the domestic slave-trade, had almost entirely ceased. In England, however, the traffic endured still longer, so that Bishop Wulstan of Worcester († 1096), in Bristol and its neighborhood preached repeatedly and earnestly against the wickedness. Soon afterwards all trading in slaves was forbidden by the London Synod under Anselm of Canterbury in 1102, but not quite effectually ; nor was it till 1171 that universal emancipation was brought about in Ireland by the Synod of Armagh. Since then there has been no selling of men on the British Islands. In Bohemia it ceased at the end of the 10th century ; in Sweden not till the 13th.

The condition of slaves was greatly ameliorated by various decrees of Councils, as for example, that between Saturday evening and Sunday evening no slave should be compelled to work, or if compelled to, should become free. Whoever killed a slave was excommunicated ; and every church edifice was an asylum from the violence of masters. Slaves upon ecclesiastical estates might be manumitted by the bishops without the concurrence of their clergy ; a privilege of which bishops abundantly availed themselves, as appears from the Acts of Councils.

From a great mass of mediæval emancipation documents it is clear, that in general it was a pious motive that dictated the emancipation, which commonly took place at the altar, the church assuming the guardianship of those who had been

freed either by bill or by testament. Whoever sought their re-enslavement was visited with severe ecclesiastical penalties.

Partly by the interdiction of the sale of Christian slaves, and partly by a gradual process of change, German slavery passed over entirely into the form of serfdom. The children remained upon the lands tilled by their parents, and enjoyed certain civil rights, while the financial dependence upon the lords of the manor was not without its advantages. It was only among Slavic peoples, who had been evangelized, that a severer form of serfdom got firmly established.

The mediæval church, it is true, had her serfs, as before she had had her slaves, but she was at the same time the attorney of these oppressed classes. The bishop was the legally appointed guardian of the serfs within his diocese, and it was for him to see to it that they were protected from the oppressions and cruelties of inhuman and passionate masters. The church punished the master who killed his servant without just cause, and gave serfs the benefit of the Christian law of marriage in that she pronounced their marriage true marriage, permitted them to intermarry with free persons, and asserted the validity of marriages contracted without the consent of masters. Serfs owned by the church, first in the ecclesiastical, and afterwards in the civil courts, were admitted as witnesses even against freemen; whereby the reproach of serfdom was so lessened that not a few born serfs mounted to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, as for example, Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, in the time of Louis the Pious. Besides, the church always recognized the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of Christians, and the consequent duty of kindness to bondmen; often set the example of complete emancipation, turning her serfs into mere servants or *ministeriales*; and everywhere inculcated the notion that the manumission of the enslaved was one of the most meritorious acts of Christian charity.

While slavery in Europe during the Middle Ages was thus abolished through the working of the Christian spirit, there sprang up in Northern Africa the Barbary or Pirate States, which ravaged Christian shores, captured Christian ships, and reduced their prisoners to servitude. Noble private efforts to ransom such unfortunate Christians, the offerings of pious bishops, the appropriation of church property to such uses, and the like, accomplished but little. Much ampler succor was rendered by the order of Mathurins, or Trinitarians, established about the year 1200 by the Paris theologian, John of Matha and the hermit Felix of Valois, confirmed by Pope Innocent

III, and in operation down to our own day, although in France the revolution swept away nearly all the houses of the Order. Somewhat later, in the year 1223, a kindred Order was founded by St. Peter Nolasco († 1266) for Spain under the name of the "Holy Virgin of Mercy," whose object was to redeem Christian captives out of the hands of Mohammedan masters, and which was of the highest service down to the year 1835, when the Spanish government under Queen Christina confiscated its property. Since then it has had only a few houses in Italy, Sicily, and America.

At last the temporal powers determined to put an end to the servitude of Christians in Africa. As far back as 1270 England and France concluded a Holy Alliance, which was not without effect. A hundred years later, in 1389, the Barbary States were punished by the combined forces of the English, French, Genoese, and Venetians; and still more decidedly by Ferdinand the Catholic between 1506-9. And yet, countenanced by Turkey, the robberies still continued. That powerful Emperor, Charles V, would perhaps have ended the scandal, but he was first embarrassed by the jealousy of France, and afterwards, in 1544, had his fleet destroyed by a tempest. Since then, the Christian States of Europe, in order to keep their subjects out of slavery, have not been ashamed to make treaties with these robber States; have even paid tribute to them. But repeatedly have they been compelled to see these treaties broken; whereupon English fleets have not seldom, through showers of cannon balls, enforced temporarily the keeping of good faith, as happened especially in 1816. Still more was effected by the French conquest of Algiers, the chief of these Pirate States, in 1829, since which time the rest of them have found it well to observe their treaties even with small and weak powers, and especially not to meddle with European ships. With this, *white* slavery has ceased; but unhappily the same can not be said of *black* slavery.

In the 15th century, among all Christian nations in the old world, slavery and the slave-trade were entirely extinguished. But with the discovery of a new world, American slavery and the slave-trade were again introduced through the covetousness of Christian men, seconded by the inconsiderate advice of the pious Las Casas. On the newly discovered continent the feeble natives, Indians as they were called, were at first put to servile labor in the recently planted colonies. They found among the Dominicans protectors and friends, and since on account of their want of stamina they appeared but poorly adapted to severe and continuous labor, individual col-

onists and commercial adventurers presently conceived the idea of bringing over negro slaves from Africa, because one negro could do as much work as four Indians. Cardinal Ximenes, however, so long as he was regent of Spain, forbade the trade in negroes; and not till after Charles V himself came to the throne did this monarch in 1517 approve the proposal of Las Casas to introduce negro slaves into the colonies, and permit the trade in such slaves, in order to spare the natives of America, although the Portuguese had so far set them the example as to have introduced North African slaves into their West African (Guinea) possessions.

The Genoese were the first to embark in this new branch of commerce; but scarcely any state was ashamed to share in its horrible gains, Elizabeth of England being particularly expert in the business. In the 300 years which have passed since the American slave-trade was inaugurated, not less than thirty millions of Africans must have been transported to the new world.

Very soon the church lifted up her voice against such inhumanity. Slavery was denounced by Paul III., May 29, 1537; by Urban VIII., April 16, 1639; and afterwards by Benedict XIV., in a Bull dated Dec. 20, 1741. Still more vigorous were the efforts of England, who had a great fault to atone for. Here it was the Quakers that led the way, piously setting themselves against this unchristian traffic in men, and against the institution itself of slavery. In 1718 the Quaker William Burling published his first work against slavery. He was followed by others of the sect, and particularly by William Penn, in whose North American State of Pennsylvania slavery was first abolished. The same thing happened some time after in the little State of Delaware, and in all the colonies occupied by Quakers. These men at the same time made provisions for negro schools. From this time onward, that is after the middle of the 18th century, the cry for compassion towards the negro never ceased. Preachers and scholars, poets and statesmen, have pleaded often and powerfully the cause of humanity. Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, Grenville, Buxton, and others won for themselves deathless names. The first fruit of this agitation was a milder slave law in 1784, which forbade the killing of a slave on penalty of death, and prescribed thirty lashes as the severest punishment. In all that was done after that for the removal of slavery, a distinction should be made between abolition and emancipation; the former being the interdiction of the *slave-trade*, the latter the release of those *already enslaved*. Abolition came first, as must needs be. If

no slaves more could be imported, then masters must treat their slaves kindly, in order that the requisite number might keep itself good in the colonies. Such an interdiction of slave-importation was made by some of the Northern States of America in 1787, while the Southern States of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Missouri, and Ohio always favored and cherished the system.* The first act of emancipation on the part of a state was passed by the French National Assembly, Feb. 4, 1794, by which all slaves in the French colonies were declared free, although the proper energy was not imparted to those beautiful words. Napoleon played a double part on the negro question. Of the greatest importance was the abolition act, which in spite of opposition from many quarters, even from the old hero Nelson, passed the English Parliament in 1807, under the pressure of Fox. By means of this the English slave-trade ceased, and the first great step was taken. But not for herself alone did England care to abolish the slave-trade; she sought also to draw all Christian States into sympathy with her on this subject. With separate nations treaties were concluded, in which they pledged themselves to the suppression of this traffic; in 1813 with Sweden, in 1814 with Netherlands and Denmark, in 1815 with Portugal, in 1815 and 1817 with Spain, in 1820 with Brazil, in 1831 with France, in accordance with a previous agreement. A similar promise had also been made by the United States in 1814, but in 1840 new stipulations were entered into with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, these States having already interested themselves in the matter at the Congress of Vienna, and on the 19th of June, 1845, the assembled German Confederation declared that the slave-trade should be punished like piracy and robbery. By many States, however, these engagements were poorly kept, especially by Brazil, France, Portugal, and the United States. Under the flag of this last power, which would not submit to English search, the slave-trade still went on, the English cruisers not being able to capture many slave ships. There appears to be even in England, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave-trade, a lack of earnestness in the matter, out of regard no doubt to the interests of her colonies; and it is a fact, in spite of all agreements and promises, that the trade still flourishes, particularly in Texas, Cuba, Louisiana, and Brazil. For the

* [The matter here so blindly referred to, is the Ordinance of the Continental Congress in 1787, interdicting slavery in the territory north-west of the Ohio river. Chief Justice Chase will be surprised to learn that Ohio is one of the Southern States. TR.]

emancipation of slaves England has also done more than has been done anywhere else. Wilberforce first moved for it in 1816, and in 1823 was joined by Buxton, but without immediate success. Gradually the conviction prevailed that by the abolition of slavery the colonies would not only not suffer loss, but perhaps even be made richer by a system of paid labor, slaves being costly, and often idle, requiring overseers, and involving other expenditures, besides oftentimes even setting fire to the plantations. At last, in the year 1833, over 5,000 petitions with more than a million and a half of signatures calling for the abolition of slavery, were brought into the British Parliament, and the bill which soon passed received the royal approval, August 25, 1833. To the owners of slaves 20 000,000 of pounds sterling were voted by way of compensation. From the first of August 1834 all slave children in the English colonies under six years of age were made free. The rest, old and young, were subjected to an apprenticeship, the end of which was to be freedom for the house slaves, Aug. 1, 1838, and for the field slaves, Aug. 1, 1839. These last were, however, emancipated Aug. 1, 1838, since which time there have been no slaves in the English colonies. The same has happened in Mexico since her separation from Spain; as also in the free states of South America. In the United States of North America, on the contrary, only the Northern States have abolished slavery, while it continues in the Southern; and it is well known that the question of slavery has much to do with the frightful war now [1864] raging between the North and the South.* In France hitherto private societies have done more for negro emancipation than has been done by the government, especially through the Abbess Javouhey since 1833, and the Duke de Broglie since 1835. Passy and Lamartine have also (1838) devoted their eloquence to this cause. Still more strongly spoke Pope Gregory XVI., following the example of his predecessors, in an apostolic letter of Dec. 3, 1839, in which he exhorted and charged all Christians to bring no one into slavery, to have no hand in the slave-trade, and in no way to assist slave dealers. Henceforth let no clergyman defend the slave-trade as a permitted thing. But in spite of all that has been done, the number of slaves has steadily increased, nearly 200,000 fresh ones being now required yearly in America, instead of the 80,000 or 100,000

* [Since this essay was published in Germany, slavery has been abolished throughout the United States. Brazil being the only Christian nation which now tolerates the institution. Tr.]

that were required fifty years ago. And these 200,000 are not half the number annually brought away from Africa, so many die upon the passage. It is clear that not in America alone, but also in Africa must the remedy be sought; that Africa must be civilized and Christianized, if we would have the slave-trade entirely and forever cease. Africans, as is well known, are incessantly at war with each other for the purpose of getting slaves for the market; and it often happens, that relatives and friends sell their own people merely for gain.

An interesting dissertation on "Slavery and its abolition by the Church" may be found in the *New Zion* of Dr. Haas, 1849. In 1834 the same subject was handled by Moehler in two essays under the title: "Fragments of the History of the Abolition of Slavery through the influence of Christianity during the first fifteen centuries." Compare also Mührer on "The Beneficent Influence of the Church during the Middle Ages," in Pletz, *New Theol. Journal* (Zeitschrift), 1831. See also Balnes, on "The Comparative Effects of Protestantism and Catholicity upon European Civilization," 1845, Vol. I. pp. 200-299.

ART. VI.—RÉSUMÉ OF THE GEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT.

By REV. DENIS WORTMAN, Schenectady, N. Y.

It is said that the Caliph who ruled in Bagdad, when Charlemagne was emperor of France, cordially entertained at his court the savans of other countries, but that he greatly grieved and irritated the teachers of the Mahometan law thereby, for they thought that no man needed any book for study save the Koran, and they stood in dread of "a diffusion of a taste for the natural sciences." These feelings are not unshared by many sincere Christian minds in regard to their own Scriptures. A man of such varied learning and profundity of thought as Bishop Burnet, in 1690, published a book with the plethoric title—"The Sacred Theory of the Earth; containing an account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the general changes which it hath undergone, or is to undergo, till the consummation of all things;" a book of extensive information, surely, to which there never was the like, especially when we consider that it was written more than a century and a half

ago, when many leading theologians were still bringing up proofs that the earth was the centre of the universe and all the heavenly bodies were moving around it ; and when astrologers were summoned to the councils of Parliaments and Cabinets to determine future events. In this treatise, however, we come across the sentence without any qualification, "It is the Sacred Writings of Scripture that are the best monuments of Antiquity"—and this gives the key to his mistake. For he should have distinguished that there are many matters both of antiquity and futurity upon which they do not profess to teach at all ; and others, also, upon which they treat but very partially, leaving it to men to make investigations for themselves. Against this error we need to guard.

Others, however, entertain a dread lest the results of scientific investigation shall possibly be found to conflict with the teachings of Scripture, or lest the study of the sciences may lead to a slighting of revealed truth. That fear let us leave with the followers of Mahomet. With their book of absurd extravagances no true science could agree, and with an advance of knowledge their faith must crumble away. To us, however, who have a word of prophecy which every successive test has made more sure, there need be no such apprehension. With that word we may, without distrust, invite men of every science to compare their notes, confident that though some ancient prejudices and erroneous interpretations of our own may be corrected, the Word of God will stand unmoved.

The date at which we may regard the conglomerate mass of curious observations, legends, and speculations afloat during the middle ages, concerning the formation of the earth, as crystalizing into something like a system of established facts, we may fix at about the year 1580, when Palissy, held in just veneration by all Protestants for his staunch adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, was the first man who dared to assert in Paris that the fossil remains found in that neighborhood once belonged to real marine animals. Previously to this the various petrifications found in the soil had arrested the attention of the thoughtful. Arabian writers of the 13th century and of the 10th philosophized upon them. Farther back still we find Strabo at the beginning of the Christian era, and more than three centuries before that still, Aristotle accounting by earthquake convulsions for the interchanges that they saw must have taken place between the sea and land. It was not till the beginning of the 16th century that the subject was taken hold of by the Christian writers. The Italians were the first. Leonardo da Vinci, the gifted artist who in his painting of The

Last Supper achieved one of the noblest triumphs of Christian art, demonstrated as early as 1500 that the petrifications which awakened such curiosity could not be accounted for by any plastic force in nature, neither by the Noachian Deluge. Right there the war began which for three centuries was waged with great bitterness upon the question, whether fossil remains ever belonged to living animals, and if they did whether they could be accounted for by the Flood.

With the fresh interest awakened in these inquiries, the curious petrifications now began to be collected for cabinets. In 1580, as we have already observed, Palissy was the first to venture the assertion that they were genuine remains. It was in 1680 that Leibnitz, the cotemporary of Newton, noticed the regularity and extensiveness of the strata; attributed the changes that had taken place on the earth's surface to the two causes to which geologists now attribute most of them—a cooling from fusion, and deposition in water; and dated these changes back to some most ancient and unknown period. Five years after that Dr. William Woodward, deeming it his duty to demolish the incipient infidelity, published a work setting forth “the whole terrestrial globe to have been taken to pieces and divided by the flood; and the strata to have settled down from this promiscuous mass as any earthy sediment from a fluid.”

In 1721–1749 three Italian philosophers, Vallisneri, Moro, and Generelli, the first of whom had made the tour of Italy for facts, advanced to more mature investigations and results than any that had preceded them. With their results Buffon coincided in a work he published in 1749. But not without the penalty which bigotry has too often inflicted upon truth. One hundred and sixteen years before that Galileo had been arraigned before the ecclesiastical tribunal at Rome, and there, clad in sackcloth, and on his bended knees and swearing by the four gospels, had been forced to recant his astronomical heresy. Now came the turn of Geology; and Buffon, cited in polite terms to appear before the Sorbonne of Paris, also perjured himself and foreswore his faith. Just 116 years have now passed since that recantation of Buffon, a period equal to that which separated his recantation from that of Galileo. During that first long interval, Kepler, Napier, Newton, Halley, D'Alembert, Laplace and others had gone back and forth over the morass where the church had told Galileo it was heresy and death to tread. It was safe in Buffon's time. During the interval between this latter period and ours Hutton, Werner, De Lamarck, Cuvier, Conybeare, the Herscheils, Pye Smith,

Chalmers, Buckland, Miller, Sedgwick, Hitchcock, Murchison, Lyell, the Sillimans, Guyot, Dana, and a host of other great worthies, have gone safely in the path in which the Sorbonne declared it heresy to walk in Buffon's day ; and by this time we may conclude it safe to follow them. The sentence of the Sorbonne, like that of the Roman tribunal, was a triumph only of ignorance, and that never lasts long.

About this time (1749) or a little before, a German practical miner of the name of Lehman arranged the various strata into systematic groups. Werner, a German professor, elucidated it more clearly in the last quarter of the century. To that classification of rocks we may look, perhaps, as the foundation of that adopted with more or less variation by geologists now.

It was about 1780 that the two schools sprang up, the one called Neptunists who attributed to all rocks an aqueous origin, and the other Vulcanists who attributed to some an aqueous and to others an igneous origin. The latter was led by Hutton.

It was at this period—the latter part of the 18th century—that geology began to be converted from a science of speculation and theory into one of facts and rigid induction. Previously to this it was marked, as all branches of science were then, by too much of the scholastic spirit. Conjectures were formed first and then facts were sought to support the conjectures. Now it looked up facts first and began to base its theories upon them. That course it has pursued since then, and it is probably true that in our time there is no science more strictly inductive, none that more conscientiously collects its facts first and constructs its theories afterward, than geology.

Its history during the present century need not be traced here, as in so far as it is necessary to the subject it will be given in the course of the argument. Concerning its more modern history we will only say in this place, that the rapidity of its progress has been surpassed only by that of chemistry and the mechanic arts, that its advance has been for the most part owing to the efforts of men most renowned in scientific attainments, and most highly honored in the Christian church, and that it has offered to the Christian faith some of the most beautiful illustrations and apologies ever received from any source. Its more ancient history we have deemed it proper to review that we might remove, if possible, some of that prejudice which many entertain against it as an upstart youth,

and show that it has claim to some of that reverence which belongs to the opinions that other generations have cherished.

In the endeavor to remove the objections that many sincere Christian minds make to a reception of the geological interpretation of the Scriptures, and to show that much may be gained by receiving that interpretation, and not without an apology to geologists themselves for attempting so much in so small a compass, we propose

I. To state what all geologists *agree* in calling the demonstrated general facts of their science.

II. To consider some objections that a sensitive Christian mind would be likely to make to any new interpretation this science may propose to the Mosaic account of the creation.

III. To suggest in what ways his difficulties may be removed.

IV. To show what Christianity gains by accepting, and loses by rejecting the geological interpretation.

I. What are all geologists agreed in calling the general demonstrated facts of their science? They *agree* that the earth's surface has not always been as we now find it, but that parts have been lifted and depressed and broken by internal agencies, while other irregularities have been made by the wearing action of water. They *agree* that it is not one homogeneous mass of rock and soil, thrown loosely and carelessly together, but that it is composed of a great variety of rocks, of which some have cooled down from a state of fusion, and others have been deposited in water in well arranged strata. They *agree* that these stratified rocks go down to a depth sometimes of twelve or fifteen miles, sometimes less, and that though now and then, owing to local causes, a part of the series may be wanting, yet that in these strata there is a well-defined and systematic order which is scarcely ever reversed. They *agree* that in these strata are fossil imprints and remains of what were once real animals and plants, and that these, too, have an order and a system; that of the many thousand tribes represented in the rocks some that flourished in one period were totally extinct in another; that the line can be pointed out with considerable definiteness where the existence of plants and where that of animals began; that from that period on to this there has been a gradually ascending scale of existences with but few retrogradations; and upon this also are all the recognized chiefs of the science agreed, that there has been no lineal development from one to another. Neither Agassiz nor any other leading geologist pretends to point out a single certified instance, and Agassiz argues most powerfully against it. They *agree*, again, that from age to age there has

been an improvement in the condition of the earth, the various orders of life, and meanwhile being created with an adaptation to the improved condition, until at last its increasing excellence culminated in the order and beauty we now witness here; and, the time having come, *man* for whom the world was made and whom all the previous races prefigured in their organism, was placed upon it by his Creator, the last and crowning work of God. With a singular unanimity, to which there are but few notable exceptions, they *agree* in the opinion that he must have been created at about the period assigned in the Mosaic record. To account for the many changes that occurred antecedently to man's existence, they maintain, of course, that the earth had a pre-human history of vast, almost incalculable ages.

II. We now turn to the objections that a Christian mind, conscientiously and tenaciously holding to what has been the ordinary interpretation of the Mosaic account of the creation would be likely to suggest. The first objection is, that the science of geology is yet in its infancy, other facts remain to be discovered, upon a number of questions geologists are not agreed among themselves. The latter of these objections, we contend, goes for nought, for however geologists may differ upon minor points, we have just seen that there are certain great leading principles which they all *agree* are plainly demonstrated facts, and especially upon the exceedingly ancient origin of the globe they stand an undivided unit. It is quite true also, that other facts yet remain to throw light upon our different theories. But does any one candidly think that they can be of such a nature as to contradict the multitude of facts already established? They may modify the views of geologists upon certain inferior points, but is it not purely hypothetical to conceive that the radical doctrine of this science will be changed, when every single fact yet discovered tends only to confirm it?

Nor can we deem the objection a good one, that the science is too new to lay claim to much authority in changing old interpretations. Already we have seen that many of its theories are of a high antiquity. Who does not know that in the last fifty or sixty years the sciences have made more progress than in five hundred years before? It was not till the middle of the 17th century that modern chemistry began, and it is only during the last hundred years that Boyle, and Priestly, and Gay-Lussac, and Davy, and Franklin, and Liebig, etc., have created it into a well known and useful science. Yet who doubts the facts of chemistry because they have been

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Were it not as rational to suppose with Voltaire, who gravely suggested that the shells found on the mountains were probably dropped by pilgrims from the East on their way home?

The next theory is that these fossils may be the results of certain chemical affinities. Somewhat similar to this was a theory held in the 16th century, that "a fatty matter, set in fermentation by heat, gave birth to fossil organic shapes." Another was that they were produced by some influence from the stars. To this da Vinci in 1500 gave a most destructive reply, which is equally good against the "chemical affinity" doctrine, and the "fatty" one; "Where in the hills are the stars now forming shells of distinct ages and shapes?"

We come now to the remaining hypothesis, that all these phenomena were produced at the beginning—are simply freaks of nature. Against this view there are two serious objections; the one being that it has not a single fact to support it, the other that every fact is against it. We know, indeed, that it would be just as easy for God to make the earth with all these apparent remains and apparent signs of upheavals and submersions and disruptions as in any other way. But the question is not, Could he? but, Did he? Is it not a plainly gratuitous hypothesis, without any scientific facts to support it? And on the other hand, is not every fact against it? Did nature come from the hands of its author, a great pretense? Does God thus impose upon human credulity? Did he pile up the strata and fill them with the remains of animals and plants? Within those that were so clearly carnivorous did he put perfect imitations of the bones of other animals upon which they fed? Did he distribute through the rock the teeth, the skulls, the feet, the coprolites, the entire bodies, the foot-prints of extinct races, and all this in orderly arrangement of race and species, and thus seek to lead the human reason astray? Is man not sceptical enough by nature, enough already inclined to run after sciences falsely so called, without the Creator's thus throwing startling phenomena in his way to tempt him into another? And where will all this end? Into what gross absurdities such a course of reasoning, or rather of gratuitous dogmatism, will lead! The people of Rome were led by it to believe that the very vases of Monte Testacer, carved by human art only a few centuries before, were earthy concussions! But that is nothing. It gives to puerile conjectures more credit than to a world of facts. It declares at once that there is no certain relation between premise and conclusion. It destroys all reasoning from analogy, or anything else. Here it strikes only at science: but, in-

dulged in science, it would ere long invade the sacred precincts of theology, and instead of well-constructed systems of doctrine and a harmonious analogy of faith, it would press the claims of incoherent suppositions and baseless dogmas ; and by and by it would affirm that the Bible itself was not written by inspired penmen and handed down from age to age, but is simply a freak of nature too, from which no conclusions can be logically drawn ! "It is not reasonable," says an old writer "to call the Deity capriciously upon the stage, and to make him work miracles, for the sake of confirming our preconceived hypotheses."

And yet, exclaims the objector in alarm, this view must I hold or else throw my Bible away. "In six days," says the first chapter of Genesis, "In six days," says the fourth commandment "the Lord made the heavens and the earth." Every common mind so understands it. So past ages have understood it. So must I, as a believer in its inspiration understand it ; and so in six days, twenty-four hours long, did God make the world, whatever scientific absurdities may stand in the way, or whatever other sense is given by the Scripture itself. I will believe that the waters of the flood struck through and dissolved ten miles of earth and rock, and laid away in regular strata the numerous population of the globe ; or I will believe that all these strange phenomena are the results of a chemical affinity ; or I will believe that God made the world a great imposition and a sham ; but I will hold that it was made in six literal days of twenty-four hours each.

Now in the first place we do not ask you to swerve at all from your belief in the entire inspiration and veracity of the Bible. Equally with you we hold it to be the true and unadulterated word of God. We do not ask you to throw away your compass and chart ; we only ask you to be sure you read your chart correctly, and that you suffer no load-stone prejudice to lie near your magnet, to turn it from its proper pointing.

Dr. Buckland somewhere observes that the great "object of the Mosaic account was not to state in what manner, but by whom the world was made." To this we can not fully agree, because it is better to adopt the general rule that it is meant to teach all that by statement or by sure implication it does teach. It is remarkable how distinctly it denies the various philosophic errors of both ancient and modern time. The prevailing idea of the Persian philosophy, which afterward affected the Greek philosophy, and the early Christian theology, was that the world was eternal. This was denied by the statement of a positive creation. Then again all polytheistic

belief was destroyed by the statement that it was made by Jehovah. Whilst, further still, the pantheistic and naturalistic tendencies of our own time are met with the statement of the distinct and successive fiat. Although we can not subscribe to the somewhat bald statement of Dr. Buckland, yet we can see that it was not the only object of the first chapter of Genesis to declare *how* the world was made, but also *whether* it was made from nothing, and if so by *whom*. The *Whether*, and the *Who*, and *How* all come in; consequently, though we have some account of the *How*, we can not expect that it will give an exhaustive statement, but the grand outlines rather, to be filled up from the subsequent unfoldings and revealments of the world itself.

Another thing. There is a feeling entertained sometimes against allowing Geology to suggest any alteration in an exegesis of the Scriptures. But is that hostility well founded? In this particular instance we might object to the statement that geology has suggested an amendment. We have seen and shall yet see more fully, how many different interpretations of Genesis there have been than the one called the literal, or rather let us say the long popular one. But has not a knowledge of other matters been allowed to suggest a different interpretation? Chemistry suggests that nitre will not effervesce with vinegar; we look more carefully at our lexicon, and discover that in Prov. xxv. 20, we should read for vinegar *natron* (a carbonate of soda). "As vinegar upon natron, so is he that singeth songs to a heavy heart." Historians tell us that the Roman Empire did not extend over the whole world, but over all the known world, and by a well-established law of language we understand that when (Luke ii. 1) it is said that all the world was taxed, the known or Roman world is meant; and by the same principle we show how the statement that Christ died for all men does not conflict with the fact taught both by Scripture and observation that all men are not saved. Astronomy affirms that Job affirmed a literal fact when of the Lord he said, (xxvi. 7) "He hangeth the earth upon nothing," and that David used a figurative language when he said (Ps. xxiv. 2) "He hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods," and although we thought quite seriously of burning Galileo once for saying so, we reverse our judgment at last, and accept the light thrown upon the Bible by God's globes of fire. And glad we are for it now, when through the eloquence of a Chalmers and a Mitchell this noble science interprets to us so gloriously the works and ways of God. And now when another science comes forward, offering to Chris-

tian doctrines some of their grandest confirmations, shall we dread its suggestions? A rotten and dead faith, like some old mummied corpse, exhumed at length, and brought forth to the light and air, crumbles into dust; but a living faith like a living man wants the air and wants the light, and dies unless it has them!

Let us be cautious how we stoutly say that any other interpretation than has been popularly given to Genesis is impossible. By and by the church (that portion of it holding to this narrow and exclusive view) may want to change it. By and by an advancing knowledge of science and biblical criticism may, even more imperiously than now, demand such change. And if you shall have insisted too strongly upon your infallible rendering, the infidel may say, "Your antecedent criticisms are against you; and now when by an outside necessity you are driven to it, it is too late for you to make the change with honor."

III. Let us now inquire concerning the true meaning of the scriptural account.

We pass by the one known as the literal,—the theory of six solar days. However much credit it may claim for its antiquity and its wide acceptance, it involves us, as we have seen, in so many scientific absurdities, so outrageous logic, so destroys all reasoning from analogy, so violates our ideas of the Deity, degrading him to the work of making sports in nature for the gratuitous overturning of human faith, that it is a duty we owe to the Word of God, to see if a true understanding of it does not give a different interpretation, and, if such a one is possible, to accept it.

Impressed with such considerations as these, although in his day the facts were not so cumulative as now. Thomas Chalmers, first in 1804, and afterwards more fully in 1814, in a review of "Cuvier's Theory of the Earth," proposed the view, that between the creation mentioned in the first verse and the work mentioned in the verses following them, was a long interval of time, during which the earth may have gone through all the changes indicated by its strata; and thus opened one way by which geology could come to the defence of our common Christian faith, with its splendid illustrations of the attributes and works of God. This theory was not, however, new to him, but he gave it more shape and character. "Many of the early Christian writers," says Dr. Hitchcock, in his valuable work "The Religion of Geology" (p. 41); "were very explicit on this subject. Augustine, Theodoret,

and others, supposed that the first verse of Genesis describes the creation of matter distinct from and prior to the work of the six days. Justin Martyr, and Gregory Narianzen believed in an indefinite period between the creation of matter and the subsequent arrangement of all things. Still more explicit are Basil, Cæsarius, and Origen. It would be easy to quote from more modern writers who lived previously to the developments of Geology." Among others he quotes Bishop Patrick, who died in 1707. He says, "How long all things continued in mere confusion after the chaos was created, before light was extracted from it, we are not told. It might have been for anything that is here revealed a great while." We need hardly mention the writers who, since Chalmers' time, have advocated this interpretation. Prof. Hitchcock quotes Bishop Horsley, Sharon Turner, Pye Smith, Dr. Harris, Dr. Daniel King, Dr. Schmucker, and Dr. Pond—to which we may add Denis Crofton who has advocated this view with very great ability in a little work entitled "Genesis and Geology."

It certainly is very hard to disprove this interpretation. We mean upon the grounds assumed by the old-school opponents of the system. Objection may indeed be made that God is represented as making the sun and moon on the fourth day. But to this the reply is an easy and honest one, that for *made* we are to read *appointed*, and particularly as a different verb is used from the one in the first verse—not עָשָׂה , but $\text{נִצָּחַ$. Gesenius in his definition of the word נִצָּחַ , under 2. g, gives it this sense,—*to make one anything, to constitute, to appoint (as to an office)*. When followed by a noun with the prefix preposition לְ , denoting the purpose for which a thing is appointed, the sense of appointing or constituting is intensified. He quotes 1 Sam. xvii. 25, "and will make his fathers' house free in Israel," and 1 Sam. xii. 6, "advanced" or "appointed Moses and Aaron." It will not do to read it, "It is the Lord God that created Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers out of the land of Israel. So 1 Kings, xii. 31, it is not, he "created out of nothing, priests" but chose or appointed, made them for to be, etc. Now in Gen. i. 16, we have this same word, used so frequently afterwards to denote an *appointing*, followed by the preposition לְ —and therefore we translate, "He made, or appointed, two great lights (לְ) for to rule the day and (לְ) for to rule the night." We maintain the correctness of this rendering on grounds strictly philological. We do not say that it is the only possible one, we do say it is one of the possible ones.

It is objected to this that no one would ever suspect any interval between the creation mentioned in the first verse and the work of the six days. To this it is a sufficient reply that more than a thousand years before Geology was thought of by Christian writers, or was thought of by any as a science, many commentators did suspect it. We have mentioned some of their names already.

It is confirmatory of this view that there are numerous analogous cases of chronological breaks in the Scriptures. Mr. Crofton, in his work already alluded to, refers to one of seven or eight years in the second chapter of Exodus; to another of thirty-eight years in Deut. x. 5, 6; to another in 1 Chron. x. 14 compared with xi. 1; to another in Ezra vi. 7-22; and others. There is one he does not notice. We refer to that sublime discourse of Christ recorded in the 24th chapter of Matthew, and the 14th of Mark, in which, by a transition almost imperceptible, where it is almost impossible to define when the Saviour turns from one to the other, he passes on from a prophecy of the judgments to befall Jerusalem to that of the final judgment of the world. Eighteen centuries have intervened between that time and the present, and the great chasm widens more and more, and who knows but thousands of years may yet be born and expire before that almost unobserved interval between the prophecies shall be filled up? We transfer this and the other analogies back to the first chapter of Genesis, and at once allow a like interval, if necessary, between the great *beginning* of the world and its subsequent remodeling. During that vast intermediate period we may conceive all the ferns and forests that comprise the coal beds, all the coral reefs that make vast islands in the sea, all the mollusks whose remains now constitute mountain pyramids of shells, all the birds and beasts that have left their impress upon the rocks; to have had their generation, and life and death; and then, when God would create another tenant for the globe, man in his divine resemblance we readily conceive him to have swept off the three living populations, and, bringing the heavens and the earth into more distinct relations, and peopling the earth with animals better suited for the companionship of man, than to have created the race sublime in its pristine uprightness, sublime in its great fall, sublimer yet in its final redemption through Him, who, approving one by one his other works, at length linked himself to the race that was to be the last of all the series!

This method of reconciling the two records, we do not mention, however, because we deem it the only or the best; but

to show to the Christian who fears the possible undermining of his faith, that there is one theory he can adopt which, to say the least, was thought of long before geology suggested it, and which is infinitely better than the extravagant hypotheses of the anti-geologists. Meanwhile is there not a better one? one that will give the fuller significance of the sacred text?

It has long been felt that in the days mentioned in Genesis there must be something more than the hurried revolutions of a few hours. There are several facts recorded which seem at least incongruous with this literal six days theory. The Spirit of God is said to have moved, or *brooded*, upon the face of the deep, as though by a slow incubation a living, throbbing, moving world was generated from the before dead chaos. On the second day the whole upper firmament of waters was separated from the whole firmament of waters beneath. On the third day the waters were separated from the land; great oceans were rolled over and off the widely stretching continents, and the same day the earth was covered with a vegetation of grass, and herb, and tree, each yielding its fruit and seed. Now it is not indeed for us to say that the Spirit of God must have brooded over the face of the deep more than a few literal hours, though it certainly should be longer than that to match the figure. It is not for us to declare impossible these mighty rushings of the atmosphere, when in so short a time the firmament of air and cloud was separated from the watery waste below. It is not for us to say that in twenty-four hours the Lord could not have lifted up the continents and by a miracle have so cleared one third the globe of the vast oceans as to be adapted on that very day for the production of every variety of plants, some requiring moist lands, others arid desert lands, and others very ice, and have them all that very day bearing their peculiar fruits and seeds. All this may indeed have been; but certainly it does not comport with that sublime grandeur, that imperial repose and leisure with which it is natural to suppose the Eternal One wrought. Nor does the narrative itself so impress us, representing as it does part of that great work to have been performed at the utterance of simple Divine fiat, and part through the slower processes of natural laws, the spirit brooding, and the water and the earth bringing forth, etc.

Thus the question began to be raised whether the word day was not employed in a figurative rather than the rigidly literal sense. This view was entertained by DesCartes, Faber, De Luc, Lee, Guyot, and others. Against it Prof. Hitchcock,

inclining, when he wrote his volume on the Religion of Geology (Sect. 2), to the Chalmersian theory, but some years afterward to the Symbolic, made a number of objections. Of these we mention the two strongest. One was that "from Gen. ii. 5, compared with Gen. i. 11, 12, it seems that it had not rained on the earth till the third day—a fact altogether probable if the days were of twenty-four hours, but absurd if they were long periods." The other was that, "this hypothesis assumes that Moses describes the creation of all the animals and plants that have ever lived on the globe. But geology decides that the species now living since they are not found in the rocks any lower down than man is (with a few exceptions) could not have been cotemporaries with those in the rocks, but must have been created when man was; that is, on the sixth day. Of such a creation no mention is made in Genesis. The inference is that Moses does not describe the creation of the existing races, but only of those that lived thousands of years earlier, and whose existence was scarcely suspected till modern times. Who will admit such an absurdity?" (p. 65.) As, however, this author afterward (last revised edition, published just before his death) approved of the Symbolic theory, which is only one of the forms of the Figurative, it is presumable that he became convinced these arguments were not irrefutable. Indeed, to the first it seems only necessary to suggest that during the first and second days the whole order of things was of such a character, so different from the present, that perhaps it could not have rained, but the mists perpetually rising and descending (Gen. ii. 5) were possibly the uniform and only processes. To the second it would seem a reply sufficient that Moses did not pretend to relate all that was created, but only what was new to each day. Therefore though many new varieties of animals and plants came into existence on the sixth day, he mentioned, along with man, only those that as *genera*, and not simply as *species*, differed from previous creations.

These and other objections of a scientific origin being disposed of, is the way then open, so far as the principles of sacred criticism go, for some interpretation that will give any other than the popular sense to the word *day*? Will the laws of language admit such an interpretation?

To Professor Tayler Lewis belongs the credit of studying this matter from a purely scriptural stand-point, and giving it its most thorough exegesis. He set out with the design of learning, not from the strata of the earth, but from his Hebrew Bible and Lexicon what the Scriptures have to say about the

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creation. His views are embodied in the volume entitled, "Six Days of Creation." However critics may dispute some of his less important positions, it is difficult to disprove his general conclusions. Most clearly he seems to demonstrate that, because the Hebrew יוֹם , day, is (p. 6,). 1. "The best word the Hebrew or any other ancient tongue could furnish—any other word by which we should attempt to denote period or cycle being resolvable ultimately into the same idea that lies at the root of this first and simplest term of revolution: 2. Because of its cyclical or periodical character: 3. Because this periodical character is marked by two contrasted states which could not be so well expressed in any way as by those images that in all the early tongues enter into the terms for "morning and evening;" no other word would be so likely to be used to denote an indefinite period if an indefinite period were meant. Therefore, so far as the word *day* is concerned, it may mean equally the determinate period of twenty-four hours, or an entirely indeterminate period of years. Passing on from this he contends with great force that this is by no means a fanciful conjecture, but a conclusion to which the very account itself forces us. For "by representing" the first four evenings and the first three days "as ante-solar, the writer, whatever may have been his science, gives us a clear intimation that the days of which he is speaking are not the common diurnal revolutions measured by the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies. It is certainly not the *common* day in its *more essential* as well as striking characteristic of the solar division. There is, therefore, much more reason, and a more consistent license in the *less essential* and less striking characteristic of a twenty-four hours' duration" (pp. 6, 7). Reasoning upon this and upon other philological grounds, he views himself forced to the conclusion, not as a geologist, but as a Hebrew scholar, that the first days and nights, and, indeed, "the whole narration is anomalous, and that a *sufficient intimation* is given that the times and periods are to be interpreted in consistent analogy with the extraordinary acts."

Fortified by such considerations as these, the most cautious interpreter need not fear to entertain the question, which has so long pressed upon many conscientious minds, whether those days do not, must not, mean something more than what we now call days in our ordinary speech. Give the first chapter of Genesis the most careful and rigid exegesis, and the more rigid you make it the more plainly are you forced into giving to the word—which is itself indefinite—an indefinite, perhaps as Augustine would have it, some ineffable,

sense. Paradoxical as it may seem, give it a literal rendering, and you come directly upon some figurative, or at least some very indefinite sort of day.

To the old indefinite or figurative-day view, the principal objection seems to be that it was a too indefinite, mean-anything, kind of interpretation, a too loose handling of the Scriptures, it could hardly be supported by the rules of criticism. It was a very unwieldy thing. Yet had it the truth in it somewhere. To bring out this essential principle was the attempt, and the successful attempt, of Prof. Lewis' two volumes, "Six Days of Creation," and "The Bible and Science, or, The World-Problem;" free as it is alike from the old scientific objections on the one hand, and the old critical on the other.

We are not sure but that another difficulty may be experienced by some minds, growing out of the relations of each Mosaic *day* and each Mosaic *night*, a difficulty which would seem to be best met by resorting to the last method of interpretation that we mention, *viz*: the *Symbolic*, though we do not mean to imply that this is our only reason for preferring the Symbolic.

This difficulty is about the correspondence between the nights and days. The nights are mentioned just as particularly as the days, and were just as real. And it is somehow difficult for one to rid himself of the impression that as each day was *light*, so each night was *darkness*. Or waving this, was there not some correspondence between their respective *lengths*? If it be said that each new appearance, as of the sky at one time, the sun at another, etc., constituted the commencement of a new day, are we not drawn into the error of conceiving one day as merging into another day without the intervening and real night? If it be said that each great chaos and confusion might well be called a night, just as the original darkness and disorder were, the objection yet remains in the form of a most important scientific question, whether in each of these cases there was a simultaneous and universal chaos? whether after each such chaos the new creation, or new colonizing, or re-modification of the globe was simultaneous and universal, or so to any very great extent? If so, we find it less difficult, indeed, to conceive of each new chaos as a night, and each new creation or appearance as a day. But the scientific probabilities are too strong against it, and hence our difficulty.

We have spoken of the symbolic theory as relieving us from this. And yet we do not believe there is any necessary conflict between it and the other. This, unless we greatly misconceive him, is intimated by Prof. Lewis. He, indeed, would

not too narrowly define those strange days, but would leave them the rather, where Augustine does, calling them simply ineffable and divine. The beauty of the symbolic theory is that it admits all the literalness of the account; it accepts all the philological criticisms; it allows all the great periods with their indefiniteness and ineffableness; only to *Moses' eye those days and nights were marked, not only by the great periodic changes in the condition of the earth, but also by the coming and departing of the visions.* But of this again.

It is a pity that this has been titled the Symbolic. Pictorial or Scenic would have expressed more clearly and less objectionably what it is.

At some time or another Moses wrote; actually held his pen in hand and wrote as he was inspired of the Holy Ghost; wrote the whole first chapter of Genesis; wrote the Pentateuch. He was not to write merely from memory, or from observation, or after gathering many myths, but he was to write under an inspiration. He is to write a revelation of the creation of the world, and, as he is not to be a mere machine, the revelation is first to be made to him. Let one take the time and conceive if there can be a more natural way than for some picture to be presented before his mental vision, so that his own mind consciously works in observing and describing, at the same time, that the Holy Spirit infallibly directs?

Naturally we ask, How did others write? Daniel "had a dream (Dan. vii. 1) and visions of his head upon his bed; then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters." To Ezekiel the prophecy came through a vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10). To Habakkuk (ii. 2) the Lord said, "write the vision, and make it plain upon tables." In almost every case the prophets received the divine communication through visions. The writers were not pens, but penmen; not only wrote but consciously described.

To these examples the objection may be made that they were prophets, and Moses was not. To this we reply that Moses himself once had a vision on a matter not relating to prophecy. It was when on the mountain God showed him a pattern of the tabernacle and instructed him how to build it. Such a vision there was probably to David also, concerning the temple. With such instances as these, in which God revealed his will by united word and symbol, we come back to Moses, writing of the creation. What more natural, and more in accordance with God's usual methods of revealments to his ancient servants, than to have the work of creation pass by in visions corresponding to the successive great epochs? "We

treat the history of the creation," says Dr. Kurtz, "with its six days' work, as a connected series of so many prophetic visions. The appearance and evanishing of each such vision seem to the seer as a morning and an evening. Apparently because these were presented to him as an increase or diminution of light, like morning and evening twilight." Says a Scotch reviewer, quoted by Hugh Miller, "Each day contains the description of what he beheld in a single vision, and when it faded it was twilight. There is nothing forced in supposing that, after the vision had illumined the fancy of the seer, it was withdrawn from his eyes, in the same way that the landscape becomes dim at the approach of evening." If, to this, objection still be made, that Moses was not a prophet, and that the events he was describing were past occurrences, not future, then we reply, as Bishop Newton in his work on prophecy well argues, "Moses on more than one occasion was a prophet, (Deut. xviii. 15,) and that if a matter be unknown by science, or history, or any other source of information, and must be revealed to us by God, we see no reason why the past may not be revealed in the same way, by the same manner of symbol or picture, as the future. We see no reason why the ancient seer, standing on the Mount of Vision, might not have turned his horoscope when the day began as well as when the day ended, down the ancient years as well as others had turned theirs towards the new. Dr. Kurtz maintains—"Since the source of knowledge for both kinds of history, and not only the source, but the means and manner of coming to know, is the same, *viz.*, the eye-witness of the prophet's mental eye, it follows that the historical representation which he who thus comes to know projects (or portrays) in virtue of this eye-witnessing of his, holds the same relation to the reality in both cases we speak of, *and must be subjected to the same laws of exposition.* We thus get this very important rule of interpretation, *viz.*, that the representation of pre-human events, which rest upon revelation, are to be handled (looked at) from the same point of view, and expounded by the same laws, as the prophecies and representations of future times and events, which also rest upon revelation. This then," he concludes, "is the only proper point of view for scientific exposition of the Mosaic history of creation."

This is the symbolic (more properly pictorial, or scenic) interpretation. It is not a new one. How far it goes back we do not know. Dr. Knapp, in his theology, written in 1785, mentions it as a very common view then, and as if he had no question himself of its being the correct one. He and Kurtz, and other German authors, Hugh Miller, Barrows, Bush and

others have adopted it. Prof. Barrows, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, (1857) has given a very able argument in its favor; though, for its most magnificent development, one must read Hugh Miller's two chapters on The Mosaic Vision of the Creation, and The Two Records, Mosaic and Geological, in "The Testimony of the Rocks." No wonder that its amazing sublimities of thought cost that extraordinary genius his brain and his life. We add also the name of Professor Hitchcock, a name synonymous to those who knew him, with thorough scholarship, profound thinking, and unaffected piety. Previously inclining to the Chalmerian view, he adopted in later years the Symbolic, with some slight alterations, and in the concluding (a new) chapter of the last edition of "The Religion of Geology," argued it with great candor and ability.

This view greatly commends itself to every thoughtful mind.

First, by its strict compatibility with the great laws of biblical interpretation. Secondly, by its allowing us to contemplate those days as really marvelous, divine days, and to view the Creator as working not with the haste of one who by the end of a literal week must have his work done, but as working with the infinite comparison of the order of one who has eternity for the accomplishing of his grand purposes, and in accordance with those majestic and wise laws that now prevail, so far as we know, throughout the entire universe.

Another fact, which greatly corroborates this symbolic view, is the plain correspondence that exists between the events of those six days, and the successive periods recorded in the volume of the rocky strata. Geologists were quick to notice this most striking correspondence. So beautiful it was, and so corroborative of the scriptural account, that the Christian geologist could hardly fail to adopt it with enthusiasm. We can only glance at its outlines.

No one can compare the Geological history with the Mosaic without noticing that in both of them there are the same order and progression of events.

- In the first place "the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." We recognize in this a description of what the earth must have been when first cooled down from its fused condition. It was a scene of darkness and disorder. Hot vapors still rose from numerous volcanoes. The crust that had formed upon the molten globe was not yet tempered to its present coolness, and clouds of mist and sulphurous vapors shut off the light of sun and moon and star. It was aptly called *night*. At length some of the vapors began to condense, a little light began to glimmer

through the dark, lowering clouds, and the description of that day is, "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light." The vision passes by, and "the evening and the morning were the first day." Ages pass on. Another vision opens to the inspired seer. By this time the earth has radiated much of its heat. The watery vapors that before had steamed up from its hot surface begin to descend. Oceans and seas begin to form below, yet many clouds remain suspended in the ærial expanse. This is called the second day, and of it the record is that "God divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament." Again the vision closes—again opens, and long ages have gone by. The earth is less rocked by internal throes. The seas have become more settled in their beds. The light is growing more distinct, and though reptiles and fishes already commenced perhaps to populate the seas, yet they are of a low organism, and through the yet glimmering and partial light the principal matters that strike the eye of the beholder are the emergence of the dry land from the midst of the seas, covered by a rank vegetation that geologists now tell us grew in the old carboniferous period. And this is the third day, wherein, as Moses tells us, the sea was divided from the land, and herbs, and trees, commenced to cover the continents. And well fitted for that ancient period were those hardy trees. They needed more than any plants now growing carbon and other gases from the air. Those then at length absorbed, and now—the air no longer filled with smoke and heavy mist—the sun shines out full and clear, and the moon emerges from her obscurity, and the stars before unnoticed brighten up the expanse of night. It is Moses' fourth day with "the lights in the firmament of the heavens," "to be for signs and for seasons and for days and years," and "to give light upon the earth." And now the world is better fitted for a living population. Enormous reptiles swim the waters, and birds of strange build and habits stalk along the marshes. This he, of the divine visions, describes as another day, in which the waters swarmed with "great whales" and creeping monsters, and the air with "winged fowl," the Oolitic and Chalk periods of geology, noted above all others for monsters of air and sea. But still the earth was too rough, the temperature too torrid, the vegetation too coarse, to sustain a well developed race of beings. So in patience they all wait, until at length better prairies and woods, better temperatures and vegetations come, and the horrible monsters of the previous age give way to orders of a finer organism—by geologists described as the Mammals of

the Tertiary period, by Moses as cattle and beasts of the sixth day—the very same! And here we come upon a new coincidence, quite different from the others, and therefore the more remarkable. Geologists tell us that this Tertiary period, in which those Mammals lived, was a very long one, and that the Alluvial period, called the Historic sometimes, because only in it human remains are found, is, at the close of this period, and only a very small part of it. We find the corresponding statement in Genesis. Previously to this God had pronounced everything good only at the close of each day. Here he does it before the day is finished. After the creation of beast and cattle and creeping thing (v. 25), he “saw that it was good.” Then after this remarkable break he creates man, and for the second time in the same day declares his approval of his work. It may have been, indeed, partly to denote that man was a different sort of being from all the rest, and far above them, and it was meet he should be approved and blessed in distinction from all of them; but we can not but regard it also as growing out of the historical fact, recorded in Scripture and in the rocks, that the most of the present animal creation were brought into being long ago, but man more recently, and as the end of the great series.

Thus from the outset of creation up to its culminating point does the history which the inspired penman wrote as he beheld in divinely given vision, correspond in an exquisite harmony with that which the geologist uninspired, now writes out from natural vision of the original records themselves, records safely kept, and now untombed from the ruins of this ancient world. The Scriptures confirm geology, and geology confirms the Scriptures.

Yet have we only gone over six of those days. What of the seventh? It was George W. Faber, an English theologian, who in 1801 published his “*Horæ Mosaicæ*,” who was much struck with the fact that, while of every other day it is invariably said, “The evening and the morning were the first day,” “second day,” etc., no such termination was announced of the seventh. He inquired what this meant. The day for which all other days were made, why was no notice taken of its ending? Thinking over it long he came upon the happy thought that perhaps it was not ended yet! It might be continuing still! From this he reasoned backward and by an inductive process which no logic can dispute, concluded that if the seventh day was a long one the others must have been also. Yet was not he the first to make this discovery? Only if we do not mistake he was the one to give it a greater prominence

in the more modern discussions. The old thinkers of Germany, and the yet older ones among the Latin Fathers, often queried about this omission of an ending to the Sabbath, and were in no little trouble in conceiving the others as natural days, while this was so indefinite and strange. (See "Six Days of Creation," Ch. 21.) It is one of the strongest arguments in favor of the symbolic interpretation, and must commend itself with much force even to those who have no sympathy with geology. The great seventh day is not ended yet. It still goes on—the Sabbath, as Hugh Miller beautifully conceived, on which God ceases from his creative work to do the Sabbath work of redeeming a sinning, ruined world. And by and by this day shall be ended like the rest. At the final consummation God shall look back upon the glorious work of this sacred Sabbath day, and not one seer alone, but the whole world will have the vision pass before them then, and ere time closes and the book is sealed, each redeemed soul shall see his book and hear his announcement of approval, and in the book shall put the record, *God saw that it was good.*

We need not say how much we love this view—its poetry and its truthfulness. We need not say how glad we are to escape from a narrow construction of the sacred record which would make us adopt those outrageous ideas about organic remains and aqueous deposits that so scout at every principle of logic and taunt our human faith; how glad we are to be relieved from that theory, which, as the author of the "Testimony of the Rocks" truthfully says, "buddles the whole creation into a few literal days, and converts the incalculably ancient universe into a hastily run up erection of yesterday;" how glad we are that this comes at no expense of a true understanding of the Word of God, but in the method of its most literal and exact interpretation; how glad we are that thus is opened up to us an opportunity of going back into those ancient ages, and studying among their mysteries the marvelous works and designs of Him whose "goings forth have been from of old, even from the days of eternity!"

IV. What, now, will Christianity lose by rejecting and gain by accepting this interpretation?

Rejecting it, it may lose its reputation for fairness and candor. We know how tenaciously a few educated minds still hold to what they call the literal theory. We know how widespread among the generality of people has been that opinion, and how unwise it would be to shock the simple faith of God's children by needlessly adopting and parading new interpretations of the divine word. But we know, also, that

there is danger on the other side. Let men once see that our religious teachers are trimming the Scriptures to make them match old prejudices, that they are keeping new and correct interpretations in the back-ground that they may not arouse their fears; and instantly suspicion is awake, their credit and influence are gone, and to a great extent the credit and influence of Christianity itself. A few years since, straggling among the cliffs that form a part of the Massachusetts coast, we found some small muscles adhering to the wave-washed rocks, and endeavored to pull them off. But they had grown fast and so would not let go their hold. Of course in our attempt to pull them loose, their tender shells were broken and their lives destroyed. Then thought we with ourselves, Ah, poor muscles! if ye had not holden so tightly ye would not been so crushed and killed! And so we sometimes think of the church of Christ. If by and by it shall have to relax its hold on certain time-honored interpretations, better that we relax our hold at once, than imperil our faith and our very life by the terrible wrench with which we shall be broken off at last!

Adopting this theory we gain a most impressive confirmation of the inspiration of the Bible. At the time the Pentateuch was composed, how liable the wisest uninspired writer would have been, if venturesome enough to treat upon the creation at all, to introduce some statement that would afterward have been found impossible and absurd! How simply impossible to have put the various stages of the creative series in their proper order! Yet there was written among a people more nomadic than settled in their land, with no pretension whatever to learning, and with no literature of their own, this remarkable portion of this most remarkable of books, which has stood the test of infidel criticisms from that day until now, and having outlived these is now confronted by science, and asked what it can tell about the creation of the earth; and without pretending to be specially a treatise upon science, it tells the story as the earth tells it itself—all the various principal acts in their natural succession! Christians greatly trembled once and infidels exulted at the interrogations of this science; but now the infidel shrinks back in confusion and the Christian's turn has come for an honest pride in the old Book that has gone through so many wars, and he exults as he sees that the Bible which the Holy Ghost hath written on parchments and papers, and the Bible which the everlasting Word, the Son of God, has written on tables of stone do not disagree, but confirm each other.

By accepting this interpretation Christianity also gains a striking assurance that two great facts which the Scriptures record are by no means improbable.

One has already taken place—the Noachian deluge. Of it geology gives indeed no direct evidence. It asserts that the remains now found in the rocks are no certain vestiges of such a flood; and many have thereupon concluded that it denies the fact. So late as 1838 an English author deemed it necessary to write a book of 1150 pages; “The Doctrine of the Deluge, Vindicating the Scriptural Account from the Doubts which have been cast upon it by Geological Speculations;” and with heroic purpose he ransacked all the lore of ancient languages, and the treatises of all nations, to prove, what geology never disputed, that there had been a deluge. Had he consulted this science, he would have learned from it that such submersions of continents were no unfrequent thing in ancient times, and there is no improbability that there was one four thousand years ago. If infidelity scoffs at the Noachian flood as an absurd thing and a myth, geology comes at once to the rescue of inspiration, and says there have been many such.

The other fact to which we have referred is yet to take place—the final conflagration of this world. The Christian may sometimes doubt it, and the novice in science, pointing to the already oxidized earth, may say such a burning is impossible, and that Peter (2 Pet. iii. 7, 10, 11, 12) absurdly misconceived; but geology pierces the earth’s crust and shows to the disputants the fiery globe within where now imprisoned heat and gases at God’s bidding may burst the earth in twain, if need be, and let the solid crust again roll and be molten in that fiery sea!

Again. It has been a favorite theory with some that man is descended from the ape, and so is kith and kin to every beast, and bird, and reptile. Would you combat that tremendous heresy? Appeal to comparative anatomy and you may show with considerable clearness that no species ever runs into another. But the infidel anatomist says, “Yes, but give us time, you draw your inference from the experience of only a few thousand years. But give to nature time enough, and see how she will develop race from race.” Here you have the infidel just where you want him. Geology gives you leave to tell him, “Sir, all the years it took to build this world you have for your experiment!” Go with him to the record of those distant years. Have no fear as to their result. You need not fear what the author of “The Vestiges” may say—whom Hugh Miller calls a “smatterer,” and Agassiz the same. Go.

with Agassiz, and almost every geologist worthy of the name, to the truthful strata of the earth. Lead the infidel through all the series from the perfectly azoic to the human, and show him there, as you conclusively can, that during all those ages and among all those millions of species, no instance has yet been found of one species growing out from another. Thus demonstrate the entire *humanity* of man!

Would you meet Hume's argument against a miracle by a veritable miracle itself? Then take him down again among the rocky quarries. Show him, as you can show him, that every race that ever lived was a miracle, because in many cases you can put your finger on the time when a race, not existent before, at length sprang into existence, and must have been created.

Would you meet with overwhelming arguments, another who denies a Providence? or strengthen your own heart which, amid the discordance of events is sometimes agonized with doubts? See how by the trees of ancient growth God purified the air of poisonous vapors and reduced the (not chemical compound, but mechanical) mixture of gases that compose the atmosphere to such a proportion as is just adapted to our breathing. See, too, how ages ago he bade the insects of the ocean build up from its bottom groves of coral, through which the currents of the ocean sweep all its waters in ebb and returning tide, to cleanse them from impurities that might be noxious to marine life. See also, how long ago, when ignorance might have perplexed itself why God should make to grow the useless ferns and vast forests of the carboniferous period, he was storing their remains in the bowels of the earth, so they might afterward furnish warmth, and heat-power to man. Or, let one transplant himself among the convulsions of the earth which anciently took place, and seemed so needless and so cruel, and coming back to this one day he shall learn that the divine World-Builder then broke up the strata, and pitched them confusedly against each other, in order that each of them with its various stores of lime, of coal, of gold, and iron, might project itself to the view of man and within his easy reach. Thus study the ancient fore-casting love, and the present providence of God.

Would you gain some overawing impression of eternity? Go, stand by the deep gorge into which Niagara tumbles the waters of the lakes. Think how age after age, slowly wearing off the rock, that river has worn its way from Lake Ontario to the place where now it pours its tumultuous flood. Calculate how long it must have taken to carve through that

solid masonry those long seven miles. And then think that even before that wearing process commenced, and even when that rock was new, the world was old! The great American astronomer who, to his just fame as a student of the stars has added even the nobler of a Christian patriot and soldier, once compared the stars to "pendulums that beat in space the seconds of eternity." Geology takes up the inspiring thought and says, Aye! these are the pendulums that in their long perturbations beat the slow seconds of those days in which God made the world!

Would you illustrate the Divine patience? His steady adherence to some one great plan? You can not do it anywhere so well as he hath done it in this great world-work. During all those ages whose length impresses one like eternity itself, he had the one final idea in view, and the laws that now work wrought regularly and invariably then to bring about his purpose. He hurried not. Eternity was his. A thousand years to him were as a day, and one day as a thousand years.

God worketh slowly, and a thousand years
He takes to lay his hands off! Layer on layer
He made Earth—formed it and fashioned it
Into the great, bright, useful thing it is.

Veined it with gold and dusted it with gems,
Lined it with fire, and round its heart-fire bowed
Rock-ribs unbreakable;—until *at last*
Earth took her shining station as a star
In heaven's dark hall, high up the crowd of worlds.*

Finally, would you teach man his greatness, and his sin? The cross of Christ comes indeed first. There may the sinner get such impressions of his equal worthlessness and worth as nowhere else. But after Christ's work in redemption comes his great work in nature. Tell man how fire and earthquake, and river and sea, and glacier and coral spent ages that pass beyond our powers of conception, in fitting up this earth for his abode. Tell him how the planet wrought on in its ancient toil, casting up its mountains and hewing out its valleys. Tell him how his Creator would not put him here, until the world was completed and adapted to his use. Thus show him what God thought of him, and when he sins remind him how much less value he puts upon himself than does the great Jehovah. Thus show him how he sins not simply against the present goodness of God, but against a love that thought of him and a

* Alexander Smith.

wisdom that planned and wrought for him, and a divine benignity that waited for him through ages without number.

Thus as Elijah stood in the cave of Horeb, do we stand among the rocky strata of the earth and we hear the echoes of ancient thunderings, and we see the vestiges of ancient fires, and now there comes to us a still small voice, not as with the prophet to rebuke our pride, but the rather to confirm our faith.

Here we see the works of God confirming his sacred word, and his word in turn commending the study of his works. We find another witness to the flood, and another confirmation of Peters' prophecy of the final conflagration. We hear science distinctly proclaiming man to be above the brute. We see how miracles were possible in Jesus' time because *miracles were* in ancient times. We see that from the beginning on till now the world has been watched over by the forecasting providence of God. We get one of the profoundest conceptions of time, of eternity, and of the divine patience, and a new illustration of the dignity and sin of man. There is scarcely a Christian doctrine which this most imperial of the sciences does not confirm, scarcely a Christian conception which it does not illustrate, no Christian emotion or grace, whether of faith, or hope, or charity, which its marvelous teachings have not a tendency to exalt and refine.

ART. VII.—CRITICISMS ON BOOKS.

THEOLOGY.

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, with a Revised Translation. By Rt. Rev. CHAS. J. ELLICOTT, D. D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1865. pp. 278. We have repeatedly spoken of the great thoroughness and value of Bishop Ellicott's exegetical labors. His commentaries are among the best, if not the very best, helps a student can have. Thorough criticism of the text, concise interpretation, and a judicial fairness characterize his works. The Æthiopic, Coptic and other ancient versions have been carefully compared. The general result of his labors is to confirm and reinstate, on the whole, the old tradition of the church as to faith and doctrine: "the deductions of rigorous scholarship and of Catholic truth stand ever in the truest union." An enlargement of the epistles with a discussion of objections, would be a valuable addition to these commentaries.

The Bible Hand: an Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. By JOSEPH ANGUS, D. D. Revised Edition, with Illustrations. Philadelphia:

J. S. Claxton, 1865. pp. 727. Among the popular Introductions to the Bible, this work of Dr. Angus has already won an honorable place. The first part contains an able vindication of the authenticity and authority of the Scriptures; and also expounds the principles of its interpretation, and gives rules for the study of it. The second part is devoted to an account of each one of the books of the Old and New Testament. It is a very useful work, and can profitably be used by all classes of readers and students of the sacred Scriptures.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels. With the Text Complete. St. John. Vol. I. By Rev. J. C. RYLE, D. D. New York: Carters, 1866. p. 422. Dr. Ryle is an "Evangelical" commentator of the church of England. He has already published four volumes on the first three gospels. The present work has more strictly the character of a commentary, and is a more valuable and elaborate work than either of its predecessors. It is wrought out on the basis of the plenary view of inspiration, and is clear in its exposure of neological errors. The style is forcible, pungent and practical.

A Commentary on the Second Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By JOHN T. DEMAREST, D. D. New York: A. Lloyd, 1865. A new issue of a work published in 1862, which shows marks of careful and conscientious investigation. It is a full and lucid commentary on an important and difficult book of the New Testament.

A Popular Appeal in favor of a New Version of the Scripture. Part Second: the Priesthood of Christ. By JAMES JOHNSTONE. London: Nisbet & Co., 1865. This pamphlet attempts to show the need of a new version by a critical examination of several passages, in which the priesthood of Christ is brought to light: as e. g. 1 Pet. iii. 18-21; Isaiah liii. 9, lii. 15; Rom. i. 4; Matth. xxviii. 9, 10; xxiii. 10, 11, etc. The author's criticisms are interesting, and show marks of study, and a zeal for the honor of the Word of God.

Christianity and Statesmanship, with Kindred Topics. By WILLIAM HAGUE, D. D., Boston: Gould & Lincoln. This is a revised and enlarged edition of a most valuable work. Dr. Hague is a clear and vigorous writer, and he discusses in this volume some of the great questions of the age in a fresh and interesting manner. Several of the articles which compose the work were published in separate forms and awakened a good deal of interest and discussion at the time of their appearance, particularly the one entitled, "Christianity and Slavery," being a Review of Rev. Doctors Fuller and Wayland on Domestic Slavery.

Voices of the Soul Answered in God. By Rev. JOHN REID, New York: Carter & Brothers, 1865. 12 mo. pp. 374. This is a work of remarkable originality and power. It is evidently the fruit of mature reflection and profound conviction. The author discusses the leading doctrines of the gospel in a way to rivet the reader's attention, and that can scarcely fail to convince his judgment and impress his moral feelings. We know not where to find more considerate and forcible thinking on the great themes of evangelical religion in the same space than we have in this treatise.

How to be Saved; or, The Sinner Directed to the Saviour. By J. H. B. St. Louis: J. W. McIntyre. 24 mo. pp. 126. Paper covers, 20 cents; cloth, 50. Forty thousand copies of this little work have already been sold. It is an admirable book; clear and sound in its teachings, earn-

est and forcible in its appeals. The pastor, the Sunday-school teacher, the working Christian, will find it a valuable aid in their efforts to win souls to Christ.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Intuitions of the Mind inductively investigated. By Rev. JAMES McCOSH, LL. D. New and Revised Edition. New York: Carter & Brothers, 1866. pp. 448. With an introductory commendation by Professor Shedd, who says of it, very truly, that, "after deducting whatever difference of opinion may arise in the minds of readers, there still remains a large and solid amount of philosophical reflection in this volume which will commend itself to the dispassionate reason of all."

This is an improved edition of a work, which is already well known, and which contributes, in fact, the chief contribution of the author to the study of philosophy. Dr. McCosh's position is an intermediate one between German idealism, and English and French materialism; and he shows skill, sobriety and candor, as well as a high degree of philosophical ability, in maintaining this intermediate position. While he is too diffuse and repetitious to be classed among the masters of metaphysical science, he yet maintains a high rank among those of the second grade; and his work can be profitably used as a wise and safe guide into the vexed questions of modern metaphysics. His arrangement of the Intuitions into Primitive Cognitions, Primitive Beliefs, and Primitive Judgments, is hardly made out with clearness, and leads to the necessity of frequent and needless repetitions. A more definite view of the nature of Induction would have led him to avoid the phrase "inductively investigated" in the title of his book. An investigation of the ultimate ideas of the mind is not properly termed an induction. His criticisms upon divergent opinions are clear and fair. The whole work is worthy of thoughtful study.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Natural History. A Manual of Zoölogy for Schools, Colleges and the General Reader. By SANBORN TENNEY, A. M. Illustrated with over Five Hundred Engravings, New York: Charles Scribner and Co., 1865. We do not hesitate to pronounce this a valuable text-book for the study of this important branch of natural history. Skillfully and scientifically arranged, and profusely illustrated, chiefly from original designs admirably engraved, it meets a want which has long been felt by the teachers of youth, and will facilitate the study of this interesting branch of human knowledge. The publishers have given it a very neat and inviting look.

Zulu-Land; or Life Among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zulu-Land, South Africa. With Map and Illustrations, largely from original Photographs. By Rev. LEWIS GRout, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee; New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1865. The author spent fifteen years of missionary life in South Africa under the auspices of the American Board, and is able, therefore, to speak by authority. He is already favorably known also as an author; his "Grammar" of this curious Language, showing a thorough mastery of that tongue, and the literature bearing upon the subject—a book of decided philological value, published by the same committee, and noticed in the January number of this Review.

In the present work, Mr. Grout appears in quite another field, and on a more popular topic. The book is one of marked interest. Without any attempt at fine writing the style is easy, natural, and lively, and the sketches of scenery, and life in its varied phases, as the missionary saw and experienced it, are many of them very graphic. There is a charm about the book in its freshness, raciness, vivid coloring, strange incidents, and descriptions of African life and manners and physical features and missionary work and trials, which will hold the reader's attention to the end of it. It embodies also a large amount of information, in regard to the history, the geography, and the productions of Africa, and a pretty full history of the American and various European missions which have been planted in that dark land. It is certainly a very valuable contribution to a fuller and better understanding of South Africa.

History of the United States Cavalry, from the formation of the Federal Government to the 1st of June, 1863. To which is added a list of all of the cavalry regiments, with the names of their commanders, which have been in the United States service since the breaking out of the Rebellion. By ALBERT G. BRACKETT, Major First U. S. Cavalry, Col. Ninth Ill. Vol. Cavalry; late Chief of Cavalry of the Department of Missouri; Special Inspector of Cavalry, Department of the Cumberland. pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865.

A valuable addition to the war-literature of the country. The effect of it will be to increase the reader's appreciation of this arm of the United States service. More than half of the volume is devoted to the wars which precede the late rebellion. A good deal of interesting information is given in reference to cavalry organizations, European and American, the various kinds of arms and accoutrements, the care of horses, etc. The list of names given and the illustrations are an additional feature of value.

The Life of John Brainerd, the Brother of David Brainerd and his Successor as Missionary to the Indians of New Jersey. By REV. THOMAS BRAINERD, D. D., Pastor of "Old Pine Church," Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee; New York, A. D. F. Randolph, 1865. 12 mo. pp. 492. We are glad to see this interesting book brought out by our Publishing Committee, and in a style so superior and every way becoming it. It is a rare book, in some of its features, as we might suppose, coming from the gifted pen of Dr. Brainerd, and portraying the life and character of the brother and successor of the saintly David Brainerd.

The preparation of this memoir has evidently been a labor of love. "Representing their name, and sharing with them the great responsibilities of the ministerial office, claiming kindred with them according to the flesh, and humbled by the contemplation of their moral excellence, it seems pertinent that he should have great interest in their history, and be willing to give such information concerning them as he can furnish for the benefit of the Church of God.

As the friend of Whitefield, the Tennents, President Edwards, Burr and Dickinson; as the trustee for twenty-six years of the College of Princeton; as the Moderator of the Old Synod of New York and Philadelphia; as one selected to fill the place of President Edwards at Stockbridge, on his transfer to Nassau Hall; as a chaplain in the Old French War on the frontiers of Canada; as the first domestic missionary of the Presbyterian church in the United States; as a faithful missionary to the Indians for more than twenty years; and above all, as a holy consecrated man of

God, I think there are materials in the life of John Brainerd to justify the tardy presentation of his journal and biography to the public. The author feels great satisfaction in being able to set a character so stainless and benevolent before the rising ministry of the land."—*Preface*.

Sure we are that thousands, in the ministry and out of it, will appreciate and profit by the service here rendered to the cause of Christ. The work is a fitting sequel to the memoir of his distinguished brother, which has served to quicken the piety and enlarge the missionary zeal of the Christian church all over the world.

John, the youngest brother of David, though not his equal in talents or mental acquisitions, possesses a kindred spirit, and the same rare elevation and purity of character.

Such a book can scarcely fail to do good in these days. How much the earnest, devoted, missionary spirit of the Brainerds is needed in the present condition of the world at large and of our own country! We warmly commend this late but beautiful tribute to the memory of one of God's most devoted servants, to the ministry and to the laity of the church, as adapted to general circulation, and most refreshing to the Christian heart.

Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Sixty-four years in the Ministry. By Rev. HENRY BOEHM. Edited by Rev. JOSEPH B. WAKELY, New York: Carleton & Porter. 1865. The author sustained intimate relations with Bishop Asbury, and with other pioneers and fathers of the Methodist church in this country, and is therefore able to give much interesting and valuable information relating to primitive Methodism. The materials of the work are derived from a "manuscript journal of two thousand pages," kept by the author. It is substantially an autobiography, written in a homely, familiar style, and yet possessed of decided interest, especially to the denomination in whose interest it is published.

The same publishers give us a small volume entitled, *Sabbath Psalter*: a selection of Psalms for Public and Family Worship, compiled by Rev. HENRY J. FOX.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Essays in Criticisms. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Boston: Tichnor & Fields, 1865. This volume is one of the pleasantest and most really valuable literary republications of the season. It is composed of many articles published separately from time to time, each of them written with an object, and marked by the thoughtful and earnest character of the author. The longest article is that on the *Translation of Homer*. The three lectures which Mr. Arnold first published on that subject brought him into sharp contact with Mr. Newman and some other translators of Homer, in which, however, he seems to have, by far, the better of the argument.

Among the most interesting of the papers here reproduced are those on *The Function of Criticism at the Present Time*,—*The Literary Influence of Academies*,—and *A French Eton*. The last of these gives an interesting account of some French schools, and then enters somewhat at large on the subject of English secondary instruction, *i. e.* instruction given in institutions below the rank of universities. It contains many suggestions as applicable on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. The article on "Academies" also is very suggestive. The French Academy, estab-

lished originally for preserving the purity of the French language, sets the standard in many directions, creates an educated opinion, and serves as a centre and rallying-point of literary judgment. "Why," says Mr. Arnold, "is all the *journeyman-work* of literature, as I may call it, so much worse done here than it is in France? Think of the difference between our books of reference and those of the French, between our biographical dictionaries (to take a striking instance) and theirs; think of the difference between the translations of the classics turned out for Mr. Robin's library and those turned out for M. Nisard's collection! As a general rule, hardly any one amongst us, who knows French and German well, would use an English book of reference when he could get a French or German one." Now if in England there is such a deficiency from lack of concentration of literary influence, much more in America where what we may call the practical and lower utilitarian influences are much more powerful, and our language is so much more at the mercy of the newspapers. The dangers to which our language and literature are exposed would not probably be met by an academy,—indeed, Mr. Arnold does not recommend such an arrangement for his own country, and it might not suit the genius of ours,—but it is not too much to ask that criticism should be free, and that every educated man should feel a special responsibility in guarding, so far as he may, against the perversions of his language and against all degradations of literature.

Dante as Philosopher, Patriot and Poet. With an Analysis of the Divina Commedia, its Plots and Episodes. By VINCENZO BOTTA. New York: Scribner, 1865. Professor Botta's contribution to the Dante Festival does honor to himself and his adopted land as well as to Italy and Dante. It is the best analysis and account of the great *Commedia* to be found in our language; and it is written in the spirit of a philosopher as well as of a critic. The first part of the work sets forth the philosophy, the political ideas and the religious views of Dante; and also contains a valuable summary of his life, and account of his other writings. The place awarded to Dante among the greatest poets of the world is abundantly confirmed by criticism and philosophy. His countrymen, in their renewed consciousness of national unity, have done well to celebrate the 600th anniversary of their greatest poet's birth, with so much of pomp and pride. And among the contributions sent to them from other lands, this work of Professor Botta takes rank among the highest and best. His command of the resources of the English language are extraordinary for a foreigner; even his occasional lapses in idioms are what the best of scholars are liable to when writing in a foreign language. The volume is very handsomely brought out.

Carry's Confession. A Novel. By the Author of "Mattie: a Stray," &c., &c. New York: Harper's Library of Select Novels. No. 258. pp. 190. A well-told tale of domestic life, revolving about the suspicions and misunderstandings of a husband and wife, who were ill-suited to each other. The characters are sharply drawn.

The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania. Showing where Petroleum is found, how it is obtained, and at what cost, with hints for whom it may concern. By WILLIAM WRIGHT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1865. This is by far the most thorough and reliable history of Petroleum which has been given to the public. The author evidently spared no pains in gathering information on the spot, and he has given his results in a fearless and independent manner, which entitles his statements to be re-

ceived as veritable truth. The subject needed a careful and searching examination, and a scathing exposure ; and it has got both in this volume. It will help to undeceive multitudes who have been victimized during the "oil fever," while it goes to show that underneath a system of fraud and falsehood, and magnificent speculation, there is a great basis of fact, more than \$100,000,000 of *bona-fide* capital being invested in it, and the aggregate yield of oil really immense and most important in a financial point of view. We have here just the facts and figures necessary to an intelligent understanding of this interest.

The Story of the Great March. From the Diary of a Staff Officer. By Brevet Major GEORGE WARD NICHOLS, Aid-de-Camp to General Sherman. With a Map and Illustrations. This is a graphic and soul-stirring account of one of the grandest and most wonderful feats ever accomplished by an army. We marvel not that edition after edition of the work has already been exhausted, and still the demand for it increases. The publishers have put it in a good style.

Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., LL. D., author of "Treatise on Human Physiology," &c. Harper & Brothers, 1865.

Another volume from the prolific pen of Prof. Draper, whose works possess some features of novelty and interest certainly, and are sure to command readers, while they are marred, at least the present one, and his "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," by great defects, foolish assumptions, and radical false reasonings. In our judgment the main principles which underlie both these works—for they are identical—are unsound and vicious. Draper's main theory, if we can apprehend it, is the same as that of Comte, Buckle and Mills—the great masters of positive science. The progress of the race is progress simply of the positive sciences. In the advance of physiology lies the only hope of the world. Looking at the future in the light of morals, theology and metaphysics, all is darkness. He excludes the moral element and providence from history, and makes the physical supreme.

We have not space for a more extended notice of this pretentious book at the present, but we may refer to it at another time. In the meanwhile we refer our readers to the opinions we expressed, after a careful examination, of Dr. Draper's "History of Intellectual Development of Europe" in this REVIEW for the year 1863, p. 517, and again pp. 615–30. Very much there said is equally applicable to the present work.

MISCELLANY.

Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion, Parts 12, 13, brings down the narrative with abundant illustrations, to the midst of the operations in Kentucky and Tennessee (under Buell) in 1862. The account of the capture of New Orleans and of General Butler's rule there, is one of the best parts of the history.

The Influence of the War on our National Prosperity, is the title of an excellent Lecture, delivered by WILLIAM E. DODGE, Esq., of New York, to the citizens of Baltimore. It handles the theme very effectively.

The Two Pageants, by CHARLES P. KRAUTH, D. D., is an eloquent discourse in commemoration of President Lincoln.

Classical and Scientific Studies, and the Great Schools of England. By W. P. ATKINSON. Cambridge: Sever & Francis, 1865. A very interest-

ing account of the training in the English schools, with pertinent criticisms on its defects and remedies. The statements of the text are abundantly fortified in the Appendix.

Peace under Liberty. An Oration before the city authorities of Boston, July 4th, 1865. By Rev. J. M. MANNING. An eloquent and patriotic discourse, fearless in its tone and just in its spirit.

Orations, Poems, and Speeches at the Second Annual Meeting of the Associated Alumni of the Pacific Coast, at Oakland, California, June 6th, 1865. Few of our Eastern college commencements are carried out with as much spirit, wit and wisdom, as are seen in this full report of the doings of our California brothers.

American Criticism or the North American Review, and Life and Times of John Huss. New York: American News Co. We simply announce this pamphlet. It deserves attention. In the whole history of criticism we know of nothing more unfair, shallow and vindictive than the attack, thrice repeated, on the author of "Life and Times of John Huss" and his noble history, by the *North American Review*. This pamphlet not only vindicates Dr. Gillett from the charges of the critic, but shows, what we had thought hardly possible, "a lower deep" still in the folly, shallowness and malignity of his assailant.

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